THE

JAHANGIRNAMA



JAHANGIR EMBRACING SHAH ABBAS I, by Abu'l-Hasan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1618. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 23.8 × 15.4 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. 45.9

THE JAHANGIRNAMA

Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India

Translated, edited, and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston

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Foreword

The *Jahangirnama*—the personal memoirs of Jahangir, fourth Mughal emperor of India—is a work of intensely alert observation and probing intelligence. Jahangir's great-grandfather, Babur, had written the *Baburnama*, the first true autobiography in the Islamic world, which described frankly and with immense insight the political turmoil, actions, and personalities that had brought the Mughals from Central Asia into India. This literary genre was still fresh and provocative when Jahangir chose to follow his predecessor's initiative, and the result was a vivid chronicle of a wealthy, artistically sophisticated kingdom at the height of its powers.

While the *Baburnama* portrays an era of empire building, however, the *Jahangirnama* depicts a period when political control was relatively stable and time could be devoted to life's pleasures. Of all the Mughal emperors, Jahangir was the most observant of the world around him, and his memoirs leave no doubt about his delight in the unusual landscapes, animals, flowers, and characters he encountered in India. Visual sensations were especially powerful to him, and consequently the descriptions in his text are minutely detailed. It is not surprising, therefore, that this emperor was the greatest of all Mughal connoisseurs of the arts. And while his father, Akbar, had consolidated power through extensive public building projects, Jahangir eschewed the monumentality of architecture for more intimate and personally expressive artistic forms—manuscript illustrations, for example, and finely crafted everyday objects (which in his world included jade cups shaped like lotus leaves, textiles woven of gold thread, and rubies inscribed with decorative calligraphy). The illustrations in this volume provide abundant evidence of Jahangir's brilliance as a patron of the arts.

There are several references in Jahangir's narrative to artists and to his interest in their work—part of the reason this new translation has been supported by the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. Early in the seventh regnal year (1612), for example, he describes the return of the courtier Muqarrab Khan from an embassy to Goa. "He had brought several very strange and unusual animals I had not seen before. . . . I . . . ordered the artists to draw their likenesses in the *Jahangirnama* so that the astonishment one has at hearing of them would increase by seeing them." No illustrated copy of the chronicle was in preparation at this time, however; Jahangir's text was still a personal diary. Such paintings must therefore have been kept in the inventory of the *kitabkhana* (book workshop) pending the eventual assembly of an official volume; not until the thirteenth regnal year (1618) did Jahangir authorize a court calligrapher to copy the text for presentation to his family and others.

The *Baburnama* and the *Akbarnama*, the biography of Jahangir's father Akbar, had been illustrated by paintings of past events made late in the rule of Akbar when those texts were written out in official copies. Jahangir's own words, however, indicate that

pictures intended for the *Jahangirnama* were made as events happened or in response to the emperor's current enthusiasms, even if there was no volume for which they were immediately intended. Under Jahangir's direction, painters provided a documentation of imperial interests as timely and valid as the emperor's own words. No illustrated volume of the text made for Jahangir himself has survived; dispersed paintings intended for the *Jahangirnama* are known, however, and the majority have been reproduced within this new publication, as have many related works of the period: the astonishingly powerful portrait of the dying opium eater Inayat Khan (page 280), is one example; another is the actual knife (page 363) that he ordered made from the iron in a meteor, the fall of which he vividly described.

The Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery are once again immensely grateful to Wheeler M. Thackston, who has so quickly followed his recent translation *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor* with this new version of the *Jahangirnama*. Drawing on an unparalleled knowledge both of language and of the historical and artistic character of the period, Professor Thackston has restored the sense of immediate contact with the emperor's private thoughts and interests found in the original text but absent from previous translations. As a result, Mughal India comes vividly to life in these pages.

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Translator's Preface

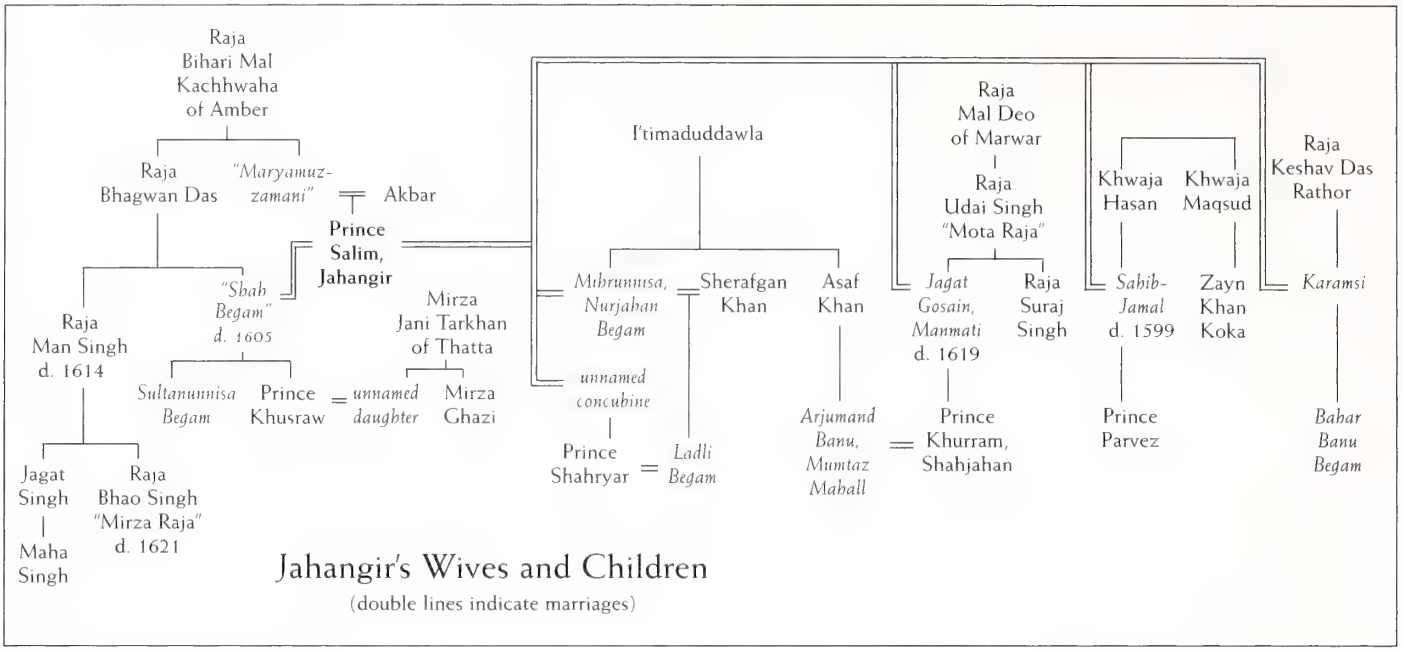
The fourth emperor of Timurid India, Sultan Salim, who ruled under the name Nuruddin Muhammad and the title Jahangir (1569–1627), kept a personal record of his reign much as his great-grandfather Babur had done. Jahangir's memoirs begin in 1605 with his accession to the throne. In 1622, five years before his death, Jahangir was compelled by illness to have his personal secretary, Mu'tamad Khan, actually write the memoirs and submit them for editing and correction (page 386). Their collaboration continued until 1624, when the memoirs end abruptly. In the eighteenth century a historian named Muhammad-Hadi added a continuation from the point at which the memoirs end through Jahangir's death in 1627 and Shahjahan's succession the following year; he also added a preface containing a brief account of Jahangir's life until his accession to the throne.[1]

The memoirs have been commonly known under the title *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Jahangir's regulations). The Persian word *tuzuk* comes from the Turkish *tüzük*, which means "regulation," "order," "arrangement," and was used specifically for a ruler's or officer's disciplined and orderly maintenance and deployment of his troops and staff. Since the memoirs were considered to be the emperor's own guidelines for the maintenance of the empire—although in fact they contain few such, despite his claim that he had multiple copies made "to award to particular servants and to be sent to other countries to be used by the rulers as a manual for ruling" (page 271)—they were given the auxiliary title of tuzuk, which term had also become a common generic title for biographies of rulers. Nowhere does Jahangir himself use tuzuk as a title. Rather, in several places, particularly at the end of the twelfth year, when he has the memoirs of the first twelve years of his reign copied and bound as a presentation volume (page 255), he refers to the memoirs specifically as the *Jahangirnama* (Jahangir's book), and so will we.

Jahangir's record of his life and reign attracted the attention of Western scholars early in the exploration of source material for Mughal history. Extracts were first translated by James Anderson in *Asiatic Miscellany* (Calcutta, 1786) and by Francis Gladwin in his *History of Hindostan* (Calcutta, 1788). A section comprising the first nine years was translated by William Erskine,[2] who also translated the *Baburnama* in 1826. A translation was begun by W. H. Lowe for the Bibliotheca Indica in Calcutta in 1889, but only one fascicle was printed. A full translation was first made by Alexander Rogers and edited by Henry Beveridge. This version appeared in two volumes for the Oriental Translation Fund (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909–14), and it has served as the standard—in fact, the only—English translation ever since.

Because it has now been almost ninety years since the appearance of the first part of the last translation, many felt it was time for a new one. There is little to criticize in Rogers and Beveridge's exceptionally precise and correct translation, except for the

1. The memoirs exist in two versions. The "authentic" memoirs, the version here translated, begin *az 'ináyat-i bégháyat-i iláhí*, representative early manuscripts include one in Lahore, Punjab University Library (with seals of Jahangir and Shahjahan); London, India Office Library No. 305 (before A.H. 1040 [1630]); London, British Library, Add. 26,215 (17th century); Manchester, Bibliotheca Lindesiana (John Rylands Library) no. 938 (circa 1700); Oxford, Bodleian 219, dated A.H. 1118 (1706); Cambridge, Browne 94, dated 1139 (1726); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Blochet 579, dated A.H. 1196 (1781); Royal Asiatic Society, Morley 120, dated 1231 (1815). An edition, *Toozuk-i-Iehangeeree*, was made by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan on the basis of ten good manuscripts in Bahadur Shah's libraries and printed in Aligarh in 1863–64. The latest printed edition, from which this translation has been made, was done by Muhammad Hashim and printed at Tehran: Chapkhana-i Zar, A.H. 1359 (1980). The manu-



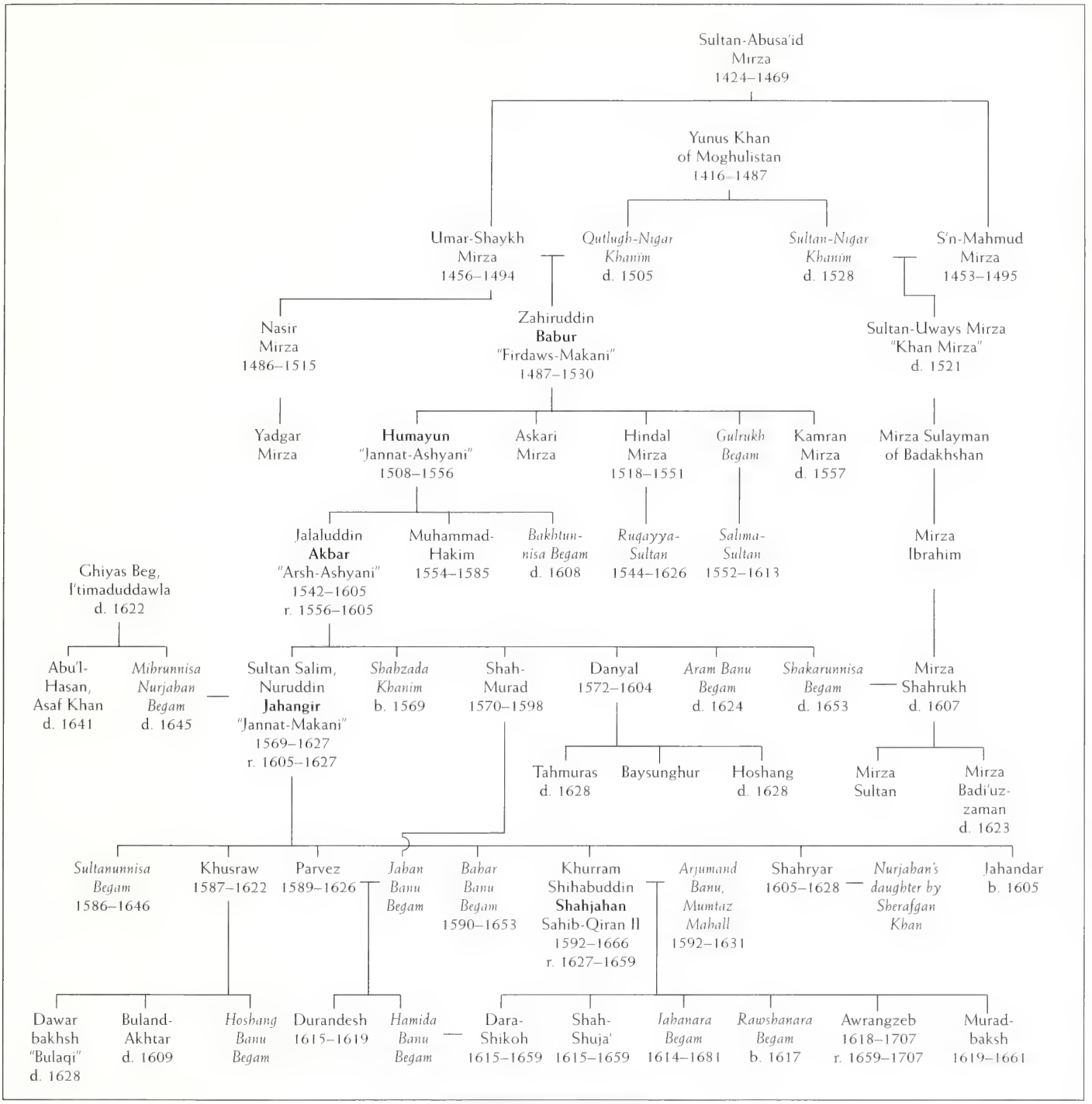
Jahangir's Wives and Children

(double lines indicate marriages)

scripts used for this edition are India Office Library No. 305, datable to before A.H. 1040 (1630) (the folio numbers of this manuscript have been retained in Muhammad Hashim's edition, and I have retained them within square brackets in the translation for easy reference to the Persian edition); Oxford, Bodleian No. 221, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's own manuscript edition, dated September 1846; India Office Library No. 3112, copied for Muhammad Khan, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's brother, in October 1843; and Tehran University Central Library No. 4010, which contains the first six years of the reign only and may possibly be Jahangir's own copy. A shorter version of the memoirs, known as the "garbled," or "spurious," memoirs, begins *hamd-i bégháyat u shukr-i bénihàyat mubdi'irá*; representative manuscripts are in Bankipur, Oriental Public Library, No. 557, dated A.H. 1020 (1611); Munich, Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Aumer 259 (1), dated A.H. 1138 (1627); London, India Office Library, Ethé 309, dated A.H. 1194 (1780); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Pertsch

tone. Jahangir wrote in a very fluid, colloquial style that is totally devoid of the rhetorical prolixity that characterizes "professional" Mughal historiography. Like many earlier translators of Asian works, however, Rogers and Beveridge refused to let the immediacy of Jahangir's prose come through and tended to render his words in stilted and sometimes awkward English. This impulse represents a school of translation that seems to have held that people long ago and far away had to speak in "thee's" and "thou's" and sound, at best, as Shakespearean characters sound to us now or, at worst, like Edwardian narrators of fairy tales. Such an approach is more justifiable for translating a rhetorically complex work of artful prose, but Jahangir's writing is anything but that. If Jahangir spoke in the second person singular, he did so because it was normal, everyday colloquial Persian for him to do so, not because he wanted to sound like a character in an old play ("These few words from my mouth thou wilt represent . . ."). The memoirs are refreshingly candid and frank, and nowhere is his Persian stilted, archaic, or pompous. Jahangir wrote in his native Persian, a language that is grammatically very simple but particularly rich in idiomatic expression; however, the literal renderings of Persian idiom translators have given us convey little or nothing to the reader of English—such idiom must be converted into an equivalent English idiom, if there is one, or captured somehow in modern English. Jahangir naturally mentions many things peculiar to the subcontinent, and these often lack equivalents in English, but he does not express feelings that cannot be conveyed by our modern language. There is one stylistic feature I have not tried to capture in English, and that is his rambling syntax, which even lapses altogether on occasion; but I have striven to keep the tone of the English as close as possible to that of the Persian and to stay as near as I could to the original while rendering an idiomatic English.

A translator of a work written in the seventeenth-century Persian language of the Indian subcontinent can transform linguistic content into something a modern audience can understand, but he cannot eliminate the cultural difficulties. The memoirs are strewn with unfamiliar terminology and, more problematically, brimful of unfamiliar



names and titles, and these need some explanation for the benefit of readers who are not specialists in Mughal India.

Names and Titles

Those with whom the emperor naturally had the greatest interaction and those who feature most prominently in the memoirs are the nobles of the empire. They had not

486, dated A.H.1199 (1784); Oxford, Bodleian 222, dated A.H.1225 (1810); London, British Library, Or. 1708, dated A.H.1239 (1824). A translation of the "garbled" memoirs was made by Major David Price (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1829) and reprinted in Calcutta: Editions

only given names but also titles ending in *khan*,[3] and as they acquired new, loftier titles the old ones fell into abeyance and were sometimes later given to others. As an example, Ghiyas Beg I'timaduddawla's son Abu'l-Hasan first held the title I'tiqad Khan; then, in 1614, he was given the title Asaf Khan,[4] and his old title of I'tiqad Khan was later given to his brother Mirza Shapur. More common is the case of Ibrahim Kakar, who was first granted a khan title added to his own name, so he became Ibrahim Khan; later he was awarded a military title, Dilawar Khan (Lord Valiant), by which he was known for he rest of his life. Because these persons are almost always known to history by the last title they held, the principal entry in the index is under the last title with cross-references to the others.[5] Furthermore, some titles, particularly those that had been in use for centuries, were held successively, like Khan Jahan, which the Khan Jahan Lodi of the memoirs was the second to bear during Jahangir's reign. At various places, therefore, there are three different Jahangir-Quli Khans, two Asaf Khans, and two Khan Jahans.

The "khan" titles were all bestowed by the monarch as a reward for personal merit. Some of the khan titles Jahangir gave were appropriate to the person or to the occasion on which they were conferred. Shamsi Töshäkchi was entitled Khoshkhabar Khan (Lord Good News, page 55) because he brought a piece of good news, and Warzish Khan (Lord Exercise) was given his title because he was Jahangir's fencing partner (page 153). Generally, however, the khan titles contain some reference to martial valor or fidelity: Sarbuland Khan means Lord Head-Held-High; Jansipar Khan means Lord Life-Risking; Mu'tamad Khan means Lord Reliable; Safdar Khan means Lord Battle-Line-Breaker; and so on.

Jahangir's son Khurram was awarded the title Shahjahan in the twelfth regnal year.[6] He retained this title as his regnal name, and it is familiar in various guises as Shah Jahan, Shah Jehan, and Shah-Jahan. I have rendered it all as one word because—unlike Shah Abbas, for instance, who was a shah whose name was Abbas, like "Henry" in King Henry—Shahjahan was a bestowed title, not a name. The title had originally been *shah-i-jahan*, "king of the world," but over time the Persian grammatical link *-i-* was dropped, leaving it as *shahjahan*. In this it is like the other older titles Khan Dawran, Khankhanan, Khan Alam, Khan Jahan, and Khan A'zam, which were originally Khan-i-Dawran (Lord of the Age), Khan-i-Khanan (Lord of Lords), Khan-i-Alam (Lord of the Universe), Khan-i-Jahan (Lord of the World), and Khan-i-A'zam (Most Magnificent Lord), all of which had dropped the *-i-* over time. Jahangir's wife, whose name was Mihrunnisa, was first entitled Nurmahall (from the Persian *nur-i-mahall*, Light of the Palace) and then Nurjahan (from the Persian *nur-i-jahan*, Light of the World). The "Nur" part of her title and of many other names (like the spring Nur Chashma, the gardens Nur Manzil and Nurafza, and the elephant Nur Gaj) is a reference to the name Jahangir adopted upon his accession, Nuruddin (Light of Religion).

Titles like the princely Mirza may either precede the given name in the Persian fashion or follow the given name in the Turkish manner, indifferently (Mirza Shahrukh, or Shahrukh Mirza). The title Shaykh was applied on the one hand as a title of reverence to Sufi masters, as in Shaykh Salim Chishti and Shaykh Nizamuddin Awliya;[7] on the other hand, under the Mughals it became a hereditary title for all *shaykhzada*s, the progeny of prominent Sufi shaykhs, like Shaykh Ala'uddin, a grandson of Shaykh Salim who became Islam Khan and was far better known for his military prowess than for his religiosity. Similar to Shaykh is Khwaja, a title of respect primarily for masters of the Naqshbandi order but also borne by other Sufis, like Khwaja Mu'inuddin of the Chishti order. The title Mir precedes the given names of sayyids, lineal descendants of the

Indian, 1972. Muhammad-Hadi's preface begins *hamd u sanā-yi bēhadd u sipās u sitāyish-i lātuhsā u lātu'add mar yagāna pādishāhirā sazāst*. In the Tehran edition Muhammad-Hadi's additions have been printed after the memoirs proper (pp. 441–515), but here I have split Muhammad-Hadi's section to fall chronologically—thus his summary of events before the memoirs is first, followed by the memoirs, followed by Muhammad-Hadi's narration of the end of Jahangir's reign. Little is known of Muhammad-Hadi except that he lived during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719–1748).

2. An unpublished manuscript of his translation is kept in the British Library (Add. 26,611).

3. The word *khan* is a loan to Persian from Turco-Mongolian. Two alternative forms of the word, *khan* and *khaghan*, both of great antiquity, passed into Turkish and Mongolian and thence into Persian as two separate words: *khaghan*—and its variant *qa'an*—became the title of the supreme Mongol emperor and later a generic term for emperor, and *khan* became a title of honor in all lands dominated or influenced by Turks, which is to say almost the entire Islamic world.

4. I'tiqad Khan means something like Lord Confidence, and his second title, Asaf Khan, is a reference to Asaf ibn Barakya, the Arabicized form of Asaph ben Berachiah, a character who appears many times in the Old Testament and was appointed by Solomon to temple service; see, e.g., 1 Chronicles 6:39 and, for the Islamic version, al-Kisa'i, *Tales of the Prophets* (1978; reprint, Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, Inc., 1997),

Prophet Muhammad; and by virtue of their lineage they held a revered position in society. Persons appear in the memoirs with and without some or all of their titles. Sometimes they are mentioned by title alone, with no mention of their names, like the Mirmiran, the chief sayyid of the empire, whose name is never given. Occasionally persons are mentioned simply as "the son of So-and-So." I have tried to include all the various parts of a person's names and titles in the entry in the index. Alas, it is quite impossible to make all mentions of every person consistent, as my long-suffering editor would wish.

The titles Rajput and other Hindu princes receive are generally hereditary ruling titles like Maharaja, Raja, Rao, and Rai, all of which are ultimately derived from the Sanskrit term *raja*, sovereign. The Rajputs, the warrior and ruling caste of Rajputana (now Rajasthan) in western India, are also often identified by their clan affiliations: Kachhwaha, Bundela, Bhurtiya, Rathor, and Sisodiya, among others. Some of the more important Rajput houses were intimately connected to Jahangir by descent and by marriage. Jahangir's mother, who is obscured forever behind a veil of chaste propriety that forbade the mention of her name but who was known by her epithet, Maryam-uzzamani (The Mary of the Age), was the daughter of Raja Bihari Mal Kachhwaha of Amber (Jaipur). Among Jahangir's Rajput wives was Prince Khusraw's mother, entitled Shah Begam (page 51), the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber and Maryam-uzzamani's niece; Shahjahan's mother, Jagat Gosain (page 30), also known as Manmati, was the daughter of Rana Udai Singh of Marwar (Jodhpur), who was known as Mota Raja (The Fat Raja); and Bahar Banu Begam's mother, Karamsi (page 30), was the daughter of Raja Keshav Das Rathor.

In Persian historiography it is common to refer to deceased monarchs and rulers by posthumous titles, of which Persian has a plethora. As a normal rule, any posthumous title may be used of any ruler who is dead at the time of writing; the Mughals alone gave fixed posthumous titles to each member of the dynasty. They are as follows:

REGNAL TITLE	HONORIFIC	GIVEN NAME	POSTHUMOUS TITLE
—	Zahiruddin Muhammad	Babur	Firdaws-Makani ("whose place is paradise")
—	Nasiruddin Muhammad	Humayun	Jannat-Ashyani ("who is nested in the garden of paradise")
—	Jalaluddin Muhammad	Akbar	Arsh-Ashyani ("whose nest is on the divine throne")
Jahangir	Nuruddin Muhammad	Salim	Jannat-Makani ("whose place is the garden of paradise")

Thus Jahangir generally refers to his father, Akbar, by his posthumous title as His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. Because it is difficult to keep track of these titles, the proper name of the monarch has been given in brackets at intervals to facilitate comprehension, e.g. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar].

Regnal Years and Dating Systems

It was Mughal practice to date by regnal years. These were usually calculated by the solar year from the date of accession. Jahangir ascended the throne in October 1605, but at the following Persian New Year (Nawroz) in March of 1606 he decreed that his regnal years would commence on Nawroz. The first regnal year therefore extends from

314–16. In Islamic lore Asaf is the prototype of the grand vizier to the great King Solomon, and that is why the Asaf Khan title was bestowed.

5. The index also contains references to Shahnawaz Khan Awrangabadi's *Ma'athir al-umara*, the great biography of the nobles of the Mughal Empire. These are signaled by MU with reference to the entry number in the English translation of that work.

6. Shahjahan was also known as Sahib-Qiran-i-Sani (Second Lord of the Conjunction), a reference to the remote ancestor of the dynasty, Amir Temür (Tamerlane, d. 1405), who was known as the First Lord of the Conjunction, i.e. the conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, considered to be the most favorable conjunction of planets and known as *qiranu's-sa'dayn* (the conjunction of the two auspicious ones). In the case of Amir Temür the appellation was an honorific, but Shahjahan was actually born under the conjunction.

7. *Shaykh* is the same word as sheikh, or sheik, which has the advantage of being a recognized English word. Unfortunately, because it conjures up images of the Sheik of Araby, which is about as far from its connotation in Mughal India as anything could be, it cannot be used here.

October 1605 until the end of the next solar year, March 1607; thereafter the regnal years coincide with the solar years of the Persian calendar. Nawroz falls on the vernal equinox every year and is determined by astronomical observation, not by the calendar. These days it falls on or near March twenty-first, but because in Jahangir's time the Julian calendar was still in effect in the English-speaking world and we have converted to Julian dates, Nawroz fell on or around March tenth. For the Gregorian equivalents used in continental Europe at the time, add ten days. Nawroz was normally the occasion for the grandest court celebration of the year. Following Nawroz was another occasion for court celebration, the day of culmination (*roz-i sharaf*), the nineteenth of Aries, which Jahangir calls the "nineteenth degree of Aries" (page 46). For instance, in the year 1616, the vernal equinox occurred on March ninth, and the culmination occurred nineteen days later on March twenty-eighth.

In Mughal India there were two calendars in use simultaneously, the Persian and the Islamic. Jahangir began his memoirs using Islamic lunar months and days, but shortly after the first year or so he gradually changed to the Persian solar system, which was officially introduced during Akbar's reign and was known as the Ilahi era,[8] and thereafter he only occasionally interspersed an Islamic date. Because the Islamic year consists of twelve lunar months that have no readily discernible relation to the sun,[9] the lunar year recedes against the solar year by eleven days annually. The Persian solar year begins on Nawroz and contains twelve months. When the vernal equinox falls on March tenth, the Ilahi solar months, with their zodiacal equivalents, which Jahangir also uses occasionally, are as follows:

1 Farvardin (Aries) = March 10

1 Urdibihisht (Taurus) = April 10

1 Khurdad (Gemini) = May 11

1 Tir (Cancer) = June 11

1 Amurdad (Leo) = July 12

1 Shahrivar (Virgo) = August 12

1 Mihr (Libra) = September 12

1 Aban (Scorpio) = October 12

1 Azar (Sagittarius) = November 11

1 Day (Capricorn) = December 11

1 Bahman (Aquarius) = January 10

1 Isfandarmudh (Pisces) = February 9

Jahangir's birthday, along with the imperial weighing ceremony that marked it,[10] was therefore celebrated twice, once according to the lunar calendar on the seventeenth of Rabi' I (which fell on August thirtieth the year he was born, A.H. 977 [1569]) and again according to the solar calendar on or around the twenty-second of Shahrivar (end of August, beginning of September).

To complicate matters further, each regnal year, in addition to its designation as a regnal year, was labeled by the Islamic year in which it began, so many dates in any given regnal year actually belong to the next Islamic year. For example, the fourth regnal year began on the fourteenth of Dhu'l-Hijja of the Islamic year 1017, and thus the entire fourth regnal year may be referred to as 1017. However, Dhu'l-Hijja is the last

8. *Ilahi* literally means divine, but in Mughal usage it connotes "imperial."

9. The names of the Islamic months are as follows: Muharram, Safar, Rabi' I, Rabi' II, Jumada I, Jumada II, Rajab, Sha'ban, Ramadan, Shawwal, Dhu'l-Qa'da, and Dhu'l-Hijja.

10. For a list of items against which Jahangir was weighed, see page 197.

month of the Islamic year, and 1018 began only several weeks into the regnal year, so most dates in the regnal year 1017 were actually in the Islamic year 1018. Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) was born on the thirtieth of Rabi' I 1000 (January 5, 1592), but when Jahangir gives his son's birth date (page 30), he gives the year as 999 because the birth fell in Akbar's regnal year 999.

Because the Islamic "day" begins at sundown, the eve of any given day of the week precedes the daylight hours of that day. What Jahangir calls "Thursday eve" is what we call Wednesday night, i. e., as in All Hallows' Eve, it is the night that precedes the daylight hours of Thursday. In the translation I have reserved the word eve for this usage only. Where "evening" is used it means simply the early part of the night. Jahangir says, for instance, that he does not drink at all during the daytime. "I only drink at night," he continues, "but not on Thursday, the day of my accession, or on Friday eve, a blessed night of the week" (page 185)—he means that he does not drink on Wednesday night, which was Thursday eve for him, or on Thursday night, which was his Friday eve. In translating phrases like "on the eve of the twenty-eighth of Muharram 1022," I have converted the date, 28 Muharram 1022, to March 10, 1613, but because the event took place on the eve of that date, it should be understood that in our terms it happened during the evening of the ninth of March.

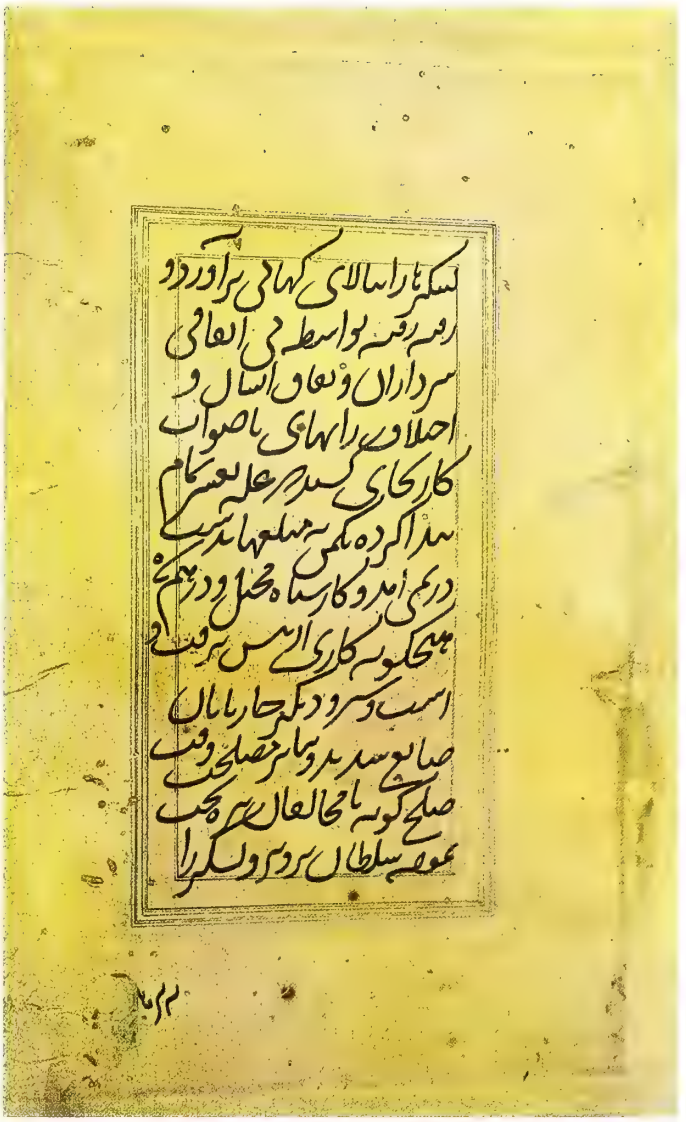


FIGURE 1. PAGE IN JAHANGIR'S HANDWRITING. India, ca. A.H. 1032 (1622). Ink on paper. 27.1 x 16.6 cm. The National Museum, Delhi. 56.65

Transcription and Transliteration

Elaborate systems of transliteration are helpful to only a few, but they are distracting to the majority of readers. Those who ought to know Persian well enough to know what the dots and macrons mean shouldn't need them; those who do not know Persian will scarcely be helped by a macron over a vowel or a dot under a letter, particularly since there is not now—and as far as we know there has never been—any distinction in pronunciation between or among any of the various *t*'s, *h*'s, *s*'s, or *z*'s Persian orthography inherited from Arabic. The retroflex *t*'s, *d*'s, and *r*'s of Hindustani certainly differ considerably in articulation from their nonretroflex counterparts, but marking them with a dot in the text will not enable the non-Hindustani-speaking reader even to approximate the proper pronunciation. In the translation therefore I have simply transcribed non-English words according to their common Hindustani or Indo-Persian pronunciation and dispensed with diacritical markings,[11] with the exception of the unobtrusive umlauts on Turkish words and the reversed apostrophe for the Arabic letter *'ayn* when it is not initial, as in Shah-Shuja' and Khan A'zam.[12] Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Hindustani, and Kashmiri words that occur in the text are given in the glossary, and long vowels are indicated in the index. In transcribing Hindustani I have used *cch* and *cchh* in place of the ungainly *chch* and *chchh*.

11. Jahangir spoke Persian and some form of Hindi or Hindustani. He says he knew some Turkish, and he probably knew a little Arabic too, but he certainly did not know Sanskrit. What native Indian words and names he uses are Hindi, and he represented

Geographical names are spelled in accordance with normal English usage (Punjab, Delhi, Bengal), and fortunately all places of any consequence in the subcontinent have conventional English spellings, most of which coincide fairly closely with the native pronunciation. All places of any size mentioned in the text have been included on the general map of the Mughal Empire on page xvii. The few place names that have eluded all attempts at identification, all obscure villages whose names occur in itineraries en route between major cities, probably still exist as they did in Jahangir's time, but, as can be seen from the page in Jahangir's own handwriting illustrated (fig. 1), Jahangir wrote hastily without the dots that are necessary for reading Persian consonants. Subsequent copyists and editors have restored the dots as best they could, but when toponyms are unknown, the dots—and consequently the pronunciation—can only be guessed. Place names that have remained unidentified are signaled by a bracketed question mark [?].

Occasional suggestions for emendation of the text or a variant reading are given in the notes. These generally involve change of diacritical dots or substitution of letters with similar shapes. Examples of emendations that have frequently been deemed necessary are the following ordinal numbers, which are commonly confused in Persian manuscripts, particularly when dots are missing: *hashtum* (eighth) and *bistum* (twentieth); *yazdahum* (eleventh) and *panzdahum* (fifteenth); *sizdahum* (thirteenth) and *hizhdahum* (eighteenth). The misreading of these numbers has resulted in passages in which the sequence of dates is out of order. Where it has been possible to determine the correct sequence of dates, I have emended the text and so noted all emendations.

The native Indian—mostly Hindustani or Kashmiri—words that Jahangir uses in his Persian give his writing a characteristic local flavor. Because it would be a shame to lose this quality in translation, in order to convey the "Indianness" of the Persian I have retained these words, even where a perfectly good English word exists, and given English equivalents in brackets. For Persian terms that lack good equivalents in English I have retained the Persian word and either given the nearest equivalent in brackets or provided a brief explanation in a note. All these words and technical terms are to be found in the glossary.

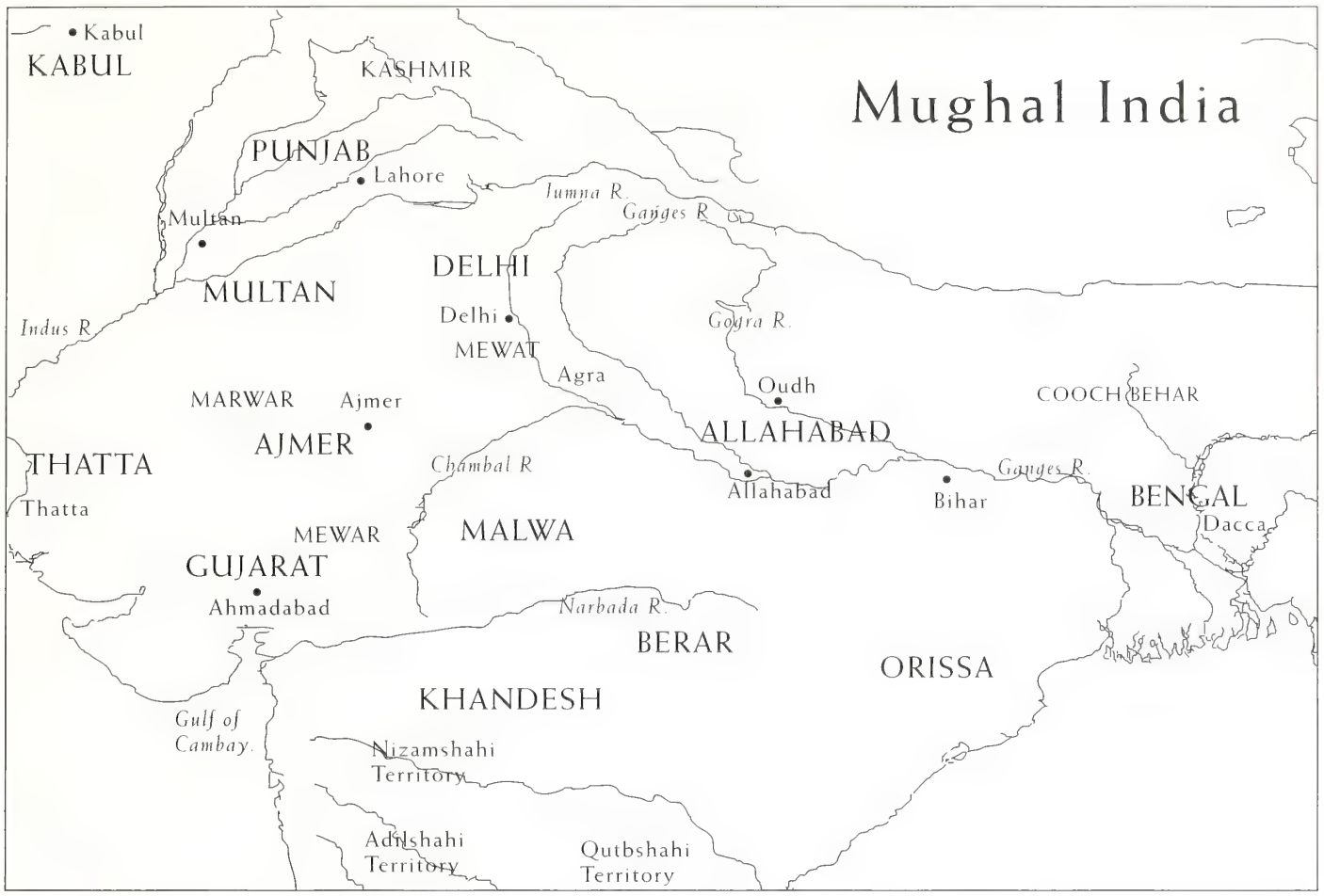
In consonance with good Persian literary style, Jahangir peppered his prose with poetic quotations. Many of these are proverbial in nature, and they would have been familiar to Jahangir's contemporaries, though the sources have been lost to time. Where the source of a quotation could be identified, it has been given in a note. Jahangir quotes fairly often from Firdawsi, Sa'di, and Hafiz, the most quotable of all Persian poets, and he occasionally gives an identified quotation from Baba Fighani of Shiraz (died 1519).

Illustrations

When it comes to the Jahangirid period in Mughal art, there is an *embarras de richesses*, and because these pictures help bring the memoirs to life, I have included as many as feasible. Not only are there portraits of the emperor in various stages of his life, but there are portraits of most of the grandees of the realm and several *objets* mentioned specifically in the memoirs, like the knife made from a meteor (page 363) and a jade tankard that had once belonged to Ulughbeg Mirza (page 95). In addition to the formal court scenes, there are also paintings that could only have been made specifically as illustrations for a volume of the *Jahangirnama*.[13] And we know from Jahangir's own words that when the memoirs of the first twelve years were copied and bound, an accession scene was produced by Abu'l-Hasan for inclusion into that volume (page 267).[14] This is without

medieval Hindi words in Persian letters as they were pronounced in his time, so we get *brahmchari* for the Sanskrit *brahmacharya* and Bikramajit for Vikramaditya. These days it is popular in certain quarters to Sanskritize names and titles from the Mughal period. *Pace* the Sanskritwallas, there is little to be gained in attempting to Sanskritize Rajput and other Hindu names, particularly when dealing with an age in which Sanskrit was not in general use. It seems counterproductive to disguise Bhao Singh as Bhava Simha, Bikramajit as Vikramaditya, and Kishan Das as Krsnadasa, when it is extremely unlikely that they were ever in their lives called anything other than Bhao Singh, Bikramajit, and Kishan Das. The pronunciation of Persian current in India in Jahangir's day should not have differed to any large degree from the pronunciation in Iran or in Persian-speaking Central Asia at the time, whereas in a few stylistic features Jahangir's Indo-Persian is naturally closer to the Tajik Persian of Central Asia than to the Persian of Safavid Iran. From that time to now, certain features in the pronunciation of Persian have changed markedly in Iran while remaining fairly stable in India and Central Asia. Our transcription reflects the seventeenth-century Indian pronunciation of the language, not the modern Iranian. We have, therefore, Parvez, not Parviz; Awrangzeb, not Owrangzib; and Dara-Shikoh, not Dara-Shokuh.

12. Umlauted *ü* and *ö* are pronounced as in German; *ä* is pronounced like the *a* in "cat"; *ï* is a back *i*, not dissimilar to the second vowel in "nation." The reversed apostrophe (') is a glottal stop when carefully enunciated; in normal practice it merely lengthens the preceding



doubt the double-page accession scene now in an album in the possession of the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (the left-hand half of which is reproduced on page 22). Three illustrations from this series not included in this volume are in the Raza Library at Rampur. They were obviously made for the *Jahangirnama*, but unfortunately they are in such poor condition and so badly abraded that it is not worthwhile reproducing them here. They are *Jahangir Watching a Snake and Spider Fight* (Rampur Album 1, folio 2a), which illustrates the text on folio 47a, *Jahangir Receiving Muqarrab Khan with Exotic Animals from Goa* (Album 1, folio 7a), which illustrates the text on folios 84b–85a, and *Jahangir Viewing a Freak Tamarind Tree* (Album 1, folio 8a), which goes with the text on folio 139a.[15]

Also included are Jahangir's "fantasy" pictures. A delightful series of paintings, these illustrate Jahangir eliminating Dalidr, the personification of poverty (*Emperor Jahangir Triumphing over Poverty*, page 25), Jahangir dispatching his nemesis, the Nizamshahi general and vizier Malik Ambar (*Jahangir Shoots Malik Ambar*, page 165), and Jahangir preferring the company of a pious shaykh to the monarchs of the world, including James I of England and the Ottoman Sultan (*Jahangir Preferring a Shaykh to Kings*, page 257.)

❁ *Historical Overview*

Emperor Jahangir is probably best known in the West merely for being the father of Shahjahan (1592–1666), who built the Taj Mahal, but Jahangir ruled the Mughal

vowel slightly. At the beginning of a word the *'ayn* has no value whatsoever, so it has been dispensed with.

13. For this series of paintings see Beach, "Jahangir's *Jahangir-Nama*," 224–34. For an article on the illustration of Prince Khusraw's indictment (treated in the text on page 57f), see Chandra, "The Judgment of Khusraü," 43–46.

14. An illustration of Abu'l-Hasan presenting his painting to Jahangir (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Estampes, Od 49/4, no. 40) is reproduced in Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, 97, figure 70.

15 *Jahangir Watching a Snake and Spider Fight* and *Jahangir Viewing a Freak Tamarind Tree* are reproduced in Beach, "Jahangir's *Jahangir-Nama*", *Jahangir Receiving Muqarrab*

Empire when it was at the height of its power and prosperity. He also built splendid structures and gardens, if not the world's most famous and romanticized building. During his father Akbar's reign (1556–1605) the boundaries of the empire had been expanded to include all of the northern Indian subcontinent, and except for some fairly minor skirmishes on the northwestern border with the Safavids of Iran, most of the empire had been pacified and consolidated. The only active military front was the Deccan, the perennial trouble spot to the south.

The dynasty to which Jahangir belonged began in India with Babur Padishah (1483–1530), a Timurid prince from Central Asia who seized the kingdom of Kabul in 1504 after he had been driven from his homeland and patrimony by the invading Uzbeks. Babur had been ruling in Kabul for over twenty years and engaging in periodic raids on the northwestern frontier of the subcontinent when he defeated Sultan Ibrahim II of the Delhi Sultanate at Panipat in 1526 and fell heir to the kingdom of Delhi and its possessions in the Punjab and the Doab (the region between the Jumna and Ganges Rivers). The next year at Khanua he defeated a coalition of Rajputs under Rana Sanga (Sangramasinha) of Mewar and gained control of the region west and south of Agra. Babur died in 1530 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Humayun (1508–1556), but after a reign of ten years he was defeated by an Afghan confederation under Sher Khan Sur at the Battle of the Ganges, after which he was forced to pull back to Lahore and eventually to flee the subcontinent. Reinforced by the Safavid Shah Tahmasp of Iran, with whom he had taken refuge, he returned fifteen years later in 1555, defeated the Afghans, and reestablished himself in Agra and Delhi. After Humayun's accidental death in 1556, his son Akbar ruled for fifty years. Under Akbar imperial rule was consolidated in the central and northern subcontinent; Malwa, Gujarat, and Khandesh were acquired; and in 1576, Bengal (what is now West Bengal and Bangladesh) was added to the empire. The kingdoms and states south of the Mughals—the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar, the Adilshahis of Bijapur, and the Qutbshahis of Golconda—were forced to acknowledge Akbar's supremacy, but the Mughals were still not strong enough to annex these kingdoms directly, and they remained a thorn in the side that occupied much of Jahangir's and Shahjahan's reigns.

Divisions of the Empire

The Mughal Empire was divided into large administrative provinces called soubas, of which there were sixteen—Agra, Ajmer, Allahabad, Bengal, Berar, Bihar, Delhi, Gujarat, Kabul, Khandesh, Lahore (the Punjab), Malwa, Multan, Orissa, Oudh, and Thatta (Sind)—ruled by provincial governors (*subadars*). The soubas were subdivided into smaller units called *sarkars*, the official in charge of which was the *fawjdar*, whose main duty was to keep the peace. The next smaller administrative unit was the *pargana*, which was administered on the local level by an agent (*amil*) whose main concern was the collection of revenue from the villages that made up the pargana. This hierarchical structure notwithstanding, the Mughal state was "highly centralized, and the emperor was the real pivot of the government. No important administrative decision was taken without his full cognizance; many matters of detail and, by modern standards, trivial were regularly brought to his notice."[16] This fact is brought out particularly well in Jahangir's memoirs, in which we find him making decisions on matters that we would consider far beneath an emperor's concern.

Jahangir managed the empire largely at a distance from the capital. In fact, it is a mistake to think of the empire as having a fixed capital, although to a certain extent Agra was always the nominal seat of the central government. The capital and court

Khan with Exotic Animals from Goa is reproduced in Beach et al., *King of the World*, 120, figure 15. Additional Jahangir-period paintings illustrative of specific material in the *Jahangirnama* but not reproduced here include the following: (folio 68b) *Mulla Ali-Ahmad Dies in Ecstasy*, Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript E.14, folio 14r, reproduced in Akimushkin, *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa'*; (folio 75a) *Prince Khurram Kills the Lion that Attacked Anup Rai*, Windsor Castle *Padshahnama*, folio 135b, reproduced in Beach et al., *King of the World*, 79, figure 30; (folio 107b) *The Submission of Rana Amar Singh of Mewar to Prince Khurram*, Windsor Castle *Padshahnama*, folio 135b, reproduced in Beach et al., *King of the World*, 33, figure 7; (folio 310b) *Mulla Muhammad Bijapuri*, by Hashim, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.121.10.34r, reproduced in Welch et al., *Emperor's Album*, 160, figure 38; (folio 172b) *Rao Bhara*, by Govardhan, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Kulturbesitz, MS. A117, folio 23a, reproduced in Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, 93, figure 66.

16. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, 40.

were wherever the emperor happened to be at the moment. True to their Central Asian heritage, the Mughal emperors were often on the move, and as the emperor moved, so too did the entire panoply of court—in duplicate. When Jahangir traveled so too did the bureaucracy, the workshops, the imperial harem, the nobles with their retinues, and all the servants, workers, scouts, guards, hangers-on, and camp followers. Before a move was made, imperial camp A was sent out one day's march in advance to set up and await the emperor's arrival. In the meanwhile camp B, the *peshkhana*, the forward camp, proceeded a day's march ahead of camp A and pitched. Once the emperor set out from camp A and it was dismantled, it was taken a day's march ahead of camp B and became the *peshkhana* to await the arrival of the imperial entourage. Leapfrogging in this manner, the two camps alternated until the destination was reached. The unbelievable panoply that accompanied the emperor is well described by Peter Mundy, who described Shahjahan's entry into Burhanpur on June 1, 1632 as follows:

> Myselfe, with Sunderdas, went towards Darree ca bagh [Dahre-ka Bagh, Dahra Garden] to see the Kinge comeinge thither. By the way, before wee could gett forth of the Cittie, wee were stopped and hindred by a great number of Eliphants, Cammells, Carts and Coaches laden with lumberment, which came from the laskerre [*lashkar*], or Campe, also many Coaches, Palanqueenes and doolees with woemen. . . . Att length wee were informed whereabout the king was himselfe; for all the face of the earth, soe farr as wee could see, was coverred with people, troopes of horses, Eliphants, etts., with innumerable flaggs small and great, which made a most gallant shew; for it is the Custome of every perticular great man to goe with a great many of theis flaggs carried before him. . . . Then thousands of horsemen going breadthwise; then came about 19 or 20 great Eliphants of state with coverings and furniture; most of them of Cloth of gold, the rest rich stuffe, velvetts, &c.; some of them carryinge a flagg with the kings Armes, which is a Tygar couching with the Sunne riseinge over his backe. . . . Then came the kinge himselfe mounted on a darke gray horse, and with him Mohabutt Ckaun [Mahabat Khan. . . . A litle distance behinde rode his eldest sonne Daroo Shuchir [Dara-Shikoh] all alone, All the rest of the Amrawes [*umaras*] or Lords on foote, before and behinde, and on each side of him. . . . All theis moveinge in one, on soe many huge Eliphants seemed like a fleete of shipps with flagg and streamers. . . . Soe that all theis together made a most majesticall, warlike and delightsome sight.[17]

17. Mundy, *Travels* 2:188ff.

One can easily imagine that Jahangir's entry into Ahmadabad (page 244) must have made a similar impression on spectators.

Jahangir moved around frequently during his reign. He left Lahore in March 1607 for Kabul, where he arrived in June 1607. He left Kabul in August 1607, stopped in Delhi in February of 1608, and went on to Agra in March. After remaining in Agra for five years, he set out in September 1613 to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Mu'inuddin Chishti at Ajmer, arriving in November. He remained in Ajmer until the end of October 1616, when he departed for a visit to Malwa, Mandu, and Gujarat. He returned to Agra in April 1619. In October of that same year he left for Kashmir, returning in February 1621. In October 1621 he left Agra again for a tour of the hill country, arrived in Ajmer in May 1623, departed there in November 1623 for Kashmir, arriving the end of May 1624. In September 1624 he left Kashmir for Lahore. In April 1626 he went to Kabul, departing in August 1626, arriving in Lahore in October. In March 1627 he set out for Kashmir, and there he died on October 29, 1627.

Pomp and Circumstance

The system of rank that is constantly met with in the memoirs was officially instituted by Akbar, but it was fully established under Jahangir. Rank consisted of a dual number, the first of which was called *zat*, or personal rank, and the second was called *suwar*, the horseman rank. The zat number indicates an individual's personal rank, but it has actual meaning only in relation to others, i.e. an individual who held the rank of 2,500 outranked by far someone who held the rank of 1,000. By the zat rank were solved the knotty problems of precedence and who stood "higher," or closer to and on which side of the emperor, at court ceremonials, and salaries drawn from the treasury were also tied to the zat rank. The suwar rank theoretically reflected some multiple of the number of horses the officer was expected to present for branding at the spring muster.[18] There was no "civilian" rank as opposed to military, so persons who were affiliated primarily with the bureaucracy and other occupations we would consider principally civilian held relatively small suwar ranks that were probably purely nominal. To finance the maintenance of troops, to each officer was assigned a land grant, called *jagir*, which was supposed to be capable of producing the income required to maintain, mount, and field his troops.[19] Unlike European feudal grants, however, the holder was not expected to live on or personally administer his land, no fief was hereditary,[20] and the Mughal system jealously kept the stewards who administered and collected taxes from marrying into local families in order to prevent them from acquiring vested interests.[21] As even the casual reader will notice, rank inflation set in rapidly, and by no stretch of the imagination were princes of the blood with the rank of 20,000/20,000 expected to field 20,000 horses, although they certainly held valuable fiefs and drew emoluments from the treasury that would have enabled them to do so.

Nobles were well rewarded for their services, but elaborate gift-giving was part of the bargain. *Peshkash* (offerings) and/or *nazr* (vows), which were donated to charity, were expected whenever the nobles appeared at court. Very elaborate gifts were expected on Nawroz. But gift-giving was reciprocal, and the givers usually received in excess of what they gave, even if the award of a pair of elephants from the emperor might be viewed with some skepticism, given the cost of maintaining elephants.

All grants of nobility were purely and solely at the discretion of the emperor. When a noble died, all his holdings reverted to the crown. This is not to say that the offspring of the nobles did not have a certain advantage in life. By virtue of being personally known to the emperor and having access to the "halls of power," the sons of nobles often attained nobility and rank themselves, but this was by no means a certainty. Jahangir muses on the worthlessness of some of his nobles' offspring, as well he should know, having himself produced several worthless sons, as he readily admits. Theoretically the Mughal system was merit-based, and individuals of talent from the most obscure backgrounds were supposed to be able to rise through the ranks to high positions, even if in practice it never hurt to have illustrious antecedents.[22] To Europeans, accustomed to a land-based hereditary nobility, the fluidity of Mughal nobility must have seemed very strange.

Ladies of the Harem

One tends to think of the women of the imperial harem as being cloistered and secluded not only from sight but also from any participation in society, but this image is far from correct. The ladies of the harem would not, of course, have appeared in public—or even semipublic—affairs unveiled, but they actively participated in all

18. The situation in Jahangir's time can be extrapolated from a later passage in Abdul-Hamid's *Padshahnama* 2:506f., where he states that during Shahjahan's reign an officer who held a *jagir* in the same province in which he was serving was expected to present one third of the number of horses indicated by his *suwar* rank, while an officer who held a fief in a different province was expected to present only a fourth of the number of his *suwar* rank. The number of horses determined the number of soldiers the officer was expected to field as follows. Of the soldiers under the command of a full-time (i.e. twelve-month service) officer, 30% were *se-aspa* (provided with three horses each), 60% were *du-aspa* (provided with two horses), and 10% were *yak-aspa* (provided with one horse)—a ratio of 220 horses for every 100 soldiers. A three-quarter-time officer (nine months a year) was expected to present 60% *du-aspa* and 40% *yak-aspa*, a ratio of 160 horses for every 100 soldiers. A half-time officer (six-month service) presented 10% *du-aspa* and 90% *yak-aspa*, a ratio of 110 horses for every 100 soldiers, and so on with all intervening gradations. A full-time officer holding a *suwar* rank of 1,500 and serving in his own province would therefore be expected to present 500 horses and 227 soldiers. There were further complications, but basically the system operated on these principles. During Jahangir's reign the number of horses and soldiers

aspects of court life from behind their lattice screens. They accompanied the emperor on all his travels and went hunting with him—we even see that Nurjahan (1577–1645), Jahangir's principal wife, was a crack shot with a gun, not an easy feat with the encumbrance of a veil, as Jahangir comments. They managed their own estates, issued documents,[23] carried on correspondence, and arranged elaborate entertainments. Some of them wrote poetry, but because so many of them adopted the pen name Makhfi (secluded), it is difficult to assign any given poem to a particular woman. Many were accomplished calligraphers and painters, and at least one specimen of Nurjahan's calligraphy is known.[24] There was, however, one aspect of life in which Mughal princesses did not always participate: marriage. Although sources do not elaborate on the custom, either there was a decision after Akbar's reign that no one outside of the imperial family was of sufficiently high station to marry a female member of the ruling house or else there were simply no available princes around. Prior to that time, Babur's sisters had been married, as had been Humayun's sister Gulrukh Begam; Akbar's half sisters Bakhshi Banu and Bakhtunnisa had both been married. Jahangir speaks of his three sisters, Shahzada, Shakarunnisa, of whom he was extremely fond, and the spoiled, ill-tempered Aram Banu. Shahzada was married to Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza, a member of the Safavid royal house; Shakarunnisa was married to the regal Shahrukh Mirza of Badakhshan, who was also distantly related to the Mughals;[25] whether or not Aram Banu was married is not known. One of Jahangir's daughters was married to a cousin, but it is certain that none of Shahjahan's daughters was married. Since, aside from Shahjahan's own sons, the few surviving male members of the imperial house (Princes Shahryar, Dawarbakhsh, Tahmuras, and Hoshang) were killed in 1628, there may have been no one for them to marry. After Shahjahan's time, when there were a few princes of the blood around, Awrangzeb married his fifth daughter to his nephew Izadbakhsh, the son of his brother Muradbakhsh. The notion of marriage outside the family would not likely have been entertained.

Mughal Histories and Historiography

The Mughals had a flourishing tradition of history-writing. Babur (ruled in India 1526–30) wrote his own memoirs. Humayun's reign (1530–40, 1555–56) was chronicled by Mihtar Jawhar Aftabachi in his *Tazkiratu'l-waqi'at*, by Bayazid Bayat in his *Tarikh-i-Humayun* (covering the years 1542 through 1591), and by Humayun's own sister Gulbadan Begim in her *Humayunnama*. Akbar's reign (1556–1605) is well documented in the voluminous *Akbarnama* by Abu'l-Fazl. Shahjahan's reign (1628–58) was exceptionally well recorded by the historians Muhammad-Salih Kambo in his *Amal-i-Salih*, Abdul-Hamid Lahawri in his *Padshahnama*, Inayat Khan in his *Shahjahannama*, and Sadiq Khan in his *Shahjahannama*. There are also two unfinished versified histories by Muhammad-Jan Qudsi and Abu-Talib Kalim. Awrangzeb's reign (1658–1707) is chronicled in Muhammad-Kazim's *Alamgirnama* and Musta'idd Khan's *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*.[26] For Jahangir's reign (1605–27), by contrast, there are only Jahangir's own memoirs and Mu'tamad Khan's relatively short *Iqbalnama*, which was based largely on the memoirs.[27] Hence Jahangir's memoirs are really *the* history of his reign since, unlike his predecessors and successors, he did not engage or commission professional historians but took it upon himself to record for posterity what he considered to be significant events of his reign. This has left us with many sections in the memoirs in which miscellaneous promotions are recorded. These may not be particularly interesting for the general reader, but they are of great historical value. On the other hand, Jahangir's

an officer was expected to field was probably somewhat more than the figures given for Shahjahan's reign, given the constant tendency to rank inflation

19. That this did not always work out in practice is shown by the fact that during Shahjahan's reign officers whose *jagir* incomes were exhausted by troop maintenance were entitled to a compensatory stipend from the treasury equivalent to a quarter of the *jagir* revenue (Abdul-Hamid, *Padshahnama* 2:507).

20. Although *jagirs* were not hereditary, often a son of a deceased *jagirdar* was awarded his father's *jagir*, and over time some estates became hereditary in practice, if not in theory.

21. See, for instance, the ninth of Jahangir's twelve inaugural decrees on page 26.

22. "Obscure background" needs to be modified here to reflect its true significance. Those who gained entrée into the rank system came from the educated classes and the "quality," the *a'yan* in Mughal terminology. Nowhere do we meet with a simple agricultural worker or ordinary villager who has been ennobled, much less a representative of the urban lower classes.

23. In a particularly interesting document belonging to the Art and History Trust (reproduced on page 394), Nurjahan berates Raja Jai Singh in no uncertain terms for having the audacity to arrange a marriage between his sister and one of the princes without her approval.

24. A calligraphic specimen by Nurjahan is reproduced on page 354 (opposite folio 262a).

penchant for recording minutiae of his daily schedule has produced other sections that, as fascinating as they are for the general reader and for all the light they shed on Jahangir's character, are of little or no historical significance.

Jahangir's memoirs are written in Persian, the normal language among educated people in Mughal India. He claims that he also knew some Turkish, his ancestral language—"Although I grew up in Hindustan, I am not ignorant of how to speak or write Turkish" (page 77)—and he certainly must have learned to speak some form of local Hindustani from his mother or other Rajput women in the harem, although he never says so. (It is difficult to imagine how else he might have communicated so well and so often with the hermit Gosain Jadrup, for example.) Since Persian is no longer a living language of the subcontinent, and it did not originate there either, it may be helpful to trace its development in brief.

Persian was introduced into the Indian subcontinent as an administrative language at the end of the tenth century by the invading Ghaznavids, who established an empire in the Punjab that outlasted their home empire in Ghazna (south of Kabul) by almost a century and a half. Although not the first contact between the subcontinent and Islamic civilization, the Ghaznavid incursion is responsible for the lasting Islamization of northern India and the pervasive Persianate civilization it embraced. Throughout the rapidly changing dynasties that succeeded, the Persian language and its cultural baggage remained stable, spreading downward into society as Islamization—either religiously or culturally—filtered down from the ruling classes and upward with the activity of Persian-educated Sufi missionaries. What is now called the "Mughal Empire"[28] was founded in the subcontinent in 1526 by Babur, who was descended from the Turkish conqueror Amir Temür (known in the West as Tamerlane) and was originally from the Fergana Valley in what is now Uzbekistan. Like every educated Central Asian Turk at the time, Babur was totally bilingual in his native Chaghatay Turkish and in Persian, so when he came to the subcontinent, the language neither of the bureaucracy nor of the ruling class or "polite society" had to be changed in the slightest, for culturally speaking Babur and his men, Central Asian Turks though they were, were completely acculturated to the same Persianate civilization that had long since been domesticated in the subcontinent. Turkish-speaking rulers were also nothing new to the subcontinent: all dynasties ruling in Delhi from around 1200 were either Turks or Afghans, and all used Persian as the language of administration and culture. In fact, over the century of Mughal rule before Jahangir, the Persianization of India had only increased. When Humayun returned to the throne after his fifteen-year exile in Safavid Iran, he brought with him many Iranians, and this influx further reinforced the already entrenched position of Persian. To this can be added the immigration of a large number of talented Iranians fleeing Safavid Iran for either religious or economic reasons in the early sixteenth century. On the religious side, the Safavids had made Twelver Shiism the state—and sole tolerated—religion within their realm. Those who chose not to convert from Sunnism had to emigrate to Sunni lands, either westward to the Ottoman Empire or eastward to the subcontinent. Economically, the creation of the highly centralized Safavid empire had deprived Iran of a number of local courts, which historically had given employment to a large number of poets, bureaucrats, and administrators, among others. These out-of-work educated elite also left Iran, generally for the subcontinent, where opportunities for employment were more promising. An excellent example of such Iranian émigrés is Ghiyas Beg, the future I'timaduddawla, who left Iran and, after harrowing experiences en route, arrived in India with his wife, his son Abu'l-Hasan, who became

25. Both marriages are recorded in Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama* 3:990.

26. An English translation of Mihtar Jawhar's *Tazkiratu'l-waqi'at* was made by Major Charles Stewart (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1832). Half of Bayazid Bayat's *Tarikh-i-Humayun* was translated by B. P. Saksena in *Allahabad University Studies* 6/1 (1930): 71–148. Gulbadan Begim's *Humayunnama* was edited and translated by Annette S. Beveridge (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1902). Abu'l-Fazl's *Akbarnama* was edited by Agha Ahmad Ali and Abd al-Rahim for the Bibliotheca Indica (Cawnpore-Lucknow, 1881–83) and translated by Henry Beveridge for the Bibliotheca Indica in three volumes (Calcutta, 1897–1921). The section of the *Akbarnama* known as the *Ain-i-Akbari* was edited by Hermann Blochmann in two volumes (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867–77) and also translated into English by Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868–94). Muhammad-Salih Kambo's *Amal-i-Salih* was edited by Ghulam-Yazdani and published in three volumes (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1912–39). Abdul-Hamid Lahawri's *Padshahnama* was edited by Kabir Al-Din Ahmad and Abd Al-Rahim for the Bibliotheca Indica in two volumes (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867–68). Inayat Khan's *Shahjahannama* has not been printed in Persian, but it was translated into English by Major A. R. Fuller and revised and edited by Wayne E. Begley and Z. A. Desai, *The Shah Jahan Nama of Inayat Khan. An Abridged History of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, Compiled by his Royal Librarian* (New Delhi, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). Sadiq Khan's *Shahjahannama* has never

Asaf Khan, and his daughter Mihrunnisa, who eventually married Jahangir and became Nurjahan.

Jahangir's Personality

Ruling over a vast empire in a time of relative peace and great prosperity, Jahangir enjoyed riches beyond even the wildest imagination. Jewel connoisseurship, hunting, and drinking were his passions, and although he took his ceremonial duties quite seriously, even when he was ill, he was able to leave much of the routine affairs of government—and all the fighting—to subordinates. Yet for all Jahangir's organizational ability and interest in his subjects, when one takes into consideration the amount of wine and opiates he consumed every day, one wonders whether he ever drew a completely sober breath. A conscientious ruler and meticulous administrator of his empire, Jahangir lacked his great-grandfather Babur's adventurousness and his keen psychological insight into his friends, foes, and other contemporaries. His life was not filled with adventure or excitement, and as far as we can tell, he was never anywhere near a battle after his enthronement. He did not have the breadth of vision of his father, Akbar, who, as he says, had created an empire that accommodated

> followers of various religions . . . in the broad scope of his peerless empire. . . . Just as all groups and the practitioners of all religions have a place within the spacious circle of God's mercy . . . , in my father's realm, which ended at the salty sea, there was room for practitioners of various sects and beliefs, both true and imperfect, and strife and altercation were not allowed. Sunni and Shiite worshiped in one mosque, and Frank and Jew in one congregation. Utter peaceableness was his established way. He conversed with the good of every group, every religion, and every sect and gave his attentions to each in accordance with their station and ability to understand (page 40).

Jahangir was, however, a keen observer of the world around him; had he lived in a different time he might have been a naturalist. His fondness for close observation of animals and the obvious affection in which he held them is brought out best in the sequence on the crane family he watched with such interest.[29] He loved having baby gazelles and mountain goats around and was highly amused by their antics (page 302). He was fascinated by orangutans and other exotic monkeys that travelers brought for him to view. Strange and unusual natural phenomena held great fascination for the medieval Islamic world in general, but Jahangir lived on the threshold of the modern world, in which such oddities did not have to be read about in books or shown by fantastic illustrations but could be physically transported from the far corners of the globe and exhibited to the emperor.

In this connection a word should be said about European presence in Jahangir's India, even though the "Franks"—the generic term by which all Western Europeans were known—are scarcely mentioned in the memoirs. Initial direct European contact with the subcontinent came in 1498 when, as we all learned in school, Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and was taken from Malindi in east Africa to Calicut on the Malabar coast by an Indian navigator. Having aggressively established themselves commercially and politically, the Portuguese were followed closely by the English and the Dutch, and by the end of the following century there were regular commercial ties between Europe and the subcontinent. In 1613 the English were granted imperial permission to establish trading posts—called "factories" at the time—

been printed. Muhammad-Kazim's *Alamgirnama* was edited by Khadim Husayn and Abd al-Hayy for the Bibliotheca Indica and printed in Calcutta, 1865–73. Musta'idd Khan's *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* was edited for the Bibliotheca Indica by Agha Ahmad Ali and printed in Agra in 1873. The first ten years were translated by Henry Vansittart, *The History of the First Ten Years of the Reign of Alemgeer*, and printed in Calcutta in 1785. All the above-mentioned works are originally in Persian, of course.

27. Partial editions of the *Iqbalnama* were made by Abd al-Hayy and Ahmad Ali for the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta 1865, vol. 3 only); Lucknow 1870 (vols. 1–3), and Lucknow 1890 (vol. 3 only). An Urdu translation was made by Muhammad Zakariya Ma'il (Karachi: Nafis Academy, 1963)

28. It is worth repeating here that the "Mughals" did not refer to themselves as Mughals at all. It is a misnomer picked up in the sixteenth century by Europeans, mainly the Portuguese, from a local usage, probably derogatory, and perpetuated ever thereafter From the common European appellation the word has even reentered Indian languages as mughli (as in the name of the young hero of Kipling's *Jungle Book*). "Mughal" comes from the same word that gives our "Mongol," and in Babur's time it referred not to actual Mongols from Mongolia but to the highly Mongolianized Turks of Moghulistan. It is true that Babur's mother was the daughter of the khan of Moghulistan, but Babur would have been dismayed had he known that his dynasty would be known by this name. It is, of course, far too late now even to contemplate changing our common name for

in Surat, Ahmadabad, and Cambay. In 1615 James I sent Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador to Jahangir, and he remained at court until 1618, but his presence was not sufficiently impressive to rate inclusion in the memoirs.[30] Indeed, Jahangir makes no more than cursory passing mention of the "Franks" as squabbling interlopers who merited little of his attention. The Jesuits also maintained an active presence at Jahangir's court, and a Jesuit "padre"—so labeled in Persian—is depicted in a Jahangir-period court painting.[31] Apparently the missionaries were so well treated that they allowed themselves to hope they might convert the emperor—but they are not mentioned at all in the memoirs.[32]

European art that reached the Mughal court is another story. Europeans were appreciated mainly for the oddities and rarities they brought, including works of European art, which was highly valued and profoundly influenced the technique and vocabulary of Mughal painting. Works of European art can be seen hung at court in some of the illustrations dating from Jahangir's and Shahjahan's periods.[33] Always curious about unusual animals, objects, places, and peoples, Jahangir comments on oddities brought by the Franks and others, like the pineapple (pages 24 and 206), a North American turkey (page 133), and a zebra from Africa (page 360).

Pragmatic and a firm believer in reason, Jahangir had not the slightest trace of gullibility. "This is so strange, it is recorded here," he is fond of commenting, or, "It does not accord with reason, and my mind does not accept it." Of course, he had his prejudices and blind spots too. Although he was religiously tolerant, his tolerance did not extend to religious chicanery of any stripe: he dealt summarily with a self-styled guru whose actions had displeased him (page 59), he drove a yogi away and had his idol smashed (page 153), and he imprisoned a famous Muslim divine who thought too highly of himself (page 304). At the same time, however, he was devoted to and believed implicitly in saints' tombs and the efficacy of holy men's prayers, particularly those he thought had brought about his birth. A child of his age, he also believed in astrology and was careful to give alms to ward off the inauspiciousness that could be occasioned by an infelicitous conjunction of planets (page 111). There are few instances in the memoirs of the sort of fickle "oriental despotism" popular imagination might have one expect, and the one occasion on which he had one of his grooms killed for a relatively minor offense (page 106) will strike the reader as astonishingly uncharacteristic, for another time, when his servants, terrified by a lion, knocked him down and ran right over him—"in the rush I was knocked back one or two paces. I know for certain that two or three of them stepped on my chest getting over me" (page 117)—his reaction was quite restrained. Although he was an avid hunter and took great pride in maintaining an accurate count of the vast numbers of animals he bagged,[34] he also extended his father's injunction against the slaughter of animals and encouragement of meatless days to two days a week and to a period of days equal to the number of his years at every birthday.

Jahangir was fond of "scientific" experiments of his own devising. He debunked the accepted reason for the mountain sheep's pugnacity (page 65); he tested the reported efficacy of bitumen for broken bones on a chicken and found that it had none (page 143f); he tested the relative salubrity of the air in Ahmadabad and Mahmudabad by hanging sheep carcasses in each city to see which carcass would putrefy sooner (page 274f); he took an active interest in animal husbandry and goat breeding (page 302); he determined the gestation periods for elephants with nearly correct results (page 160); and he examined a lion's and wolf's livers to see whether their gall bladders were inside or outside the liver as a measure of courage (pages 207 and 213).

the dynasty, but the reader should be aware that the "Mughals" referred to themselves as Timurids (see page 33, where Jahangir still dreams of recapturing Timurid ancestral lands from the Uzbeks in Central Asia), and in the rare instance in which they applied anything like an official name to their dynasty, they called themselves the *Silsila-i Gurkaniyya* "the Gurkanid Dynasty," a reference to Amir Temür's title of *gurkan*, from the Mongolian *güräg*ä*n* 'son-in-law,' a title dating back to the time of Genghis Khan and accorded all who married princesses of Genghisid blood, as did Amir Temür and Babur's father, Umar-Shaykh Mirza.

29. The pair, nicknamed Layli and Majnun after the famous lovers of Persian romance, mates on page 266; a nest is made and an egg is laid on page 269f; they hatch two chicks on page 274; the male's affection for the chicks is tested on page 277; they encounter another pair of cranes in the wild on page 279.

30. Sir Thomas Roe's experiences in India are recorded in *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615–1619*.

31. *Jahangir Receiving Prince Parvez at Court*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.654, reproduced on page 305 (opposite folio 218b).

32. For a contemporary Jesuit's account of his stay in India and his dealings with Jahangir, see Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*.

33. See Beach et al., *King of the World*, 95, figure 38, *Jahangir Receives Prince Khurram on his Return from the Mewar Campaign*, where several European paintings can be seen affixed to the wall above and behind the emperor.

As was virtually customary for Mughal emperors, Jahangir's reign began and ended with family trouble. His first clash with his own children was with his eldest son, Khusraw, whose rebellious actions had driven his Rajput mother to commit suicide (page 51). Twenty years later Jahangir was still having trouble with his offspring—this time with the son who had long been his favorite, Khurram, who was to succeed him as Shahjahan. Now, with Shahjahan in open rebellion and Jahangir old beyond his years and too worn out to rule, Jahangir's more than willing wife Nurjahan leapt into the breach and took over effective control of the empire together with her brother Asaf Khan. Unfortunately Nurjahan figures very little in the memoirs, a fact particularly regrettable since she and Asaf Khan wielded such enormous power during the last years of the reign, as had their father, I'timaduddawla, until his death in 1622. In an attempt to thwart Shahjahan and to ensure the succession of Prince Shahryar, Nurjahan concealed Jahangir's death on the return journey from Kashmir. The plan failed, however, and Shahjahan was enthroned in Agra on January 23, 1628, three months after Jahangir's death.

It is the playful but world-weary and tired Jahangir that was remembered in the subcontinent. The Venetian traveler Niccola Manucci records the following anecdote about Jahangir he picked up in India at least half a century after the emperor's death:

> One day he was passing through Lahor city when he saw a number of little children playing in the street. He descended from his elephant, sat himself down on the ground in their midst, and distributed sweets, flowers, clothes, gold and silver coin. After embracing and kissing them, he said tearfully: 'Better were it for me to die or to be a little one like you, not to be as I am to-day, with my conscience entangled in the affairs of this weary world.' At these words he took his departure with a salutation, the tears streaming from his eyes. From these and other like acts the people judged that this king feared God, and desired to live without causing harm to his vassals.[35]

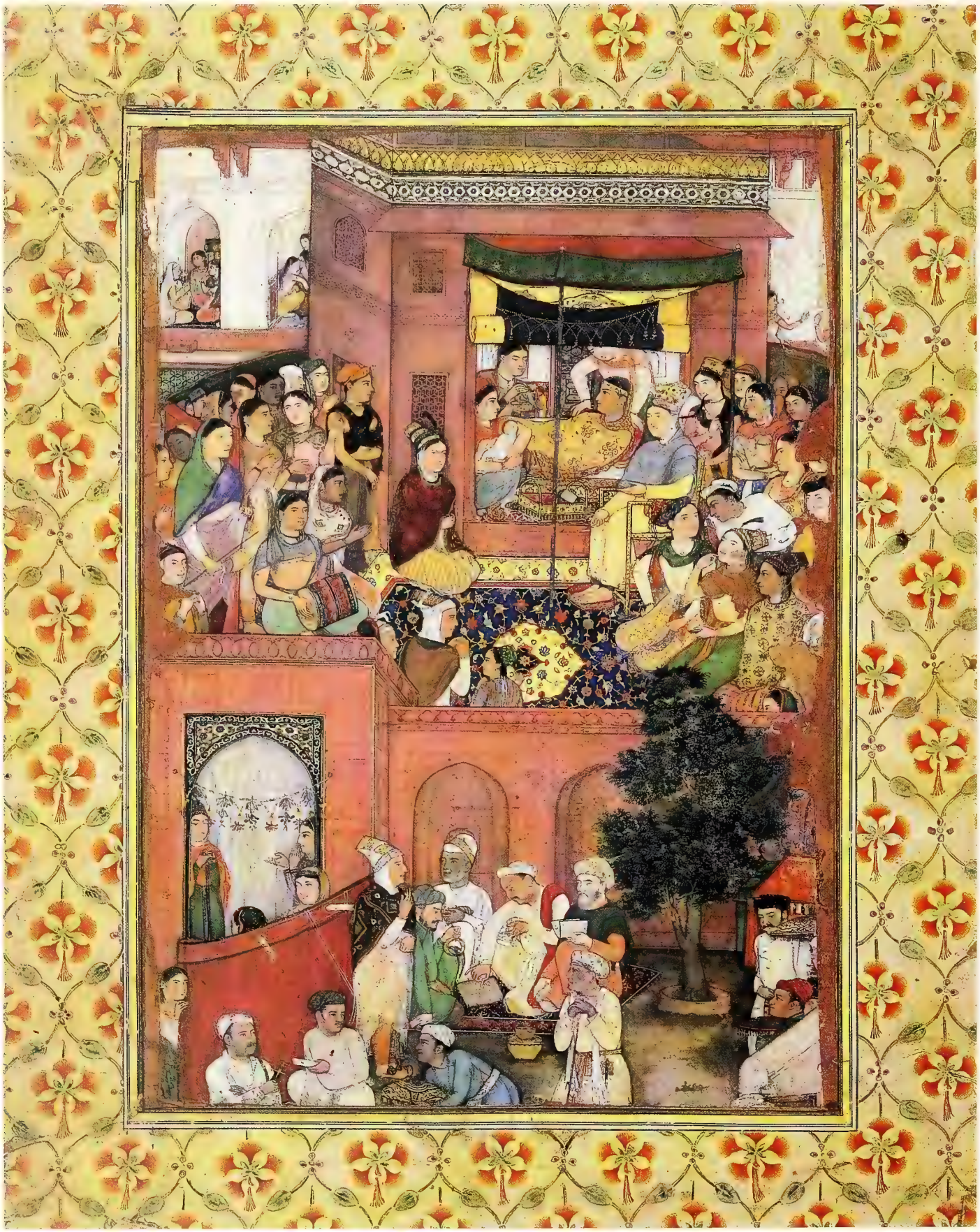
34. A word needs to be said concerning the confusion of lions and tigers that has crept into translations of Jahangir's memoirs. In Persian, lion is *sher* and tiger is *babr*; in modern Hindustani, the Persian word for lion, *sher*, means tiger (cf. Kipling's Sher Khan clearly a tiger), and lion is compounded of both words, *babr sher*. This unusual linguistic situation has led to confusion between the two cats in translation, but it is clear that in Jahangir's time *sher* still meant lion and not tiger. On folio 94b, Jahangir is speaking of lions, but it has been translated previously as tigers (Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans. Rogers, 240). In the episode on page 117f, in which Anup Rai was mauled by a lion—and for this we have several contemporary illustrations that clearly show a lion—the same confusion in terminology has turned the lion into a tiger (Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans. Rogers, 185–87). There is also confusion in terminology between leopards (*yuz*) and cheetahs (*chita*), and some instances of *yuz* in the memoirs may actually mean cheetah (as on page 144), or even panther, but for lack of evidence to the contrary I have maintained consistency in translating *yuz* as leopard and reserved cheetah for *chita*.

35. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* 4:95.

THE

JAHANGIRNAMA

Preface by Muhammad-Hadi



THE BIRTH OF A PRINCE, attributed to Bishan Das, India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 26.4 × 16.4 cm. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 14.657

Preface to *The Jahangirnama* by Muhammad-Hadi

Limitless praise and uncountable thanks are due to the one lord who has made the blessed being of a world-seizing clime-conqueror a cause for the repose of the people of the universe and a means for the regular continuation of the human species, for by putting into motion glistening sword and spark-shooting spear he engages the rebellious in battle and eliminates mighty and proud abominable infidels. Through his praiseworthy efforts and extraordinary endeavors and by shedding the obscene blood of corruptors with pitiless sword, the labor of rule obtains regularity and the situation of the religious law is grounded on a firm base—and thus the people of the world can rest during his peaceable time in beds of safety and security. And uncountable salutations and prayers be upon [the Prophet Muhammad], the Seal of the Prophets, the Lord of Apostles, whose peerless being was sent for propagating the firm religion, whose justice through the sword and punishment was unqualifiable, and who was free of contamination by desire or regret. And peace be continually with the rightly guided caliphs and the immaculate imams—may God's peace be with them all.

The inferior mind of this worthless indigent, Muhammad-Hadi, has been enamored of the science of history and the craft of biography from the time the breeze of youth began to blow until today, when he has traversed sixty stages of the years of his life. With an eye to learning examples he has pored over most books of history that contain records of the prophets and mighty rulers. His Majesty Jannat-Makani Jahangir Padishah, who was among the magnificent renowned rulers of the Timurid dynasty in Hindustan,[1] known for his majesty and grandeur, renowned for his punishment and justice, wrote in great detail an eighteen-year record of his reign.[2] When it came to the notice of this worthless one, since it was written plainly and without rhetorical embellishment, it was pleasing and likable. I copied it in my own bad handwriting. Then it occurred to my deficient mind that when those who wander thirsty-lipped in the desert of history arrive at this stopping place, they might not have the enjoyment of drinking deep from the limpid waters of prior stories and long to hear them. Therefore I made a compilation from several reliable manuscripts from near the beginning of the nineteenth year after the accession until the end of that mighty monarch's days.

Since His Majesty himself recorded from the date of his accession, this writer has also written an account from his birth until the day of his accession to the throne; it is added to the original manuscript in order to complete the book.[3] Our help cometh from the Lord.

1. "Hindustan" and "Hind" were the vague terms used in Persian for the northern part of the Indian subcontinent. "Hind" will be translated as "India"; "Hindustan" will be left as such. The two terms are used synonymously.

2. Jahangir reigned from 1605 until his death in 1627. He ceased writing the memoirs himself on account of illness in 1622 (at folio 286a) but continued them in collaboration with his secretary, Mu'tamad Khan, until 1624, when they break off abruptly without explanation.

3. In the Tehran edition of the Persian text, Muhammad-Hadi's preface and continuation are appended to the text. We have placed the preface in its proper place before the memoirs, and the continuation follows from the point at which the memoirs break off at p. 419.

❁ *The names of His Majesty Jannat-Makani [Jahangir]'s ancestors*

The names and titles of His Majesty Jannat-Makani's venerable forefathers are as follows.[4] He was Abu'l-Muzaffar Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir, son of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar, son of Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun, son of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, son of Umar-Shaykh, son of Sultan-Abusa'id, son of Sultan-Muhammad, son of Miranshah, son of Qutbuddin Sahib-Qiran Amir Temür Kürägän.

4. For the posthumous titles of the Mughal emperors, see the translator's preface, p. xiii.

❁ *His Majesty Jannat-Makani [Jahangir]'s Birth*

Because His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] was always always asking the divine court of the world-creator for a son worthy of the crown and throne for the continuance of the state and dynasty and had made the blessed thoughts of those near the divine court a means for this desire, he was waiting for the rising of a world-illuminating star until some of those who stand at the foot of the caliphal throne reported that a dervish named Shaykh Salim [Chishti], superior in external and internal purity to the God-worshipers of this region and renowned for the ability to have his prayers answered, and whose spiritual lineage went back in the seventh degree to Shaykh Farid Shakarganj,[5] lived in the town of Sikri, twelve *kos* from the capital Akbarabad [Agra].[6] If His Majesty [Akbar]'s wish were divulged to him, there was hope that it would be granted through his prayers.

5. Shaykh Fariduddin Mas'ud Shakarganj (1173–1265), also known as Ganjishakar, was a disciple of the renowned Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtyar Khaki. He settled in Multan, where his tomb is still venerated.

6. The *kos* is approximately four kilometers, or two and a half miles. For it and other measurements of distance, see the appendix on weights and measures.

Consequently His Majesty went to the shaykh's house and told him his secret in true humility and sincere belief, and the shaykh gave him the good news of the rising of a star in the constellation of the caliphate.

"I have made a vow to place the child in your protective lap," Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] said. "Perhaps through your physical and spiritual assistance he will attain greatness of fortune and the fortune of greatness."

"May he be auspicious," the shaykh said in acceptance. "We give our own name to this new sapling of fortune and auspiciousness."

Because there had been true intention and firmness of belief, in a short while the tree of hope bore fruit. When it came time for delivery, His Majesty Shah Jannat-Makani [Jahangir]'s venerable mother was sent in perfect belief and sincerity to the shaykh's house, and in that felicitous place on Wednesday the seventeenth of Rabi' I A.H. 977 [August 30, 1569],[7] with Libra in the ascendant, in the village of Fatehpur in the house of Shaykh Salim, the sun of the heaven of glory rose. The good news was heard by His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] in the capital at Akbarabad, and a splendid celebration and huge banquet was given. At hearing this good news heaps and heaps of gold were scattered, and to render thanks for this gift, an order was given for the release of all prisoners held in fortresses and citadels. For the well-being of this offspring of the family of the caliphate and world rule, he was given the name Sultan Salim.[8]

7. Islamic dates of the Hegira that occur in the text will be converted into Julian equivalents in brackets. For the various dating systems used by the Mughals, see translator's preface, p. xiii.

8. Jahangir was named for Shaykh Salim (*salim* means "safe, healthy" and accords with the "well-being" mentioned above). The "Sultan" part of his name is a princely title accorded all princes of the blood.

Although the literati and poets produced rare and marvelous conceits as chronograms for the felicitous birth and composed brilliant odes, among them "the kingly pearl from Akbar's sea,"[9] and another "pearl of Akbar Shah's gem casket,"[10] however, Khwaja Husayn Haravi with his great poetic talent and keen intellect composed an ode that can be considered a tour de force of poets. The first hemistich of every line yields the date of His Majesty [Akbar]'s accession, and the second hemistich yields the date of His Imperial Majesty [Jahangir]'s birth,[11] and not only did he accomplish these two difficult tasks but he bedecked them with colorful meanings and fresh expressions. The following few lines are from the ode he composed. "Praise God,

9. The chronogram *durr-i shahwar-i lajja-i Akbar* yields 977 (1569).

10. The chronogram *gawhar-i durj-i Akbarshahi* yields 977 (1569).

from the prince's might and majesty a pearl of glory from the ocean of justice came to the shore. . . ."[12]

His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] Goes on Foot to Ajmer on Pilgrimage to Render Thanks for the Birth of his Son

When his wish had been granted, Arsh-Ashyani set forth on foot from Akbarabad in gratitude on the twelfth of Sha'ban of that year [January 20, 1570] on a pilgrimage to the blessed shrine of Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti Sijzi in Ajmer,[13] traversing a distance of twelve kos. On the seventeenth [January 25] he entered the shrine, rubbing his forehead on the threshold in observance of the rituals of visitation and veneration and distributing alms in charity.

The Birthplace and Lineage of His Holiness Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti Sijzi

Now a summary account of the praiseworthy qualities of the great *khwaja* will be given.

His birthplace was in Seistan, for which reason he is called Sijzi, the Arabicized version of Sagzi.[14] When the khwaja was twelve, his father, Khwaja Hasan, passed away, and he became attached to Shaykh Ibrahim, a distracted wandering mendicant dervish. Having severed external attachments, he went to Samarkand and Bukhara, where he spent some time acquiring formal learning. From there he went to Khurasan, in which territory he grew to maturity. In Harun, a dependency of Nishapur, he attained the felicity of companionship with Shaykh Usman Haruni, and for twenty years he practiced asceticism under his guidance. At the shaykh's suggestion he made journeys and met many great masters like Shaykh Najmuddin Kubra and other great shaykhs and saints.[15]

By two removes the khwaja's lineage reaches Shaykh Mawdud Chishti, and at eight removes Shaykh Ibrahim Adham. With his master's permission he came to India before the coming of Sultan Mu'izzuddin Sam in the vicinity of Rai Pathu and stayed in Ajmer. In the month of Rajab 622 [July, 1225] in the mosque of Imam Abu'l-Layth Samarqandi in Baghdad, Khwaja Qutbuddin Oshi became a disciple of Khwaja Mu'inuddin in the presence of Shaykh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi and Shaykh Awhaduddin Kirmani. Shaykh Farid Shakarganj, who was laid to rest in Patan in the Punjab, was a disciple of Khwaja Qutbuddin Oshi; and Shaykh Nizamuddin Awliya, Amir Khusraw's master, was a disciple of Shaykh Farid Shakarganj; and so the lineage of the Chishtiyya goes back to the khwaja.[16]

In short, His Majesty [Akbar]'s reins were then turned back in the direction of Delhi to visit the shrines of the saints in thanks for this great gift. The imperial retinue arrived in Ramadan of that year [February 1570], and he also visited the blessed tomb of Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun]. Then he headed for the capital, arriving in the capital at Akbarabad on the sixth of Dhu'l-Qa'da [April 12, 1570].

Since Jahangir's birth had taken place in Sikri, His Majesty considered that village auspicious for himself and began to build there.

The Building of a Great City in Fatehpur, and the Gathering of Many People from Near and Far

During the middle of the month of Rabi' I 979 [August 1571], an imperial decree was made for the foundation of a lofty fortress and delightful buildings to be raised.

11. Every line (*bayt*) of Persian poetry is divided into two metrically equal hemistichs usually divided by a caesura. A chronogram is achieved when the numerical values of the letters contained in a hemistich, or in part thereof, yield a sum equal to the year.

12. Fifteen following lines of poetry omitted from translation.

13. Khwaja Mu'inuddin Hasan Chishti (ca. 1141–1236), founder of the Chishtiyya order, is buried at Ajmer.

14. Seistan, or Sistan, the older Sagistan (Arabicized as Sijistan), lies in the south west of modern Afghanistan and the south east of modern Iran. It was formerly a flourishing, desirable agricultural area. The attributive adjective in Persian is Sagzi; the Arabic attributive is Sijzi.

15. Najmuddin Kubra (1145–1221) was the eponymous founder of the Kubrawiyya order of dervishes.

16. Muhammad-Hadi here gives a brief summary of the masters of the Chishti order in India.

All the great amirs and members of the retinue built houses in accordance with their ranks and stations, and in a short time a magnificent city had come into being, with mosques, schools, and other charitable institutions, and with very elaborate shops and markets, all of carved red stone. All sorts of pleasure gardens added to the delight of the place, and it was named Fatehpur. After the emperor took up residence there, great conquests were made. During the same year His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] held His Highness [Jahangir]'s circumcision festival, and on Thursday the twenty-fifth of Jumada II [November 14, 1571] the royal child was dressed for the celebration.

When he attained the age of four years, four months, and four days, in accordance with the custom of ancient wise men and astrologers, at an auspicious hour, i.e., Thursday the twenty-second of Rajab 981 [November 17, 1573], he was sent to school amidst great celebration, and instruction of the prince was given by the great educator Mawlana Mir Kalan Haravi. Then the office of tutor to the prince was given to Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan, and when he was assigned to the frontier, Mirza Khankhanan was given the exalted post.[17]

17. "Mirza Khankhanan" is Abdul-Rahim (1556–1626), son of Bayram Khan. His various titles include Khankhanan (khan of khans) and Sipahsalar (commanding general of the army), and he appears in the memoirs under a variety of his names and titles, mostly as "the Khankhanan."

❁ *The Rank of 10,000/10,000 is Awarded to the Renowned Prince*

In the year 985 [1577–78] he was awarded the rank of 10,000/10,000,[18] and the imperial tongue was heard to say, "In view of his greatly satisfactory performance, good conduct, wakefulness of heart, and tolerance, the hosts of heaven are attached to that sapling of the state."

18. For an explanation of the dual ranking system, see translator's preface, p. xx.

❁ *The Daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das, the* Zamindar *of Amber,*[19] *is Married to His Highness Jahangir*

When the prince reached the age of fifteen, the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das, one of the mighty amirs of the state, one of the rajas renowned for his might and magnificence, was affianced to His Highness. The Hall of Public and Private Audience was decorated, and a regal celebration was held. On the fifth of Isfandarmudh 992 [February 13, 1584], the date chosen by the astrologers of the age, His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani honored the raja's house and had the chaste lady married to the unique pearl of the caliphate and sultanate. The raja presented gifts and offerings and held a banquet in proportion to the connection that did honor to his ancestors and progeny. All of the lofty princes and royal ladies were entertained, and the office-holders, soldiers, and menials were honored with robes of honor.

19. *Zamindar* is a quasi-autonomous local ruler. Zamindars can be Muslim or Hindu, and they may bear any sort of hereditary title.

❁ *The Renowned Prince Marries the Daughter of Raja Udai Singh, Son of Mal Deo, the Raja of Marwar*

In 994 [1586], at an auspicious hour, His Majesty [Jahangir] was affianced to the daughter of Raja Udai Singh, whose nobility, status, army, and power were superior to all the rajas of India. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] went with the ladies of the harem to the raja's house for the marriage and celebration. Raja Udai Singh was the son of Raja Mal Deo, who was one of the major rajas of puissance, and whose army numbered eighty thousand horsemen. Although Rana Sanga, who battled with His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur], was equal to Rao Mal Deo in terms of fortune and magnificence, in terms of extent of territory and number of soldiers Rao Mal Deo was superior, for his army did battle repeatedly with Rana Sanga, and they were victorious in every encounter.

❁ *The Birth of Sultanunnisa Begam and Sultan Khusraw by Raja Bhagwan Das's Daughter*

In this same year a girl was born to Raja Bhagwan Das's daughter, and she was named Sultanunnisa Begam.[20]

On the twenty-fourth of Amurdad 995 [ca. August 3, 1587], also to Raja Bhagwan Das's daughter, a son was born, and His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] named him Sultan Khusraw.[21]

❁ *Sultan Parvez is Born to the Daughter of Khwaja Hasan, the Uncle of Zayn Khan*

On the nineteenth of Aban 997 [ca. October 31, 1589], another son was born to the daughter of Khwaja Hasan, the uncle of Zayn Khan, and he was named Sultan Parvez.

❁ *Babar Banu Begam is Born to Raja Keshav Das's Daughter*

On the twenty-third of Shahrivar 998 [ca. September 4, 1590], a girl was born to Raja Keshav Das's daughter, and she was named Babar Banu Begam.

❁ *Prince Khurram, His Majesty Shahjahan, is Born to Raja Udai Singh Rathor's Daughter*

On the last day of Rabi' I 1000 [January 5, 1592], after the elapse of five hours and twelve minutes of the eve of Thursday, which was known as *mubarakshamba* during the Jahangirid era,[22] with Libra in the ascendant by the reckoning of Persian astrologers, or Virgo by the reckoning of Indian astrologers, the "star of the constellation of the caliphate" was born in Lahore to the daughter of Raja Udai Singh.[23] The date of his regal birth carries with it such glad tidings, for during this month took place the blessed birth of the Prophet. It is also a sign of auspiciousness and divine guidance that at the beginning of every millennium a world ruler should come into existence to eradicate rebellion and ignorance from the world, just as the rising of this star had been predicted 565 years prior to this by Afzaluddin Hakim Khaqani when he composed this quatrain: "They say that every thousand years there comes into the world one who is privy to the people of perfection. / One came before this, but we had not yet been born; one will come after this, but we will have sunk into grief."

On the third day after his birth His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani went to the palace to feast his eyes upon his world-adorning beauty, and such a celebration was held that the eyes of the world were dazzled. Since his auspicious advent delighted his exalted grandfather so, he named him Sultan Khurram by divine inspiration.[24]

❁ *Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz-Jang*

Among the events of these days was the arrival of Khwaja Abdullah at the Jahangirid court.[25] The khwaja's ancestors were great sayyids, and his great-great-grandfather was the renowned ecstatic Amir Sayyid Ashiq, who is mentioned in *Habibu's-siyar* and the *Rashahat*.[26] The khwaja's mother was a sister of the Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi who was married to Bakhtunnisa Begam,[27] His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar]'s sister. The khwaja came from Hissar with his two brothers, Khwaja Yadgar and Khwaja Barkhordar, in the year 1002 [1593–94] and joined the retinue of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, who awarded each of them a rank in accordance with his station and appointed them to the Deccan. Since they were related to Sher Khwaja, it

20. She was born on the sixteenth of Urdibihisht 994 (circa April 25, 1586). See Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama* 3:746. Her name occurs variously as Sultanunnisa and Sultan-Nisar. The title *begam* (madam), more familiar in English as "begum," occurs in earlier Mughal texts in its Chaghatay Turkish guise as *begim* and later in its Persianized form as *begam*. The anglicized "begum" (stressed on the first syllable) reproduces the Indian pronunciation of begam fairly closely.

21. For auspiciousness, the monarch gave names to princes and princesses of the ruling house.

22. Jahangir renamed Thursday *mubarakshamba* "blessed day." See page 224. The "eve of Thursday" is what we would call Wednesday night. The Islamic "day" begins at sundown. See translator's preface.

23. Prince Khurram, the future Shahjahan (1592–1666), succeeded his father and reigned from 1627 to 1659. His mother, here respectfully referred to simply as Raja Udai Singh's daughter, was named Jagat Gosain (see below, page 30) and is also sometimes called Jodhbai.

24. "Khurram" means "felicitous" and "auspicious."

25. Khwaja Abdullah (d. 1644) was granted the khan title by Akbar (see below, page 9); he was awarded the title Firoz-Jang (victorious in battle) by Jahangir (see page 101). He appears throughout the memoirs in a variety of his names and titles, but he is referred to primarily as Abdullah Khan.

was ordered that they should accompany him on imperial service. The nobles did go to the Deccan, and everywhere they fought a battle or saw action they showed their mettle in bravery and self-sacrifice. Since the falcon of his ambition was high-flying and his thoughts were on advancement to lofty position, he went to the Jahangirid court and joined his service in the year 1003 [1594–95]. Little by little he advanced through His Majesty's appreciation and valuation of his services.

❁

When, in the year 1007 [1598], it was clear from his subjects' reports that the conquest of the Deccan would not be accomplished without the personal attendance of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, at an hour chosen by the astrologers on the sixth of Mihr [ca. September 17, 1598], he set out himself in that direction.

❁ *His Highness is Dispatched to Deal with the Rana,[28] Accompanied by Raja Man Singh and Other Amirs*

The province of Ajmer was given in fief to His Highness Jahangir for luck,[29] and Raja Man Singh,[30] Shah-Quli Khan Mahram, and many other amirs assigned to attend the prince were given permission to depart at this auspicious hour to eradicate the Rana's malfeasance. The purpose in separating was that when the imperial retinue set out for a far-away territory, the throne of the caliphate would not be vacant of the heir-apparent prince and the areas belonging to the Rana would be trampled by the imperial forces. Although Raja Man Singh was assigned to Jahangir's service, at Jahangir's request Bengal was left in fief to him [i.e. Raja Man Singh] as before, and the raja pledged that he would accompany his royal highness while his sons and appointees took care of Bengal. He assigned Jagat Singh, his eldest son, to protect that land, but shortly afterwards Jagat Singh passed away, and the raja put Jagat Singh's son Maha Singh in his stead and sent him off to rule Bengal.

When the princely tents were pitched at Ajmer, troops and battalions were assigned to go out to meet the Rana, and after a while he himself progressed, while touring and hunting, as far as Udaipur. The wrong-headed Rana came out of the mountains and raided several places, but when the warriors of the imperial army went in pursuit of him, he raced back into the hills. His territory was devastated by the imperial army, many infidels bit the dust of annihilation on the battlefield, and their women and children were taken captive. At this point news arrived of commotion in Bengal and the defeat of Maha Singh.

❁ *The Death of Sultan Parvez's Mother*

On the fifteenth of Tir in the above-mentioned year [circa June 25, 1599], Sultan Parvez's mother passed away, casting the ladies of the harem into deep grief.

❁

Ambitious flatterers were reporting time and again that His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] was occupied with the subjugation of the Deccan, and for him to return from that expedition without having made a conquest was unthinkable. If then His Highness [Jahangir] turned back and took the parganas on that side of the river at Akbarabad, which are renowned for their flourishing state and crops, it would not be a step in the wrong direction to honor and glory. Also, because it was impossible for the turmoil that had recently erupted in Bengal to be quelled without Raja Man Singh, the

26. Sayyid Ashiq, a contemporary of Mirza Ulughbeg (1393–1449), is mentioned in Khwandamir's universal history, *Habibu's-siyar*, 4:35f. The *Rashahat* is *Rashahat-i 'aynu'l-hayat*, a biography of Khwaja Ubaydullah (Khwaja Ahrar) and other Naqshbandi saints by Ali Safi, son of Husayn Wa'iz Kashifi, that was completed in 1503.

27. Reading Bakhtunnisa for the text's scribal error "Najibunnisa," which also occurs in Shahnawaz Khan Awrangabadi, *Ma'athir al-umara*, 2:977. Her death is reported on page 94, and she is mentioned in Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 3:518 and 3:713 and in Gulbadan Begam, *History of Humayun*, 186, where an explanation of the name Bakhtunnisa is given.

28. "The Rana," also often called "the damn Rana," is Rana Amar Singh of Mewar (d. 1620), a long-term enemy of the Mughals who was finally forced into submission by Prince Khurram's forces in 1614 (see below, page 165).

29. The luck that was to attend the assignment of Ajmer would have come from the shrine of Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti there.

30. Raja Man Singh of Amber (d. 1614), one of Akbar's great Rajput generals.

raja thought it best to turn back and so insisted upon it that there was nothing to do but leave the Rana affair unfinished and return to Akbarabad. Qilich Khan, to whom the protection of the fortress [of Akbarabad] had been entrusted, came out and paid homage. Some of the fomenters of strife who were after Bengal insisted that if Qilich Khan were captured, it would be quite easy to take the Akbarabad fortress, which was brimming with stores and treasures. Since the opposition could still be placated, His Highness, not listening to the words of those who saw only externals, gave the khan an order to go back to the fortress while His Highness crossed the river and headed for Allahabad.

Maryam-Makani, His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's mother, was in the Akbarabad fortress. Seating herself in glory in a howdah, she set out to prevent her [grand]son from proceeding. His Highness, learning of this, got into a boat before Maryam-Makani arrived and hastened as fast as possible toward his destination. Maryam-Makani returned to the fortress in distress.

On the first of Safar 1009 [August 12, 1600] the princely banners descended into Akbarabad. Having taken most of the places on the other side of the river at Akbarabad, he [Jahangir] gave them as jagirs to his liege men.[31] The province of Bihar was given to Shaykh Khubu, entitled Qutbuddin Khan Kükältash,[32] and the sarkar of Jaunpur was given to Lala Beg. The sarkar of Kalpi he gave to Bim Bahadur. These men were ordered to go to their estates, and from Rai Khansur the divan they received thirty lacs of rupees from the treasury, income from royal estates in Bihar.

31. For the term *jagir*, see the translator's preface, page xx.

32. Qutbuddin Khan is variously entitled Kükältash and Koka, both of which refer to the institution of "milk brothers," or those who were suckled by the same wet nurse. Because Jahangir was suckled by Qutbuddin Khan's mother, Qutbuddin was *kükältash*, or *koka*, to Jahangir and was so entitled.

❁ *Muhammad-Sharif Arrives from His Majesty, and That Faithless One Influences the Exalted Prince's Frame of Mind*

When these events were repeatedly reported to His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, out of great patience and forgiveness and on account of the attachment he had to the successor to the caliphate, he did not budge. He sent a servant who was in his presence and who was very loyal, Sharif by name, the son of Abdul-Samad Shirin-Qalam, with a gracious order comprising good advice and a summons to his presence. When the order arrived, the prince executed the forms of greeting and showed proper respect. He wanted to go to pay homage; however, out of farsightedness, he put his wish into abeyance, held Sharif, and refused to give him leave to return. Sharif's flattery took root in the prince's constitution, and in a short while he became his agent.

His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, considering it more urgent to put down sedition in his own house, gave up the idea of conquering the Deccan, which had almost been accomplished, and on the fifteenth of Urdibihisht 1009 [ca. April 24, 1601] he turned the administration of that land over to the experienced warrior Khankhanan Sipahsalar and to the management of Allami Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl and turned back for the capital at Akbarabad. On the twentieth of Amurdad of that year [ca. July 31, 1601] he arrived there. During these days the prince gave Khwaja Abdullah the title of Abdullah Khan.

❁ *His Royal Highness Goes from Allahabad toward Akbarabad but Turns Back in Order to Avoid Contention and Strife*

During the year 1010 [1601–2], when Arsh-Ashyani's sky-scraping banners were in Agra, His Highness Jahangir set out for the capital with 30,010 battle-ready horsemen and renowned elephants. Although outwardly it was his intention to meet with his glorious father, inwardly he had another thought in his mind—to expand his rule and territory. When the news of the progress of such a glorious entourage reached the hearing of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, the joy and happiness he had

entertained over the arrival of his beloved son turned to distraction and confusion. Several amirs who had conveyed the prince's defiant statements to the hearing of His Majesty imagined the worst—particularly Ja'far Beg Asaf Khan, who held the post of divan—and almost dropped dead on the spot in fear of repercussions for their loose tongues. When the prince's entourage stopped in the town of Etawah, which was the above-mentioned khan's jagir, he sent a valuable ruby with one of his trusted men as a gift.

At this point an imperial letter was issued saying, "My dear son's coming with a huge army and mountainous elephants has led my loving mind into a different thought. My son's coming to his father's house with such splendor and entourage has not been customary since my true son has taken command. If it was his intention to display his forces and parade his soldiers, that has been done. Now let him dismiss his men to their estates and come unencumbered to me. If any fear remains, or if he has any lingering doubt, let him turn back to Allahabad, and when fear and trepidation have been cleared from my son's mind let him come to pay homage."

When the emperor's letter reached His Highness, he became perplexed and worried. Stopping in Etawah, he wrote a sincere letter and dispatched it to the throne. The contents were as follows: "This son, having girded his loins with the pilgrim's garb in great yearning and longing for the object of his devotion, wanted to attain the felicity of kissing your threshold as soon as possible, but a command has come to Etawah saying not to proceed in audacity and return to Allahabad. How amazing it is that this supplicant's sincerity has not made an impression on His Majesty's mind, while a handful of seditious men have made my lord in this world suspicious of me and deprived me of the happiness of serving you for a few days. It is hoped that my inner truthfulness will be reflected in the mirror of your prescient mind."

His Highness Turns Back from Etawah toward Allahabad

After remaining in Etawah for a few days he had the drums of retreat beaten in the direction of Allahabad. Simultaneously His Majesty [Akbar] said that inasmuch as the provinces of Bengal and Orissa had been given as a jagir to his son, he should send his men there to take care of them. His Highness [Jahangir], thinking it not the most politic thing to do at the time to send his army there, made satisfactory excuses. When he stopped in the town of Allahabad, he adopted the panoply of royalty and regality and gave the liege men of his court the titles of khan and sultan.[33]

33. For the titles khan and sultan, see the glossary.

The Murder of Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl

One of the incidents that occurred during these days was the murder of Allami Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl. In addition to being a *shaykhzada* of Hindustan,[34] he was highly intelligent and clever, and in the etiquette and manners of serving kings he had no equal. In short, when the signs of uncooperativeness appeared in His Highness's conduct, and all the servants of Arsh-Ashyani's court foresightedly took the part of the monarch, inasmuch as His Majesty knew the shaykh to be undissembling with him and straightforward with the prince, an order was issued for the shaykh to leave his army and retinue with his son Shaykh Abdul-Rahman in the Deccan and proceed as quickly as possible to court.

34. The term *shaykhzada* refers to the offspring of recognized shaykhs, and *shaykhzada*s also bear the title Shaykh. Abu'l-Fazl was the son of Shaykh Mubarak of Nagor, hence his appellation as *shaykhzada*.

When the news of Abu'l-Fazl's summons reached His Highness, he knew for certain that if the shaykh reached His Majesty, he would engage in mischief, and as long as the shaykh was involved it would not be possible for him to go to the emperor's court. In such a case it was necessary to deal with the eventuality before it took place.

He quite astutely therefore assigned Raja Bir Singh Deo, who was superior to his peers in forces and bravery and whose territory lay along the shaykh's path, to reduce the shaykh to naught. Accepting willingly, the raja sat waiting in ambush. When the shaykh reached Saray-i-Bir, ten kos from Gwalior, the raja and his many cavalry and foot soldiers surrounded the shaykh and the few servants he had with him. Although he could have fled, the shaykh considered it shameful to run away and gave himself over to death. The raja sent his head to Allahabad. Although Arsh-Ashyani was sorely distressed by the murder of the shaykh, through this act His Highness's bravery and manliness were noticed, and it resulted in his going to pay homage at his father's court and their ceasing little by little to be on bad terms, as will be reported in the proper place.

❁ *Salima-Sultan Begam Is Sent to Reconcile and Placate His Highness and Bring Him from Allahabad*

When the prince went into withdrawal after the incident of Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl, His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani sent the lady Salima-Sultan Begam to him to appease him with imperial condolences, get him out of his seclusion, and bring him to pay homage.[35] An elephant named Fath-i-Lashkar [victory of the army] and a royal horse were awarded the prince and sent with the begam. When she arrived within two stages of Allahabad,[36] His Highness [Jahangir] went out to greet her, meeting her with the greatest of respect, humbling himself immeasurably before His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's representative, and returning to the city with the begam in great pomp. When she had promised the prince all sorts of imperial favors and removed all traces of apprehension from his mind, His Highness accompanied the lady to court.

When they reached the vicinity of the capital at Akbarabad, he wrote a letter of sincerity and sent it to the emperor with Khwaja Dost-Muhammad. The contents were as follows: "That veritable lord has drawn a line of forgiveness through the offenses of this slave. It is hoped that Her Majesty Maryam-Makani will be asked to be so kind as to arrange for this supplicant to pay homage so that apprehensions may be eliminated from the mind of this devoted servant. Also please have the astrologers choose an hour for me to make obeisance."

After the arrival of this letter, His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani hastened to his mother's palace and conveyed the prince's request to her. After his request was accepted, a letter containing the good news of Maryam-Makani's acceptance was penned, and on it was written the following quatrain by Ja'far Beg Asaf Khan: "You who have sought an hour from us as usual, / What need is there for a time in which to achieve union? / By union the hour acquires felicity. / Why make an hour a pretext? The time is now." Entrusting this conciliatory reply to Khwaja Dost-Muhammad, the emperor gave him leave to withdraw. Upon the arrival of this missive, His Highness came with all speed to the vicinity of the capital, and Her Majesty Maryam-Makani went out one stage to escort the "pearl of the imperial crown" to her own quarters, where a "conjunction of the two auspicious stars" took place.

❁ *His Highness Pays Homage*

As His Highness lowered his head to the foot of his lord in supplication, his lucky star rose high. His longing eye brightened by the world-adorning beauty of his felicitous son, His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani took him into his palace and had the drums of rejoicing sounded so that they reached the ears of all, near and far. His Highness presented twelve thousand mohurs as a vow and 977 male and female elephants as an offering.[37]

35. Salima-Sultan Begam was the daughter of Babur's daughter Gulrukh Begam. She was married first to Bayram Khan, Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's father, who served as Akbar's regent during his minority, and after his death Akbar married her. She died in 1613. See page 140

36. A "stage" (*manzil*) is the distance a caravan or heavily laden troops can cover in one day.

37. The mohur (*muhr*) was the Mughal gold coin. The vow (*nazr*) and the offering (*peshkash*) did not differ substantially; both were gifts of cash that were donated to charity, but the vow had a specific intention attached to it.

Of them, 354 elephants were accepted, and the rest were given back. Two days later he was given a renowned elephant named Paun, which had come as booty from the victory in the Deccan and was without equal among the imperial elephants for swiftness of gait and ease of handling. His Majesty also removed the turban he was wearing and placed it on His Highness's head and gave him the good news that he was heir apparent to the throne.

When His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani was leaving for the Deccan he had given His Highness leave to depart to attack the "damn Rana," but, in consequence of the affair that has already been reported, His Highness left the expedition unfinished and went to Allahabad.

❁ *His Highness Is Given Leave to Depart with a Group of Amirs to Attack the Rana*

Now Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] decided that since the Rana affair had previously been assigned to his son, it would be appropriate for him to finish it. Consequently during the Dasehra festival,[38] the "pearl of the crown of the sultanate" had his banners raised at his father's command to proceed in that direction, and a group of amirs whose names will be recorded were shown princely favor and assigned to the prince's retinue. They were Jagannath Rai, Rai Singh, Madho Singh, Rai Durga, Rai Bhoj, Hashim Khan, Qara Beg Khan, Iftikhar Beg, Raja Bikramajit, Mota Raja's sons Sak Singh and Dalpat, Khwaja Hisari, Raja Salbahan, Mirza Yusuf Khan's son Lashkari, Asaf Khan's brother Shah-Quli Khan, and Shah Beg Kulani.

38. Dasehra, a festival held in October: "this holiday, taking place after the close of the wet season, became a great military festival, and the period when military expeditions were entered upon" (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 333).

When camp was made in Fatehpur, a halt was made for several days in order to see to the necessary provisions. A war chest and army that would suffice for this difficult task were requested, but the treasurers came up with unwarranted refusals. There was nothing His Highness could do but petition the emperor, saying, "I consider His Majesty's command to be equal to a divine decree, and I have set my heart upon this labor with the greatest of yearning. However, those who are charged with administration will not provision this expedition in a manner that will ensure success. What is the sense of making oneself unprepared and wasting time? It will have repeatedly been made known to His Majesty that the Rana is not coming out of the hills, and every day he takes refuge in his bastion and avoids fighting insofar as possible. The only way to deal with him is to have imperial troops come in from every direction and surround the hills. It is thus necessary to have enough troops so that when they encounter that damned one they will be able to perform well. If your advisers think another method would be better, inasmuch as my men are in a very bad state, let it be ordered that this supplicant illuminate his forehead with the felicity of sincere prostration and retire to his estates, where he can make provisions suitable for this expedition and reduce the foe to naught with ample forces."

After His Highness's letter reached the emperor's hearing, he [Akbar] sent his sister Bakhtunnisa[39] Begam to the prince with a message saying, "Although my son departed at an auspicious hour, the astrologers do not now recommend an encounter on account of a conjunction that will soon occur, so you should go to Allahabad and then come to me whenever you like."

39. See note 27 above.

❁ *His Highness Turns from Fatehpur to Allahabad*

Upon the receipt of this message, His Highness decamped from Fatehpur, crossed the Jumna near Mathura, and headed for Allahabad. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani sent a black fox fur and a white fox fur with Rup Khawass for His Highness, for which he wrote a letter of thanks that included this line: "If every hair on my body were

to become a tongue, I still would not be able to express one of a thousand thanks due you."

The Death of Khusraw's Mother

After His Highness had spent a few happy days in Allahabad, Sultan Khusraw's mother passed away. The details of this event are as follows. At this period a confusion of mind afflicted the lady, and her constitution was overwhelmed by melancholy. The misguided Khusraw's constant complaints of His Highness to Arsh-Ashyani added to her woes. One day, when His Highness had gone hunting, she stole away from her maids, ate opium, and died. Because she was the chief wife in the royal harem, and His Highness was very fond of and attached to her, he was extremely saddened by this event and went into mourning, the calamity weighing very heavy on his heart. When His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani heard of the tragedy and the prince's distraction, he offered his condolences in perfect love and sympathy.

Abdullah Khan Goes to Arsh-Ashyani's Court

One event that took place at this time was the coming of Abdullah Khan to His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's court. When Sharif Khan became the prince's agent, he could not get along with Abdullah Khan and complained constantly of him to the prince. There was nothing the khan could do but turn hopefully to the emperor's court along with Khwaja Yadgar. Recognizing nobility and bravery in the khan's countenance and seeing that he was worthy of patronage, the emperor gave him the rank of 1000/500 and the title of Safdar Khan. Khwaja Yadgar was also awarded a rank.

When the prince's retinue left Fatehpur for Allahabad, although His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani had given him leave to depart, at the bottom of his heart he did not want to be parted from his darling son and in fact was very sad to be away from him. A group of ambitious sowers of strife who came up with a new story every day added fuel to the flames of the emperor's distress, and now they dressed their complaints of the prince's constant wine-drinking in the garb of sympathy.

What helped these self-serving people's case was the fact the one of the prince's reporters was smitten with a *khanazad* who was in the circle of the elite,[40] while the brazen khanazad became infatuated with another servant. All three ran away together, hoping to get themselves to the Deccan and live under the protection of Prince Danyal. When the reality of this case was reported to His Highness, he immediately assigned a troop of mounted patrols to seize them. By chance, all three were caught and brought before the prince while the flames of his wrath were high. By his order, the reporter was skinned alive in his presence, one servant was turned into a eunuch, and the other was lashed. With such punishment great trepidation took root in everyone's heart, and all avenues of escape were blocked.

When the tale was told to His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani by the self-serving with a hundred embellishments, he was greatly distressed and was heard to say, "We have conquered a whole world by the sword, but until today we have not ordered so much as a sheep to be skinned in our presence! My son is unimaginably hard-hearted if he can have a man skinned in his presence."

The same seditious rumormongers also reported that he was mixing wine with opium and drinking more than his constitution could handle, and during this voluptuous delirium his constitution was in a disequilibrium that caused him to issue orders

40. For the term *khanazad*, see the glossary.

he later regretted—and no one could gainsay him at such times. Mostly, they said, he withdrew into a corner and hid himself, and in doing the few things he couldn't avoid he was as active as a design on a carpet or a picture on a wall.

Because the emperor was worried about him, inordinately attached as he was to his son, he decided to go to Allahabad himself and bring his darling son back to the capital.

With this thought in mind he set out in that direction on the eve of Monday the fifteenth of Shahrivar 1012 [ca. August 26, 1603]. Seated in a boat, he proceeded to the forward camp, which had been pitched three kos from the city on the edge of the Jumna. Along the way the boat chanced to run aground, and no matter what machinations the sailors tried that night, they couldn't get the boat back into the water and were forced to remain in the middle of the river until dawn. After sunup the great amirs had their boats rowed over to perform *körünüsh*,[41] and in the view of those who interpreted omens from the beyond this inauspicious event was a sign to cancel the expedition. "However," they said, "His Majesty's glory made us hold our tongues."

41. The *körünüsh* is the formal salute of the Timurid and Genghisid dynasties. See note 83 on page 61 below.

Be that as it may, camp was made there that day, and the next day a heavy rain came. Simultaneously news arrived that Her Majesty Maryam-Makani was ill. Since she had not been agreeable to this expedition, Arsh-Ashyani thought she was feigning illness. At any rate, the rain was so heavy no one could leave his tent for two or three days. Aside from the royal tent and several canopies belonging to intimate servants, not another tent could be seen. On Tuesday night news arrived that Maryam-Makani's condition had worsened, and the physicians had given up all hope and ceased treating her.

The Death of Her Majesty Maryam-Makani, His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar]'s Mother

In hopes of having a last glimpse of his mother, His Majesty turned his reins back and went to visit her in her illness. He found her condition very critical, and try as he might to draw out a word of advice from her, she was unable to speak. Helplessly consigning the affair to destiny, he withdrew into grievous solitude. On the eve of Monday the eighteenth of Shahrivar 1012 [ca. August 29, 1603] she passed away. With this, the world was thrown into wailing and mourning. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani shaved his hair, beard, and moustache and garbed himself in mourning. Several thousand persons—amirs, ranking officers, *ahadis*,[42] and menials—joined His Majesty in mourning garb. The emperor took her bier on his own shoulder and walked several paces. After that the amirs took it by turn and carried it to Delhi. With bitter heart and tearful eyes he returned to his palace. The next day he took off his mourning clothes, ordered all his servants to remove theirs, and awarded each a robe of honor in accordance with his station. The lady's blessed body reached Delhi in fifteen watches and was buried in the tomb of His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun].

42. The *ahadi* (from the Arabic *ahad* "one") was a "gentleman soldier" who came, as the name implies, single and alone with his horse. As a class the *ahadis* stood between the great noble officers with their attached troops and the *ahsham*, the masses of common infantry- and artillerymen.

News reached His Highness that His Majesty had started for Allahabad but subsequently canceled the trip on account of Maryam-Makani's illness, and that the lady had died. Without pausing for reflection he ordered Sharif Khan to take up the governorship of Bihar, and his princely banners were unfurled to go to pay homage to his father in the capital at Akbarabad to console him in his grief and share his sorrow. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani rejoiced, considering the presence of his darling son to be an antidote to his grief. His Highness attained the felicity of paying homage at an auspicious hour, and after observing the rituals of the Törä and the demands of etiquette,[43] Arsh-Ashyani took his fortunate son in the embrace of emotion and love and rejoiced

43. The Törä is the Genghisid code of conduct and Mongol customary law. It was respected in large part by members of the Timurid dynasty, who themselves laid claim to legitimacy through their connections to Genghis Khan and his offspring.

in his grieving heart. Loyal servants were happy and glad, while ambitious hypocrites were stymied and gnashed their teeth. The world regained its brilliance, and time, which had been so distraught, regained its calm and poise. His Highness presented as a vow a hundred hundred-tola mohurs, four fifty-tola mohurs, one twenty-five-tola mohur, a twenty-tola mohur, and three five-tola mohurs, and as an offering he gave a diamond worth a lac of rupees and four elephants.

After the assembly was over, His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani arose from the Hall of Public and Private Audience and headed to the harem, but because he still had concerns over certain aspects of the prince's conduct, he gave voice to his inner complaints and old wounds. After chastising him on several fronts, he said, "It is apparent to us that your mind has been affected by drinking too much wine. It would be better for you to remain in our palace for a few days so that we can have you treated and restore your constitution." Thereupon he installed him in the *ibadatkhana* and posted some trusted servants to watch him. Every day the prince's stepmothers and sisters came to him to console him while he remained in the palace for ten days. Once it became apparent that the excessive wine drinking and outbursts that had been reported had no basis, an order was given for him to go to his own palace, and those of his liege men who had crept away into corners in fear and trepidation of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's wrath returned to the prince's service. His Highness was received every day to perform körünüsh to his exalted father and was shown all sorts of favor.

❁ *Shaykh Husayn Jami's Dream*

Around this time the prince received encouraging letters from Shaykh Husayn Jami, a peerless member of the order of great [Naqshbandi] khwajas. "I have seen His Holiness Khwaja Baha'uddin in a dream,"[44] he wrote, "and he said, 'Soon Sultan Salim will mount the throne, causing the world to flourish in justice and equity and giving the grief-stricken cause for rejoicing with his generosity and liberality.'"

❁ *His Highness's Elephant Fights Khusraw's Elephant in the Presence of the Emperor*

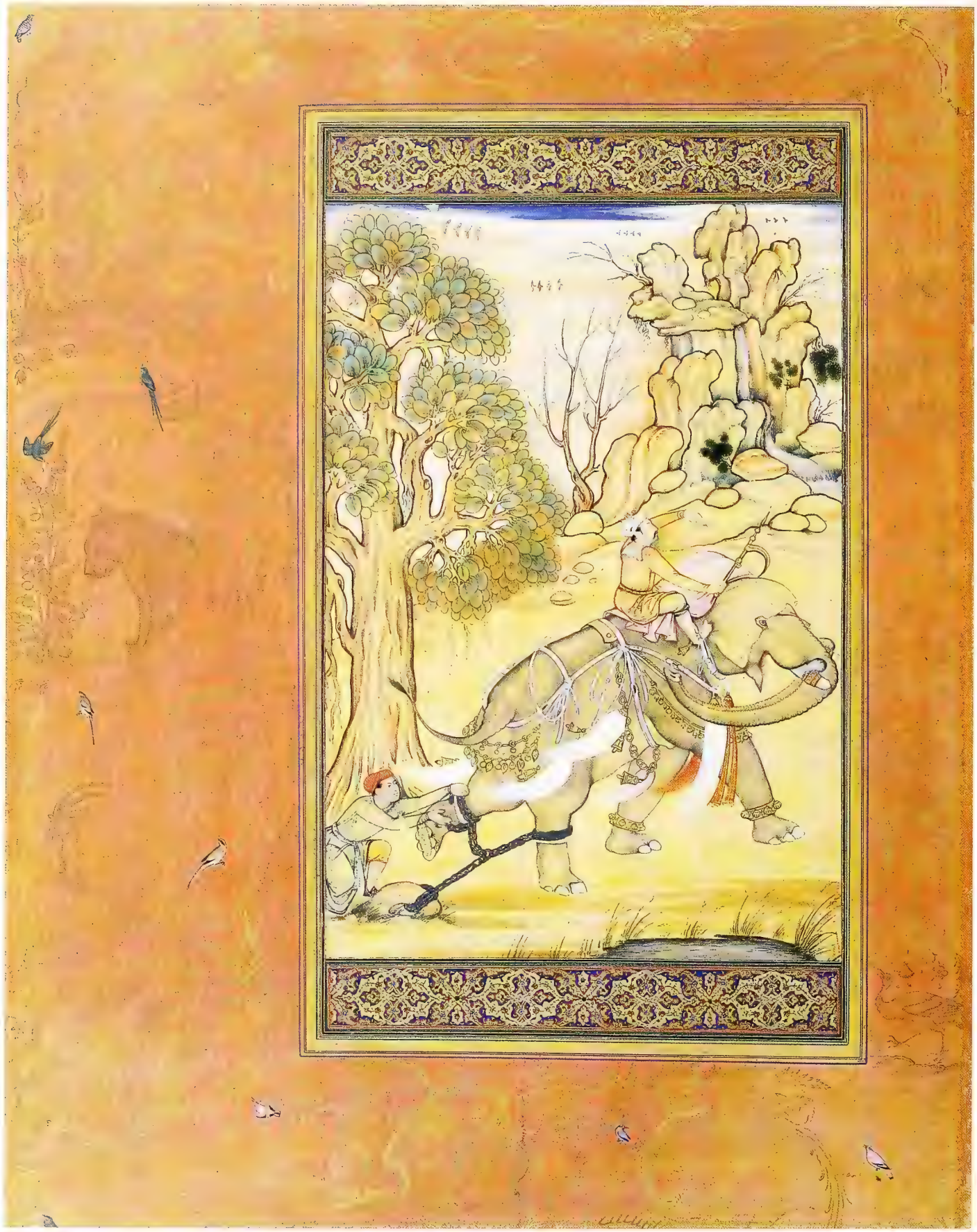
A very strange thing that happened around this time is as follows. His Highness had an elephant named Giranbar, which was so superior in elephant fights that no elephant in the imperial stables could match it. Khusraw too had an elephant, named Aprup, which was also a fine elephant. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani ordered these two elephants to fight, and he also ordered an elephant named Ran Mathan from the royal stable stationed so that if one of the two elephants overwhelmed the other and the keeper couldn't control it, Ran Mathan could be brought out to help. Such an elephant is called a *tabancha* by elephant keepers. This was one of the innovations His Majesty had introduced in order to separate unruly elephants during a bout. The *charkhi, loh langar,* and *ujyali* were also his inventions.[45] Anyway, His Highness and Khusraw requested that they be mounted on horses to watch from close up. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani was seated in the *jharoka*[46] and had commanded Prince Khurram to sit near him.

> Two mountains of iron came into motion. You would say the earth moved from top to bottom.

After many blows had been struck, Giranbar looked victorious, having overwhelmed his opponent. At this point, as had been planned, the elephant Ran Mathan was brought out to help. A group of His Highness's servants, however, prevented the keeper from bringing it forward by throwing stones and mud clods at the keeper.

44. The Khwaja Baha'uddin mentioned here is Baha'uddin Naqshband (1317–1389), the eponymous founder of the Naqshbandiyya order of dervishes, which was highly influential in Timurid Iran and Central Asia.

45. "The *loh langar* is a chain strong enough for an elephant One end is tied to the right foot, and the other is fastened to a stick one ell long, which is held by the elephant keeper. When an elephant becomes so unruly and bad-tempered that it gets out of control, the *loh langar* is thrown down. The chain gets wrapped around [the elephant's legs], and the stick hurts it enough to make



A CHAINED ELEPHANT, attributed to Farrukh. India, Mughal period, ca. 1590. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. 42.5 x 26.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F56.12

Undaunted, he drove the elephant forward until it was opposite Giranbar. By chance one of the stones hit the keeper on the forehead, and several drops of blood dripped onto his chest. Khusraw and a group of his chatterboxes ran to His Majesty to report with great exaggeration the audacity of His Highness's men and the wounding of the elephant keeper, making a mountain out of a mole hill. Arsh-Ashyani, greatly angered by such audacity and effrontery, told Prince Khurram to go to his *shah bhai* [Jahangir] and say to him, "Shah Baba [Akbar] says this elephant bout is yours.[47] What is the reason for violence and immoderation?" Prince Khurram relayed the message with softness of expression and gentleness of wording. In reply His Highness said, "We had no knowledge of what happened. In no way did we consent to or order the elephant or keeper to be struck."

"If this be so," replied Khurram, "let it be ordered for us go and separate the elephants with fireworks and other means." His Highness ordered gladly. The young prince ordered charkhis and *ban*s placed and started,[48] but no matter what means they tried, nothing helped. Finally the elephant Ran Mathan was driven off into retreat. Both elephants entered the river, and Giranbar was entangled with Ran Mathan and wouldn't let go. All of a sudden a large boat intervened, and Giranbar was kept from doing further violence. Prince Khurram went to his grandfather and reported with all shows of politeness, saying, "Shah Bhai did not consent to this audacious effrontery, and it did not take place with his knowledge. Actually, it was misreported."

His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar]'s Passage from This World to the Pavilion of Eternity

Around this time the tragic death of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani occurred. For fifty-one years neither had the breeze of failure ever blown through the furls of his felicitous banners nor had the foot of his lucky steed ever stumbled against a stone. In every direction he turned luck and good fortune followed in his wake, and heaven and earth revolved at his will until destiny finally did its job and pulled him from the ruling throne.

On Monday the twentieth of Jumada I 1014 [September 23, 1605] His Majesty's temperament deviated from equilibrium, and a high fever developed, resulting in diarrhea. Prince Khurram willingly took charge of tending him in his illness, while Hakim Ali, the chief physician of the age, undertook treatment, but because his time was up, no matter what treatment and medication were administered, it was of no use, for the countenance of health was not reflected in the mirror of his condition.

Sultan Khusraw was the nephew of Raja Man Singh and the son-in-law of Khan A'zam, which two had absolute control of all administrative affairs of the empire, particularly at that time. It occurred to these two ingrates that, despite the existence of His Highness, they would raise the unworthy Khusraw to the throne and foment trouble and strife. His Highness, aware of their seditious treachery, deprived himself of the felicity of waiting upon his father as a precautionary measure—precaution being a prerequisite of world rule—and ceased coming to the interior of the fortress.

With Great Self-Sacrifice Prince Khurram Takes up Residence in the Fortress of Akbarabad on Account of Arsh-Ashyani's Illness

With firm heart and unshakable resolve, Prince Khurram stood his ground in the midst of enemies and malevolents and refused to leave his grandfather. Although his mother sent numerous messages telling him that it was not prudent to remain where he was in such a time of turmoil and unrest, he remained firm and refused to leave. Finally, at

it stand still. It was introduced by the world-lord [Akbar]. The *charkhi* is a hollow reed with a hole through the middle, half an ell and two *tasuj*es long, rubbed with grease, and with a clay stopper in the middle. Both ends are packed with gunpowder with wicks at either end wrapped in paper. A piece of wood shaped like a cross sticks out of the hole to form a handle. When it is lit, it spins and makes a terrifying noise. Valiant foot soldiers hold them as they go forward and prevent elephants from coupling, etc. Prior to this, fire used to be used to separate fighting elephants, but it resulted in much injury and did little good. The world-lord invented this, and the people were relieved. *Andhiyari* [blinders] means darkness; the world-lord named it *ujyali*, which means brightness. It is a cloth an ell and a half or more square made of gold brocade, velvet, or other stuff. Two corners are fastened to the *kilawa* (neck band), and when [an elephant] gets unruly it is let down to keep it from seeing" (Abu'l-Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari* ,1:136, trans. mine).

46. For the term *jharoka*, see the glossary.

47. The terms Akbar uses in the passage, *shah bhai* ("king-brother") and *shah baba* ("king daddy"), are familiar terms used within the family.

48. *Ban*s are various fireworks used to control elephants. See *ban* and *kawkabban* in the glossary

the command of his father and mother, he went to His Highness, but no matter how strenuously he insisted on taking him away, Khurram would not consent to go. In reply he said, "As long as there is a breath of life left in my grandfather, there is no possibility of my being separated from him." Inasmuch as the divine protector had guarded him in every state and condition, even in that maelstrom of untoward events it kept him safe from affliction by the evil eye.

The Birth of the Princes Shahryar and Jahandar

During these days two sons were born to concubines of His Highness's, and they were named Jahandar Shah and Shahryar.[49]

49. Shah, like Sultan, is another title applied to princes of the royal family.

Because the destiny allotted by the Almighty had decreed that right be done and the darkened world be made bright by the rule of the true heir to the kingdom, the band of ingrates repented of their idle desires and, ashamed and humiliated, made obeisance before His Highness, who went the next day to pay homage to his father, obtaining the felicity of seeing him one last time. Praising and extolling Prince Khurram for his dutifulness, he [Jahangir] took him back to his palace.

The Death of Akbar

On the eve of Wednesday the thirteenth of Jumada II 1014 [October 16, 1605], the royal falcon that had soared to the apogee of world rule flew from this mortal world to the garden of eternity.

The next day, after funeral preparations had been made, he was entrusted to God's mercy in the garden at Sikandra.

He was born in 949 [1542]. He had three sons and three daughters. The first, the Just King of Kings Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir, acceded to the throne. The second was Sultan Murad, who died in the Deccan from overindulgence in wine in 1007 [1598], the forty-fourth regnal year of Akbar Shah. The third was Sultan Danyal, who died in the Deccan in 1013 [1604], the forty-eighth regnal year of Akbar Shah, also from drinking too much wine. The daughters' names are Shahzada Khanïm, Shakarunnisa Begam, and Aram Banu Begam.

All that is recorded after this is from the pen of His Majesty Jannat-Makani Jahangir Padishah down to the first part of the nineteenth year of his reign. From there on, until the end of the days of his reign, which was a total of twenty-one years, eight months, and twenty days, together with a few lines on the beginning of the reign of Sahib-Qiran II Shahjahan Padishah, who, after hearing of the death of his renowned father, went from the Khayr fortress in the Deccan to the capital at Akbarabad to mount the throne and accede to the rule, the completion has been added by this writer, the humble and unworthy Muhammad-Hadi, in order to perfect the book, as was alluded to in the preface.

It this writer's fervent hope that if fate grants a respite and gives him the chance, and if his brain cooperates, he will add a short account of the history of that mighty monarch, the archetype of the line of Timurid sultans in Hindustan, from beginning to end, and add it to the end of this manuscript, and those thirsty-lipped for accounts of history will be satiated with the limpid waters of an exposition of reality.

THE

JAHANGIRNAMA

The First Regnal Year: October 23, 1605–March 10, 1607

Accession to the First Nawroz

By God's boundless mercy, one sidereal hour had elapsed of Thursday the twentieth of Jumada II A.H. 1014 [October 23, 1605] when I ascended the throne of the sultanate in the capital Agra at the age of thirty-eight.[1]

Until my father was twenty-eight years old, none of his children had survived and he was always soliciting dervishes and hermits (who have spiritual proximity to the divine court) for the survival of a child. Since the great Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti was the fountainhead of most of the saints of India, it occurred to my father that in order to attain his wish he should resort to the khwaja's blessed threshold, and therefore he decided that if God would grant him a son he would travel from Agra to his blessed tomb, a distance of one hundred forty kos,[2] on foot in thanksgiving.

Date of Birth

In the year 977, on Wednesday the seventeenth of Rabi' I [August 30, 1569], at seven *ghari*s,[3] with the ascendant in the twenty-fourth degree of Libra, God brought me forth into existence from the recesses of the unseen.

His Holiness Shaykh Salim

During the days when my exalted father was seeking a son, an ecstatic dervish named Shaykh Salim, [2a] who had traversed many stages of life, lived on a mountain next to Sikri, a dependency of Agra. The people in the vicinity believed in the shaykh implicitly. Because my father was a devotee of dervishes, he visited this one too. One day while Shaykh Salim was in a trance, my father asked him, "How many sons will I have?"

"He who bestows without obligation will grant you three sons," he replied.

"I vow to turn my first son over to you for training and attention," my father said, "and to put him under the protection and guardianship of your compassion and kindness."

The shaykh accepted and said, "May he be blessed. We have named him after ourself."

Place of Birth

When my mother was near the time of delivery, she was sent to the shaykh's house so that my birth might take place there. After my birth I was named Sultan Salim, although I never heard my father, either drunk or sober, call me Sultan Salim or Muhammad Salim. He always called me "Shaykhu Baba."[4]

1. Jahangir's "sidereal hour" is the same as our hour. It is derived by dividing a twenty-four day into twenty-four equal portions. He uses the term to distinguish the sidereal hour from the "conventional hour," which is derived by dividing the hours of daylight by twelve and the hours of night by twelve. Thus, except for the equinoxes, daylight and nighttime conventional hours are unequal.

2. The shrine of Mu'inuddin Chishti is in Ajmer.

3. In India the twenty-four-hour day is divided into eight watches (*pahr*) of three hours each, and each watch is subdivided into eight *ghari*s of twenty-four minutes each.

4. *Shaykhu* is a diminutive of shaykh; *baba* is a term of endearment.



Celebrations at Jahangir's Accession, by Abu'l-Hasan. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1605. Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper. Image area: 37.8 x 22 cm. Courtesy of Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences. E.14, folio 21. ©St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

Fatehpur-Sikri

My exalted father considered the village of Sikri, my birthplace, auspicious and made it his capital. For fourteen or fifteen years those mountains and jungles filled with wild beasts became a city replete with buildings, gardens, pleasure spots, and delightful places. After the conquest of Gujarat it was named Fatehpur.

Designation of Name and Honorific

When I became emperor it occurred to me that I should change my name lest it be confused with the caesars of Anatolia.[5] An inspiration from the beyond suggested to me that the labor of emperors is world domination (*jahangiri*), so I named myself Jahangir and made my honorific Nuruddin [light of religion] because my accession occurred at the time of the rising of the majestic greater luminary, at a time when the world was being illuminated.

While a prince I heard from the sages of India that when the time of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Padishah's rule was over, one named Nuruddin would succeed to the rule. This had also remained in my mind, and therefore I named myself Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir. [**2b**]

Characteristics of Agra

Because the great event [of my accession to the throne] took place in the city of Agra, it is necessary to write a summary of the characteristics of that place. Agra is one of the ancient and large cities of Hindustan, situated on the banks of the Jumna River. Formerly it had an old citadel, but my father razed it before I was born and constructed a citadel of hewn red stone, the likes of which world-travelers are unable to point to. It was completed over the course of fifteen or sixteen years and includes four gates and two doorways. Thirty-five lacs of rupees, equivalent to one hunded fifteen thousand *tumans* of the currency of Iran and a crore five lacs of *khanis* in the reckoning of Turan,[6] were expended on the citadel. Habitation flourishes on both sides of the aforementioned river.

Length and Width of Habitation

The perimeter of the western side, which is where most of the habitation is, is seven kos. The length is two kos and the width one kos. The perimeter of habitation on the eastern side of the river is two and a half kos. The length is one kos, and the width is half a kos. However, there are so many buildings that it could make several cities of the type known in Persia,[7] Khurasan, and Transoxiana. Most people have constructed three- and four-story buildings, and the congestion is so great that one can scarcely pass in the lanes and markets. It is at the end of the second clime.[8] To the east lies the province of Kannauj, to the west is Nagaur, to the north is Sambhal, and to the south is Chanderi.

5. I.e. with the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (r.1512–20) and Selim II (r.1566–74).

6. In Jahangir's terminology "Iran" is geographically south of the Oxus River and "Turan" is basically Transoxiana, or Central Asia northwards from the Oxus River. Politically by "Iran" he means the Safavid Empire (roughly present-day Iran), and by

It is written in the books of India that the source of the Jumna is a mountain named Kalind, where it is too cold for humans to go. The place where it emerges is a mountain near the pargana of Khizrabad.[9]

Quality of the Climate in Agra

The climate of Agra is warm and dry. Physicians say that it enervates the soul and brings on lassitude. It is incompatible with most natures except for those of phlegmatic and melancholic temperaments, who are immune to its ill effects. It is for this reason that animals of this nature and temperament, like the elephant, the ox, and others, do well in this climate.

Before the rule of the Lodi Afghans, Agra was a large, flourishing place with a citadel, as Mas'ud Sa'd Salman mentions in a qasida in praise of Mahmud the son of Sultan Ibrahim son of Mas'ud son of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna on the conquest of the above-mentioned citadel: [**3a**]

> The citadel of Agra appeared in the midst of the dust like a mountain, its ramparts and battlements like mountain peaks.[10]

History of the Establishment of the Agra Citadel as a Capital of Rulers

When Sikandar Lodi desired to take Gwalior, he came from Delhi, which was the capital of the sultans of India, to Agra and established himself there. From that date the town of Agra advanced to become the seat of the Delhi sultans.

When God awarded the rule of India to this exalted dynasty, after Ibrahim the son of Sikandar Lodi was defeated and killed, and Rana Sanga,[11] the greatest of the rajas and zamindars of Hindustan, was conquered, His Majesty Firdaws-Makani Babur Padishah chose a nice plot of land on the eastern side of the Jumna and built a garden so pleasant that few places could boast of such. He named it Gulafshan. A smallish structure was constructed of hewn red stone, and a mosque was completed on one side of the garden. He intended to make a grand structure, but because he did not live long enough it was never accomplished.

Posthumous Titles of Prior Rulers who are My Ancestors and Forefathers

In these memoirs everywhere the words "Sahib-Qirani" are written, they mean Amir Temür Küragän. Everywhere "Firdaws-Makani" is written, it is His Majesty Babur Padishah. When "Jannat-Ashyani" is written, it is Humayun Padishah. When "Arsh-Ashyani" is mentioned, it is my exalted father Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Padishah Ghazi.[12]



A Procession, attributed to Bishan Das. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, ca. 1625. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 32.9 x 22 cm. Raza Library, Rampur. Album 5, folio 1a

"Turan" the territory of the Uzbeks (modern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and part of Kazakhstan).

7. "Persia" is called Iraq, or Iraq-i-Ajam, "Persian Iraq," a geographical term that refers to the eastern side of the Zagros Mountains. Since this epithet became synonymous with Persia over time, and "Iraq" would be too easily confused with the modern nation state that is anything but Persia, it will be translated here as "Persia." Jahangir seldom uses the word Iran except when referring to Shah Abbas as the *Dara-yi Iran*,

the "holder of Iran." The Timurids did not willingly acknowledge the legal right of the Safavids to rule, but they referred to Safavid de facto rule by calling the shahs the governors, or holders, of Iran.

8. According to Ptolemaic geography, the earth is divided into seven climes, south to north. The third through the fifth are considered to be the most habitable climes.

9. For the political divisions of the Mughal Empire, see translator's preface, page xviii.

10. Mas'ud Sa'd Salman, *Divan*, 203, line 34.

11. Ibrahim Lodi, the sultan of Delhi, was defeated by Babur at the Battle of Panipat on April 20, 1526 (see *Baburnama*, folios 266a–267b). Rana Sanga, or Sangramasinha, the rana of Mewar, was defeated by Babur at the Battle of Khanua on March 17, 1527 (see *Baburnama*, folio 316a).

12. *Sahib-qiran*, "lord of the felicitous conjunction" of Venus and Jupiter, is Amir Temür's constant title. The other posthumous titles, *firdaws-makan* (he whose place is paradise), *jannat-ashyan* (he who is nested in heaven), and *arsh-ashyan* (he whose nest is on the divine throne), are all common Persian posthumous epithets. Unlike other dynasties, in which any posthumous title could be used for any deceased monarch, the Mughals gave fixed, unchanging posthumous titles. See translator's preface, p. xiii.

13. *Vilayat* means province in Persian, but it is often used in the sense of "homeland." The Timurids' original homeland was Central Asia, but when Babur uses the term *vilayat*, he seems

A Description of Indian Fruits

Melons, mangoes, and other fruits are good in Agra and its vicinity. My particular favorite is the mango. During the reign of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, most fruits of the *vilayat* that were not in India were introduced.[13]

Varieties of grape, like the *sahibi*, *husayni*,[14] and *kishmishi*, became prevalent in the major cities so that in the markets of Lahore during the grape season there were introduced grapes of every variety and every sort. One fruit is the one called *ananas* [pineapple]. It is to be found in the Franks' ports.[15] It is extremely good-smelling and tasting. Several thousand are produced every year in the Gulafshan Garden in Agra.

Descriptions of the Varieties of Flowers Peculiar to Hindustan

From the point of view of herbs and fragrant flowers, India is preferable to anywhere else in the inhabited part of the world. There are several flowers that have neither name nor trace in any other place in the world. The first is the *champa*,[16] which is a flower of extremely good aroma and delicacy. [**3b**] In shape it resembles the saffron flower but the color of the champa is yellow tending to beige. Its tree is extremely harmonious, large, full of branches and leaves, and shady. When in blossom, one tree will perfume a whole garden.

Next is the *keora*.[17] It has a unique shape and form, and its aroma is very sharp and heady—so much so that it is no less than musk.

Then there is the *rae bel*,[18] which in aroma is of the family of white jasmine. Its petals usually occur in two layers together.

Next is the *maulsari* flower,[19] the tree of which is also very stately, harmonious, and shady. Its aroma is extremely mild.

Also there is the *seoti*,[20] a member of the keora family. The keora usually has thorns, but the seoti does not. Its color is yellowish, while the keora is white. From these flowers, as well as from the *chambeli*, which is the jasmine of this land, aromatic essences are extracted. There are other flowers too, but it would take too long to mention them all.

Description of Trees

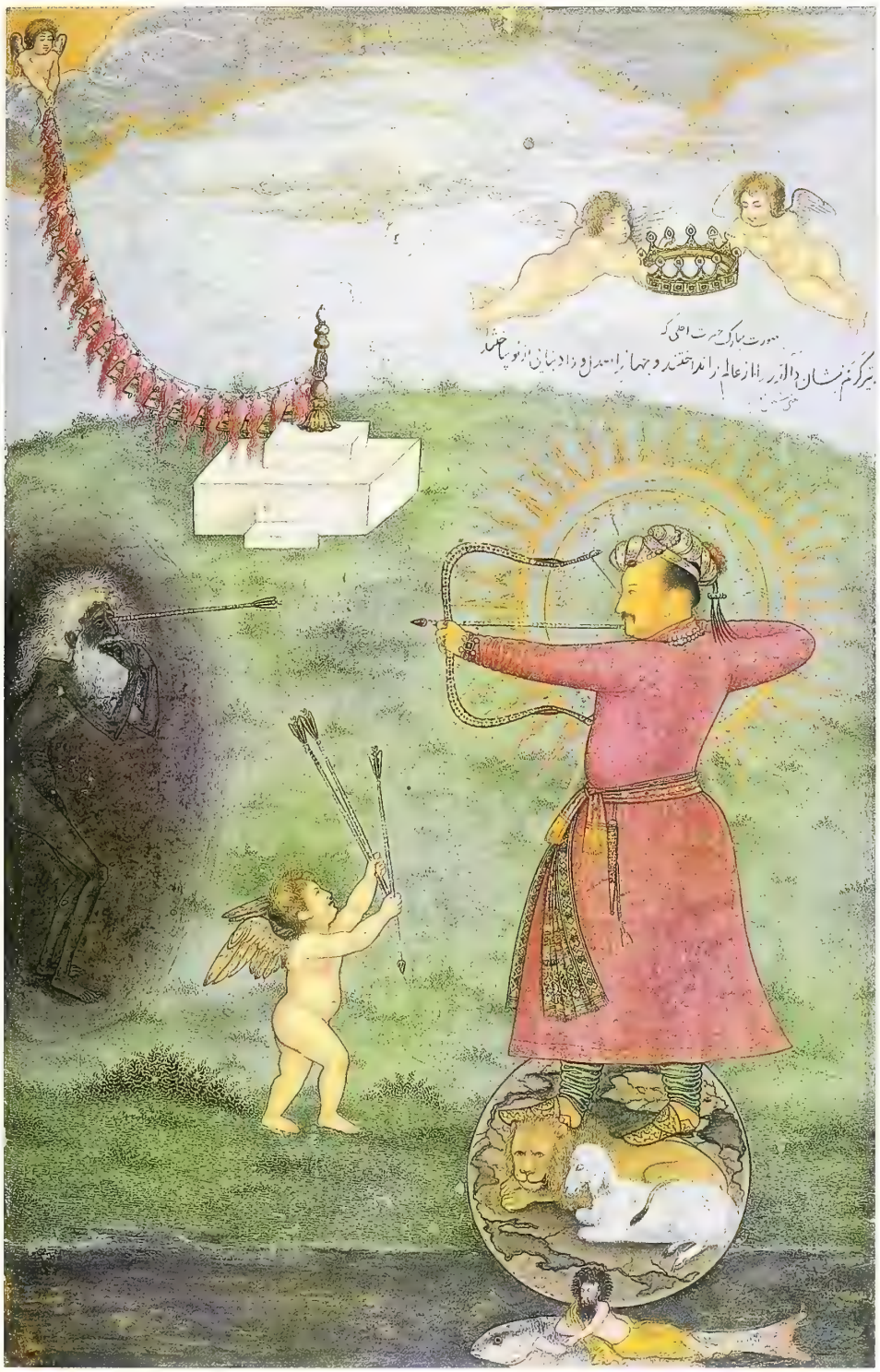
Trees like the cypress, pine, plane, poplar, and willow, which had never been imagined in Hindustan, were introduced and multiplied. The sandalwood tree, which is peculiar to the islands, grows in gardens.

Description of the Inhabitants of the Town

The inhabitants of Agra are quite industrious in acquiring skills and learning. Various classes of every religion and sect have taken up residence in this town.

Hanging the Chain of Justice

After my accession, the first command issued by me was to have a chain of justice hung so that if those charged with administering the courts were slack or negligent in rendering justice to the downtrodden, those who had suffered injustice could have recourse to the chain and pull it so that the sound would cause awareness. It is set up as follows. I ordered a chain made of pure gold, thirty ells in length, with sixty bells. It weighs four Hindustani maunds, which is thirty-two Persian maunds.[21] One end is attached to the crenellations of the Shah Tower of the Agra citadel, and the other end is stretched to the bank of the river and affixed to a stone post erected there.



EMPEROR JAHANGIR TRIUMPHING OVER POVERTY, attributed to Abu'l-Hasan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1625. Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper. 36.8 x 24.8 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, from the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase. M.75.4.28

generally to mean Kabul, the secondary "homeland" from which he came to the subcontinent. Since in Akbar's time fruits and trees were probably not being imported from Central Asia, the term here must refer to Kabul

14. Text has *habashi*, but the India Office MS No. 181 has *husayni*, which is attested elsewhere as a variety of grape. *Habashi* means Ethiopian, but it is not attested as a type of grape. The two words would be easily confused in undotted handwriting

15. By "the Franks' ports" he means primarily Cambay, Surat, and Goa, where the Portuguese had established themselves.

16. The *champa* is the tree *Michelia champaca*, which bears a fragrant yellow flower.

17. The *keora* is a species of the plant *Pandanus odoratissimus*, which has a pronounced fragrance, as its Latin name implies. Its common name is screw-pine.

18. *Bel* is the Hindi for the Arabian jasmine, *Jasminum zambac*. *Rae bel* is a subspecies

19. The *maulsari* is the *Mimusops elengi*, the Spanish cherry.

20. The *seoti* is the *Rosa glandulifera*, the dog rose, also known as the China rose.

21. Text has fourteen maunds, but the ratio of 1:8 between the Hindustani maund and the Persian maund is a constant throughout the *Jahangirnama*. Four maunds is nearly 330 pounds, or 123 kilograms.

The Twelve Decrees

I ordered twelve decrees to be implemented and observed in all the realm.

The first was the proscription of alms from the *tamgha*, *mirbahri*, and all other imposts the *jagirdar*s of every souba and sarkar had imposed for their own profit.[22]

Second: [**4a**] On roads where there were thieves and highway bandits and where the roads were somewhat distant from habitation, the jagirdars of that region were to construct a caravansaray and mosque and dig a well to encourage habitation in the caravanserai. If such places were near royal demesnes, the superintendent of that place was to carry out these measures.

Third: No one was to open merchants' packs along the roads without their permission and consent.

Fourth: When anyone dies in the realm, be he infidel or Muslim, his property was to be turned over to the heirs, and no one was to interfere therein. If there was no heir, an overseer and bailiff would be appointed separately to record and dispose of the property so that the value might be spent on licit expenditures such as constructing mosques and caravansaries, repairs to broken bridges, and the creation of tanks and wells.[23]

Fifth: No wine, spirits, or any sort of intoxicant or forbidden liquor is to be manufactured or sold. This despite the fact that I myself commit the sin of drinking wine and have constantly persisted in doing so from the age of eighteen until my present age of thirty-eight. In my youth, when I was an avid drinker, I sometimes consumed twenty phials of double-distilled spirits.[24] Because little by little it was having a severe effect upon me, I began to decrease my intake. Within seven years I had reduced it from fifteen phials to five or six. I also drank at various times: sometimes I began to drink three or four hours before the end of the day, sometimes I drank at night, and occasionally I drank during the day. Until the age of thirty this is how it was. After that I decided that I would drink only at night. These days I drink solely to promote digestion.[25]

Sixth: No one's house was to be used for quartering troops.

Seventh: I forbade the cutting off of anyone's ear or nose for any crime whatsoever. I also made a vow to the divine court that I would not disfigure anyone with this punishment.

Eighth: I decreed that the superintendents of royal lands and jagirdars would neither seize ryots' land nor cultivate them themselves.

Ninth: The revenuers of royal lands and jagirdars may not intermarry with the people of the parganas in which they reside without my permission.

Tenth: In large cities hospitals are to be built and physicians appointed to treat the sick. Expenses are to be covered from the royal demesne.

Eleventh: In accordance with my exalted father's custom, I commanded that every year, commencing on the eighteenth of Rabi' I, my birthday, [**4b**] there would be no slaughter of animals in the realm for one day for every year [of my life]. Also, slaughter was forbidden on two days of every week, one being Thursday, the day of my accession to the throne, and the other Sunday, my father's birthday, for which reason he considered this day sacred and venerated it greatly, and also because it is the day attributed to the sun and the day on which the creation of the world was begun. Of the days during which slaughter could not be carried out in the realm, one was this.

Twelfth: I ordered generally that my father's servants' ranks and jagirs would remain as they were. After these preliminaries I increased the rank of each one according to his worth, by not less than twenty percent and up to triple and quadruple. The

22. The *tamgha* was a customs impost introduced by the Mongols in the thirteenth century. It was always viewed by the ulema and pious rulers as an un-Islamic, and therefore illegal, tax. The *mirbahri* was a similar, maritime customs impost. For *jagirdar* see translator's preface, page xx.

23. What is called a "tank" in India would be called a reservoir or lake elsewhere. For the most part, the Indian term will be retained in translation.

24. The "phial" (*piyala*) is a shallow drinking cup and a measure of liquid. Jahangir mentions phials of 7½ tolas (90.375 gm) and of 6 tolas 3 mashas (75.3 gm). See page 276.

25. Jahangir discusses his drinking habits in greater detail on page 184.

allowances of all ahadis were increased by fifty percent, and the monthly pay of every menial I increased by twenty percent.

I increased the customary allowances of the ladies of my exalted father's harem, according to the station and relationship each held, by twenty percent up to one hundred percent. The salaries of the clergy of the realm, who are the army of prayer, I reconfirmed across the board in accordance with the patents they held.

I told Miran Sadr-i-Jahan, who is one of the sayyids of true lineage in Hindustan and long held the glorious post of comptroller for my father, that every day the deserving poor should be brought before me. I set free and delivered all criminals who had long been imprisoned in fortresses and jails.

❀ *The Minting, Weights, and Names of Coins*

At an auspicious hour I decreed that coins of gold and silver should be minted in various weights, and I gave a different name to each. I called the hundred-tola mohur a *nurshahi*, the fifty-tola a *nursultani*, the twenty-tola a *nur-i-dawlat*, the ten-tola a *nur-i-karam*, the five-tola a *nur-i-mihr*, the one-tola a *nurjahani*, the half-tola a *nurani*, and the quarter-tola a *ravaji*.[26] The silver coins were as follows. I named the hundred-tola a *kawkab-i-tali'*, the fifty-tola *kawkab-i-iqbal*, the twenty-tola *kawkab-i-murad*, the ten-tola a *kawkab-i-bakht*, the five-tola a *kawkab-i-sa'd*, the one-tola a *jahangiri*, the half-tola a *sultani*, the quarter-tola a *nisari*, and the tenth-tola *khayr-i-qabul*.[27] Tankas were also minted of copper, and each was known by a different name.

On the hundred-tola, fifty-tola, twenty-tola, and ten-tola mohurs I commanded this line of poetry by Asaf Khan to be engraved and stamped on one side: "With writing of light on gold the pen of destiny wrote: [**5a**] Shah Nuruddin Jahangir." In the space between the two hemistichs the profession of faith was engraved,[28] and on the other side was engraved the following line, which yields the date of the coin: "The world became illuminated by this coin like the sun. 'The sun of the kingdom' is the date."[29] Between the two hemistiches the place, Hegira year, and year of accession were stamped.

The *nurjahani* coin, which replaces the ordinary mohur, was increased in weight by twenty percent, and on it was placed the following line of poetry by Amiru'l-Umara: "The face of gold was made as luminous as the color of the sun and moon by Shah Nuruddin Jahangir son of Akbar Padishah." Each hemistich was written on one side of the coin, and the mint mark, Hegira year, and year of accession were stamped.

The *jahangiri* coin, which was also increased in weight by twenty percent, was made equivalent to the rupee and established like the *nurjahani*. The weight of the tola is equivalent to two and a half of the *mithcal*s usual in Iran and Turan.[30]

Chronograms were composed for my accession. I didn't like them all. Suffice it to quote the following, composed by Maktub Khan, the supervisor of the library and painters' studio and one of my father's old servants:

> Second Sahib-Qiran, Shahanshah Jahangir sat with justice and equity on the throne of success. / Good luck, fortune in conquest, splendor, and victory gladly bound their loins in service. / The year of the regal accession became a chronogram when fortune placed its head at the foot of the Second Sahib-Qiran.[31]

To my son Khusraw one lac of rupees was granted in order that he might reconstruct for himself the house of Mun'im Khan Khankhanan outside the citadel.

26. The tola, an Indian weight, is equivalent to 12.05 grams. The names of the coins mean: *nurshahi* (light-king, a reference to Jahangir's name Nuruddin), *nursultani* (light-sultan), *nur-i-dawlat* (light of fortune), *nur-i-karam* (light of generosity), *nur-i-mihr* (light of the sun), *nurjahani* (light of the world), *nurani* (light), *ravaji* (currency).

27. The names of the silver coins are as follows: *kawkab-i-tali'* (star of the ascendant), *kawkab-i-iqbal* (star of good fortune), *kawkab-i-murad* (star of desire), *kawkab-i-bakht* (star of luck), *kawkab-i-sa'd* (star of felicity), *jahangiri* (a self-explanatory reference to Jahangir), *sultani* (royal), *nisari* (for scattering), *khayr-i-qabul* (good for acceptance).

28. The Islamic profession of faith, *la ilaha illa 'llah muhammadur rasulu'llah* (there is no god but God, Muhammad is the apostle of God), is commonly found on Islamic coins.

29. The chronogram *aftab-i mamlakat* yields 1014.

30. The mithcal in Iran from the sixteenth century can be taken to be 4.6 grams, close enough to Jahangir's definition of 1 tola

(12 grams) = 2½ mithcals. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 4.

The Governorship of the Punjab is Transferred to Sa'id Khan, and a Mention of his Past Services

I awarded the governorship of the Punjab to Sa'id Khan, an important amir and relative of my father's. He was originally of the Moghul contingent,[32] and his forefathers served my ancestors. At the time of leave-taking, when it was mentioned that his eunuchs were tyrannical and aggressive to the poor and downtrodden, I sent him a message that our sense of justice did not tolerate oppression from anyone and that in the scales of justice greatness and smallness were not regarded. If henceforth there was any oppression or tyranny by his men, he would be chastised by falling from favor.

Next I awarded Shaykh Farid Bukhari, who had been a *mirbakhshi* in my father's service,[33] **[5b]** a robe of honor, a jewel-studded sword, and a jewel-studded ink pot and pen, reconfirming him in his post. In order to honor him I said to him, "We consider you the lord of the sword and the pen."

I honored Muqim, to whom my father had given the title of Wazir Khan at the end of his reign and promoted to the vizierate of the realm, by reconfirming his title, post, and duties. I also gave a robe of honor to Khwajagi Fathullah and made him *bakhshi* as before. I also reconfirmed Abdul-Razzaq Ma'muri as bakhshi and gave him a robe of honor, although when I was a prince he had left my service for no ostensible reason and joined my father's.

I also disregarded the shortcomings of Aminuddin, who had left his post as bakhshi when I was a prince and entered my father's service. I reconfirmed him in the post of *yatishbegi* [captain of the night watch], in which capacity he had attended my father.

31. The letters in the words *Sahib-qiran-i sani* (second Sahib-Qiran) yield 1013. To it is added the first letter of *iqbal* (fortune's head), which has a numerical value of 1, for the Hegira date of 1014.

32. The Moghuls were Mongolianized Turks from Moghulistan, a vast area stretching from Tashkent (in modern Uzbekistan) eastwards to near the borders of modern Mongolia. A contingent of them served with Babur, whose mother was the daughter of the khan of Moghulistan, and came to the subcontinent with him.

33. For the office of the *mirbakhshi*, see the glossary.

All Servants are Reconfirmed in Their Former Posts

I reconfirmed all servants and office-holders of both the outer and inner services as they had been in my father's service.

Sharif Khan had grown up with me from childhood. I had given him the title of khan while I was a prince, awarded him drums and a *tümän tugh*,[34] and promoted him to the rank of 2500 while I was proceeding from Allahabad to see my exalted father. To him I turned over the governorship of Bihar, allowing him free rein in his dealings, and gave him leave to go thither. Fifteen days after my accession, on the fourth of Rajab [November 5, 1605], he attained the felicity of paying homage. I was overjoyed by his coming because his attachment to me is so great that I consider him as a son, brother, friend, and comrade. Since I had total reliance on his allegiance, intelligence, and experience, I made him my deputy and vizier and gave him the exalted title of Amiru'l-Umara [amir of amirs], higher than which there is no title of service, and promoted him to the rank of 5000 *zat* and *suwar*.[35] Although there was scope within his office for the rank to be higher than this, he said, "Until some outstanding service is performed by me, I won't accept a higher rank."

Since my father's servants' true allegiance was still not really apparent, and because some of them gave evidence of shortcomings, misjudgments, and improper desires that are approved of neither by the court of the Creator nor by the mind of creature, of which they themselves were ashamed, on the day of accession I pardoned the shortcomings of them all **[6a]** and decided that no investigation would be made. Because of the apprehension that had taken root in their minds, I considered Amiru'l-Umara my guardian and protector, although the guardian of all servants is God—exalted be He—particularly of emperors, whose existence ensures the welfare of the world. His father,

34. The *tümän tugh* is the yak-tail standard of a division commander, a symbol of very high military office.

35. For an explanation of the ranking system, see translator's preface, page xx.

Khwaja Abdul-Samad, was without equal in his time in the art of depiction, received the title of Shirin-Qalam [He of the Sweet Pen] from His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun], and held the rank of cohort and companion in his royal assembly. He was a noble of Shiraz, and my exalted father held him in great honor and dignity because of his past services.

❁ *Relationships with the Zamindars of Amber*

Raja Man Singh, one of my father's trusted and important amirs, had various relationships and kinships to this glorious family. Since he was constantly in my father's house, I myself proposed marriage with his sister, who gave birth to Khusraw and his sister Sultanunnisa Begam,[36] my first child. I made Raja Man Singh governor of Bengal as before. Although on account of several things that had happened he did not expect this favor, I ennobled him with a robe of honor, a *charqab*,[37] a jewel-studded sword, and a personal horse and sent him off to that province, which is the place of five thousand horsemen.[38] His father was named Raja Bhagwan Das, and his grandfather was named Raja Bihari Mal. The first of the Kachhwaha Rajputs who had the honor to serve my father was Raja Bihari Mal. In correctness, allegiance, and courage he was truly outstanding among his people.

After my accession I summoned all the amirs to court along with all their retinues. It occurred to me that this legion should be sent with Sultan Parvez on a *ghaza* [raid] against the Rana, one of the worst infidels of Hindustan.[39] In my father's time troops had been repeatedly sent against him, but it had never been possible to repel him.

❁ *Prince Parvez is Dispatched with a Troop of Amirs and Soldiers to Conquer the Rana's Kingdom*

At an auspicious hour I awarded my above-mentioned son a fine robe of honor, a girth sword, a jewel-studded girth dagger, a string of pearl prayer beads [**6b**] strung together with precious rubies and worth seventy thousand rupees, Persian and Turkish horses, and elephants and gave him leave to depart. Around twenty thousand fully-equipped horsemen with their officers and commanders were assigned to this campaign. First I promoted Asaf Khan, who was an old servant during my father's reign, held the office of bakhshi for a long time, and afterward became an autonomous divan, from the station of vizier to the station of amir. I increased his rank from 2500 to 5000, made him Parvez's tutor, and honored him with a robe of honor, a jewel-studded girth sword, a horse, and an elephant. I commanded all the officers, great and small, not to disobey his order.

I appointed Abdul-Razzaq Ma'muri as Parvez's bakhshi and Mumtaz Beg, Asaf Khan's uncle, as his divan. Next I favored Raja Bihari Mal's son Raja Jagannath, who held the rank of 5000, with a robe of honor and a jewel-studded girth sword. I also gave a robe of honor and a jewel-studded girth sword to Rana Shankar, the Rana's cousin, and dispatched him. My father had given him the title of rana, intending to send him with Khusraw against the Rana, but around that time my father had died.

Raja Man Singh's brother['s son] Madho Singh and Rai Sal Darbari were granted the privilege of banners because they were at our court and were trusted Shekhawat Rajput servants of my father's. They were both promoted to the rank of 3000.

I also promoted Shaykh Ruknuddin Afghan, to whom I had given the title of Sher Khan while I was a prince, from the rank of 1500 to the rank of 3500. Sher Khan is the chieftain of a tribe and extremely courageous, and when he was a liege man to amirs he lost an arm to a sword.

To Shaykh Abdul-Rahman the son of Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl, to Maha Singh the

36. Text here has Sultan-Nisar, but the name has been corrected to Sultanunnisa, as it appears elsewhere (see above, page 7, note 20). She died on 4 Sha'ban 1056 (September 5, 1646); see Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, 2:508.

37. A *charqab* was some sort of textile often given as a presentation item, but its exact description has not been determined. The word is given in contemporary dictionaries, but it is not well defined.

38. By this he means that the province was capable of producing and sustaining five thousand cavalrymen

39. This is Rana Amar Singh of Mewar.

grandson of Raja Man Singh, to Zahid Khan the son of Sadiq Khan, to Wazir Jamil, and to Qara Khan Türkmän, each of whom held the rank of 2000, robes of honor and horses were awarded, and they were dismissed. Rai Manohar, who was of the Shekhawat Kachhwaha tribe, had been shown many favors by my father when he was a child. He knows Persian, and although all the way back to Adam no one could attribute understanding to anyone of this tribe, he is not devoid of understanding and composes Persian poetry. [**7a**] This line is by him: "The reason for the creation of shadow is so that no one will step on the light of His Majesty the Sun."

If the details and ranks of all the officers and servants who were assigned to this campaign were to be mentioned, it would take much too long. Many of those close to us, intimate servants, amirs' sons, khans' sons, khanazads, and ambitious Rajputs, participated in this service by their own desire and entreaty. One thousand ahadis, by which is meant single soldiers, were also assigned. In toto such a troop was assembled that if they are successful they will be able to contend with any mighty ruler.

Because I had complete faith in Amiru'l-Umara when I was prince, I entrusted the *üzük* [signet] seal to him. After sending him to the souba of Bihar, I entrusted it to Parvez. Now that he has been dispatched on the Rana campaign, I have reentrusted it as of old to Amiru'l-Umara.

Parvez was born in Kabul during the thirty-fourth year of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar]'s reign, two years and two months after the birth of Khusraw, of Sahib-Jamal, a cousin of Zayn Khan Koka's.[40] (Zayn Khan's relationship [to the dynasty] was equal to Mirza Aziz Koka's.)

After several children had been born and passed away, a daughter was born of Karamsi of the Rathor family, and she was named Bahar Banu Begam.[41]

40. Khusraw was born on 24 Amurdad 995 (circa August 3, 1587), and Parvez was born on 19 Aban 997 (circa October 29, 1589). See Muhammad-Hadi's preface to the *Jahangirnama* and Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 3:568 (trans. 3:859).

41. Bahar Banu was born on 23 Shahrivar 998 (circa September 2, 1590). See Muhammad-Hadi's preface. She died on 11 Shawwal 1063 (August 25, 1653); see Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih* 3.175

The Birth of Khurram

Sultan Khurram was born of Jagat Gosain, the daughter of Mota Raja, in the thirty-sixth year of the royal accession of my exalted father, corresponding to the year 999 of the Hegira [1592], in Lahore.[42] [**7b**] Little by little as his years progressed real potential was noticed in him. He served my exalted father more and better than any of my sons, and my father was very pleased with him and his service. He always commended him to me. Many times he said, "There is no comparison between him and your other sons. I consider him my true son."

After several children had been born but passed away in infancy, within one month two sons were born of concubines. I named one Jahandar and the other Shahryar.

Just then Sa'id Khan's request arrived for Mirza Ghazi, a son of the governor of the province of Thatta, to be granted leave to depart court. I said that since my father had affianced his sister to my son Khusraw, God willing, when the alliance was made, I would dismiss him.

One year before becoming emperor I had decided that on Friday eves I would not commit the sin of drinking wine. I hope that as long as I live the divine court will grant me constancy in this decision.

Eight thousand rupees were given to Mirza Muhammad-Riza Sabzavari to distribute among the poor and needy of Delhi.

42. Khurram was actually born on the twenty-sixth of Day, 30 Rabi' I 1000 (January 5, 1592). The date is given as 999 because that regnal year began in 999. See Muhammad-Hadi's preface and Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 3:603 (trs. 3:921).

Transfer of the Joint Vizierate to Wazirulmulk

I transferred the vizierate of half the realm to Khan Beg, to whom I had awarded the title of Wazirulmulk while I was a prince, and half to Wazir Khan. I promoted Shaykh Farid Bukhari, who held the rank of 4000, to 5000. I promoted Ram Das Kachhwaha,

who had been patronized by my father and held the rank of 2000, to the rank of 3000. I sent robes of honor to Mirza Rustam the son of Mirza Sultan-Husayn, a grandson of Shah Ismail and governor of Kandahar, to Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan son of Bayram Khan, and to his sons Iraj and Darab, and to other amirs assigned to the Deccan. I ordered Barkhordar, [**8a**] son of Abdul-Rahman Mu'ayyad Beg the governor, to return to his jagir since he had come to court without being summoned.

> It is impolite to go into a king's banquet without a summons; otherwise,
> door and wall will not keep out the foot of yearning.

One month after my royal accession, Lala Beg, who had been given the title of Baz Bahadur while I was a prince, attained the felicity of paying homage. I increased his rank from 1500 to 4000 and sent him as governor to the souba of Bihar. I gave him twenty thousand rupees. Baz Bahadur is a member of the elite cavalry of our dynasty. His father was named Nizam, and he was librarian to His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun].

I promoted Keshav Das Maru, a Rajput from the province of Meerut whose allegiance is superior to that of his peers, and raised his rank to 1500.

I commanded the Muslim sages and learned men to collect the individual divine names that would be easy to learn so that I might use them as a litany. On Friday eves I converse with the learned, with dervishes, and with hermits.

❁ *The Office of Governor of Gujarat Given to Qilich Khan*

When Qilich Khan, an old servant of my exalted father's court, was appointed governor of the souba of Gujarat, I awarded him a lac of rupees to defray expenses.

Because he has been in allegiance and loyal until today, I promoted Miran Sadr-i-Jahan, whom I have considered to be my disciple from childhood when I was studying forty *hadith*s with Shaykh Abdul-Nabi,[43] who is mentioned in detail in the *Akbarnama*, [**8b**] from the rank of 2000 to the rank of 4000. While I was a prince, before my exalted father's illness, and during his illness, when the opinions of the pillars of state and mighty amirs were shaky and each had some melancholia in his mind and they wanted to bring about something that would result in nothing but wreckage of the state, he showed no shortcoming in his service and allegiance.

❁ *Transfer of the Joint Vizierate to I'timaduddawla, and the Office of Divan of Bengal to Wazir Khan*

I made Ghiyas Beg, who was divan of royal workshops for a long time during my father's reign and held the rank of 700, vizier of half the realm in Wazir Khan's place and awarded him the title of I'timaduddawla with the rank of 1500. I assigned Wazir Khan as divan to the souba of Bengal and assigned him the collection of revenues from there.

I gave Patr Das, who was given the title of Rai-Raian during my father's reign, the title of Raja Bikramajit after one of the major rajas of Hindustan in whose time the star catalogue of India was compiled,[44] and I made him my chief of ordnance. I ordered him always to have ready in the light artillery fifty thousand *topchi*s[45] and three thousand gun carriages. The above-mentioned Bikramajit is of the Khattri caste,[46] and during my father's reign he was promoted from overseer of the elephant stables to divan and the rank of amir. He is not devoid of understanding soldiering and strategy and tactics. I promoted Khurram the son of Khan A'zam from the rank of 2000 to 2500.

43. A *hadith* is a saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad. Based on the Prophet's dictum *man hafiza 'ala ummati arba'ina hadithan yantafi'una bihi dakhala 'l-jannata* (anyone who preserves for my community forty sayings from which they may benefit will enter paradise), selections of forty *hadith*s were commonly made and memorized.

44. This was Raja Vikramaditya, held by legend to be a king of Ujjaini. The Vikrama era, dating from 58 B.C., is attributed to him. See Bhattacharya, *A Dictionary of Indian History*, 840. The Sanskrit name Vikramaditya became Bikramajit in medieval



Portrait of Zamana Beg, Mahabat Khan, by Manohar. India, Mughal period, ca. 1610. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 38.7 x 26.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.3r

Because it was my desire that most of the Akbari and Jahangiri servants should get their heart's desire, I ordered the bakhshis that anyone who wanted his native land as a jagir should petition me so that [**9a**] that place might be settled as his jagir with the *al tamgha* in accordance with the Törä and Genghisid canon and be safe and secure from change.

Description of the Al Tamgha

Whenever our fathers and forefathers awarded anyone a jagir as a possession, they had a decree sealed with the *al tamgha*, which consists of a seal stamped in vermilion red. I ordered the place of the seal covered in gold and then stamped with the seal, which I then called the *altun tamgha* [gold seal].

Mirza Sultan is the son of Mirza Shahrukh, a son of a daughter of the Mirza Sulayman who was a descendant of Mirza Sultan-Abusa'id and a long-time governor of Badakhshan. Of all [Mirza Shahrukh's] sons I chose Mirza Sultan, requested him from my exalted father, and promoted him in my own service. I consider him a member of the circle of my own sons, and I promoted him to the rank of 1000.

I promoted Bhao Singh, the most worthy of Raja Man Singh's sons, to the rank of 1500.

To Ghayur Beg Kabuli's son Zamana Beg, who had served me from childhood and had risen during my time as prince from the station of ahadi to the rank of 500, I gave the title of Mahabat Khan, promoted him to the rank of 1500, and appointed him as bakhshi to the menials.

The Reason for the Murder of Abu'l-Fazl

Raja Bir Singh Deo was one of the Bundela Rajputs patronized by me.[47] In courage, innate goodness, and guilelessness he shone among his peers. I promoted him to the rank of 3000. The reason for his promotion was as follows.

Toward the end of my exalted father's reign, Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl, one of the shaykhzadas of Hindustan who was outstanding in his learning and wisdom, had ostensibly adorned himself with loyalty and sold it to my father for an exorbitant price. He was summoned from the Deccan, and since he was suspicious of me he was always making snide remarks. At that time, because of the corruption of mischief-makers, my exalted father's mind was quite turned against me, and it was certain that if [Abu'l-Fazl] succeeded in reaching him he would create more discord and prevent [me] from rejoining [my father]. It was therefore absolutely necessary that he be prevented from reaching him. Since Bir Singh Deo's territory lay in his path, and at that time [Bir Singh] was in the circle of insurgents, [**9b**] I sent him a message that he should waylay the miscreant and dispatch him to nonexistence, in return for which he could expect great rewards from me. Success smiled on the endeavor, and as [Abu'l-Fazl] was passing through [Bir Singh Deo's]

Hindi and was so transcribed in Persian.

45. The meaning of *topchi* here is uncertain. It normally means gunner or artilleryman, but the number is impossibly high. It could

territory, [Bir Singh] blocked his path, scattered his men in a skirmish, and killed him, sending his head to me in Allahabad. Although this caused distress to His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar], in the end it resulted in my being able to proceed to kiss the threshold of my exalted father's court without fear, and little by little the bad blood between us subsided.

I gave Mir Ziya'uddin Qazwini, who rendered loyal service when I was a prince, the rank of 1000. I ordered the overseer of the stables to keep thirty horses ready every day for giving away. I promoted Mirza Ali Akbarshahi, a distinguished warrior of this dynasty, to the rank of 4000 and established the sarkar of Sambhal as his jagir.

One day Amiru'l-Umara said to me in confidence, and I was greatly pleased by his words, "Honesty and dishonesty are not limited to cash and goods; rather, to misrepresent one's friends as having talents they do not have and to conceal talents that strangers do have are also dishonest." Truly, he was right. One should not look upon one's intimates as acquaintances or strangers, and one should report the situation of every person just as it is.

❁ *Advice to Parvez*

When he was being granted leave, I had said to Parvez, "If the Rana should come with his eldest son (who was named Karan) to pay homage to you, my son, and enter obedience and servitude, his territory should not be harassed." There were two goals in this campaign. One was as follows. The subjugation of the territory of Transoxiana was always foremost in my exalted father's mind, but every time he set forth, obstacles appeared. If this task were accomplished successfully, and if this worry were to be removed from the mind, I would place Hindustan in Parvez's care and set out, under divine fortune, for my ancestral lands[48]—particularly during these days, when there is no autonomous ruler in the region. Baqi Khan had achieved great autonomy after Abdullah Khan and his son Abdul-Mu'min Khan had died, but his brother Wali Khan, [10a] who is presently ruler in that region, has not yet put his affairs in order.

The second goal was the completion of the half-finished affair of the Deccan. Since during my exalted father's reign a bit of that territory had been subjugated, with God's favor I would bring that kingdom totally under control and annex it to the realm. It is hoped that God will grant both these goals.

> Let an emperor take the kingdoms of a clime: he will still crave another.[49]

I promoted Mirza Shahrukh, grandson of Mirza Sulayman the ruler of Badakhshan, who is intimately related to this family and held the rank of 5000 in my father's service, to the rank of 7000. The mirza is a real simpleton Turk by nature. My father held him in great esteem, and every time he commanded his own sons to sit [in his presence], he granted the same favor to him. Despite the corrupting ways of the Badakhshis, recently neither has the mirza been tempted by them to go astray nor has he done anything to vex me. I reconfirmed him in the souba of Malwa under the same terms my father had granted him.

Khwaja Abdullah is of the Naqshbandi line. At the beginning of his service he was an ahadi, but gradually his rank advanced to 1000. For no ostensible reason he [left my service and] went over to my father. Although I considered it a happy thing that my retainers and men should join his service, because he did it without permission I was quite vexed. Despite such disloyalty, I reconfirmed him in the rank and jagir my father

also be a Hindi diminutive for "small ball" and refer to some kind of light gun.

46. Jahangir discusses the castes on page 146 below.

47. There is great confusion in the text between the names Nar Singh and Bir Singh, who differ only by the placement of a dot. Here, and throughout, the person is Bir Singh Deo Bundela.

48. The passage of a century had not dimmed the memory of Timurid domination in Central Asia. Jahangir's great-grandfather Babur held the throne of Samarkand thrice, but each time he had lost it and was finally driven from Transoxiana altogether by the Uzbek confederation under Muhammad Khan Shaybani. Jahangir was still dreaming of a Timurid restoration in his ancestral territory.

49. Quoted from Sa'di, *Gulistan* in *Kulliyyat*, 40

had awarded him. He is certainly a brave and courageous warrior, and if he had not committed that one fault, he would be without blemish.

Abul Bey Uzbek, an established noble of Transoxiana who was governor of Mashhad in the time of Abdul-Mu'min Khan, was promoted to the rank of 1500.

Shaykh Baha's son Shaykh Husayn has been in my service continuously since childhood. He was awarded the title of Muqarrab Khan when I was prince. He is very nimble and quick in service, and during hunts he goes far in front of me on foot. He shoots arrows and guns well, and he is the outstanding surgeon of the age. His forefathers also practiced this profession. After my accession, because of the absolute trust I had in him, I sent him to Burhanpur to bring my brother Danyal's sons and family and to deliver detailed advice to the Khankhanan. [**10b**] Muqarrab Khan performed this service well in a short time, removing the fears that were clouding the minds of the Khankhanan and the amirs there and bringing my brother's family safe and sound along with their goods and stores to Lahore.

I promoted Naqib Khan, a sayyid of true lineage from Qazwin whose name is Ghiyasuddin Ali, to the rank of 1500. My father had given him the title of Naqib Khan, and he was very intimate in his service to my father. At the beginning of his reign [my father] took lessons with him, and for this reason he addressed him as *akhund* [master]. In the science of history and the proper reading of men's names he is without equal.[50] Today there is no historian like him in all the world. He has the entire history of the world from creation till today on the tip of his tongue. Such a memory only God can give to a person.

At this time I promoted to the rank of 1000 Shaykh Kabir, who is of the line of His Holiness Shaykh Salim. When I was a prince I awarded him the title of Shaja'at Khan for his bravery and courage.

50. Because Arabic script does not indicate short vowels, it is necessary to consult reference works to ascertain the pronunciation of many proper names. It was considered part of a historian's job to know how to read the names of persons and places.

The Incident of Akhai Raj's Sons

On the twenty-seventh of Sha'ban [December 28, 1605] a ruckus was caused by the sons of Akhai Raj, the son of Bhagwan Das the uncle of Raja Man Singh.[51] These wretches, whose names were Abhai Ram, Bijai Ram, and Shyam Ram, were extremely intemperate. Although intolerable acts had been committed by Abhai Ram, I had disregarded his faults. Because it was reported that this wretch wanted to send his women and children to his homeland without permission and then flee himself and take refuge with the Rana, who is one of the great adversaries of this dynasty, I said to Ram Das and other Rajput amirs, "If one of you stands as guarantor for him, I will leave the wretch in his rank and jagir and pardon his past offenses." But they were so quarrelsome and malevolent that no one would stand as guarantor. I told Amiru'l-Umara that since no one would guarantee the conduct of these wretches, they would have to be turned over to one of the court servants until some guarantor could be arranged.

51. Raja Man Singh was Bhagwan Das's son by adoption. Here Bhagwan Das is referred to as Man Singh's paternal uncle, which he may have been prior to the adoption—or the text may be corrupt with regard to the relationships.

Amiru'l-Umara turned them over to Ibrahim Khan Kakar, who later became Dilawar Khan, and to Babu Mengli's son Hatam, who held the title of Shahnawaz Khan. [**11a**] When they were about to disarm the hooligans, they refused and transgressed the bounds of politeness. As it happened, my own servants got into a fight with them, and this was reported to me by Amiru'l-Umara. I replied that the wretches would have to be chastised for their action. Amiru'l-Umara went to deal with them, and I sent Shaykh Farid off after him. Two of the Rajputs, one with a sword and the other with a *jamdhar* dagger, faced off with Amiru'l-Umara. One of his retainers, Qutb

by name, grappled with the one holding the jamdhar and was killed by him. The one with the jamdhar was cut to ribbons. One of Amiru'l-Umara's Afghan retainers grappled with the one holding the sword and dispatched him to nonexistence. Dilawar Khan pulled a jamdhar and headed for Abhai Ram, who had been dragged to his feet by his two brothers, and wounded one of them with the jamdhar. Stabbed nine times by those three, he fell right there. A few ahadis and some of Amiru'l-Umara's men then tangled with them and killed the murderers. One of the Rajputs drew a sword and charged at Shaykh Farid, but his Abyssinian slave faced the Rajput and brought him down.

This fracas took place in the courtyard of the Hall of Public and Private Audience. The punishment served as an example to many of the unenlightened. Abul Bey Uzbek said that if such an incident had taken place among the Uzbeks, the entire line and tribe of the perpetrators would have been exterminated. I said, "Because this clan was patronized and promoted by my exalted father, I shall continue the same sort of patronage. It is a necessary corollary of justice that many people not be blamed for the fault and crime of one individual."

Six months before my accession Shaykh Husayn Jami, who today practices being a dervish and is one of my dervish-natured adherents, wrote from Lahore to say, "I dreamed that the great saints have transferred the rule to that divinely chosen one. Armed with this good news, be ready for such an occurrence. I hope that after it happens the faults of the great Khwaja Zakariya of the Ahrari line will be pardoned."[52] [11b]

I promoted to the rank of 3000 Tash Beg Qorchi, an old retainer of this family to whom my father awarded the title of Taj Khan and who held the rank of 2000.

I promoted Tokhta Beg Kabuli, who held the rank of 1500, to the rank of 3000. He is a very courageous and brave warrior and was a very close confidant to my exalted uncle Mirza Muhammad-Hakim.

I promoted Abu'l-Qasim Namakin, an old servant of my father's, to the rank of 1500. Few have as many children as he does. He has thirty sons, and if he doesn't have as many daughters, they are no fewer than half that number.

I awarded Shaykh Salim's grandson Shaykh Ala'uddin, who is very close to me, the title of Islam Khan and promoted him to the rank of 2000. He grew up with me from infancy, from the time he was less than a year old, and he is a very manly and good person at heart. He is distinguished in every respect among his tribe and clan. He has never indulged in any intoxicants, and his loyalty to me is so great that I have exalted him by addressing him as "son."

I distinguished Ali-Asghar Barha, who is without peer in bravery and courage and is the son of Sayyid Mahmud Khan Barha, among his peers by awarding him the title of Sayf Khan. He is a young man of outstanding bravery. During hunts and in places where few of my trusted men accompanied me, he was always one of them. He has never in all his life indulged in any sort of intoxicant, having taken a vow when he was young. He will soon advance to high rank.

I promoted Muhammad-Quli Khan Barlas's son Faridun, who held the rank of 1000, to the rank of 2000. Faridun is a genuine scion of the Ulus Chaghatai.[53] He is not devoid of bravery and manliness either.

I promoted Shaykh Salim's grandson Shaykh Bayazid, who held the rank of 2000, to the rank of 3000. The first person to suckle me was Shaykh Bayazid's mother, but it wasn't for more than a day.

52. The Ahrari line refers to the successors of the Naqshbandi master Nasiruddin Ubaydullah "Khwaja Ahrar" of Samarkand (1403–1488).

53. The Barlas, one of the constituent tribes of the Ulus Chaghatai (Transoxiana and Moghulistan), was the tribe from which the Timurids came.



PORTRAIT OF SAYYID ALI SAYF KHAN BARHA, by Nanha. India, Mughal period, ca. 1615. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 40.5 x 26.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.4v

A Discussion with Pundits

One day I asked the pundits, who are the wise men of India, "If your religion is based on the incarnation of the holy essence of the divine [**12a**] in ten different bodies, such a thing is rejected by people of intelligence, and this corrupt notion entails that the divine necessary, who is unqualifiable by any attributes, must have length, width, and depth. If what you mean is the appearance of divine light in these bodies, then it is equal in all existing things and not peculiar to these ten bodies. If what you mean is the confirmation of a divine attribute, it is not proper to limit it to this form because in every religion there are miracle-workers who are distinguished from other men of their time by their knowledge and power."

After much exchange of views they confessed their belief in a god of gods incorporeal and unqualifiable, but they said, "Since our minds are incapable of comprehending an abstract essence and we cannot know it without the intermediary of form, we have made these ten bodies a means by which we know and recognize the deity."

"Then," I said, "these bodies are a means for you to attain that which should be worshiped."

A Mention of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar]

My father often used to hold discussions with the wise men of every religion and sect, particularly with the pundits and learned men of India. Although he was illiterate, he had sat so much with sages and learned men in discussions that no one could guess from his appearance that he was illiterate. He comprehended the subtleties of prose and poetry so well that it is impossible to imagine any better.

In stature he was of medium height. He had a wheaten complexion and black eyes and eyebrows. His countenance was radiant, and he had the build of a lion, broad of chest with long hands and arms. On his left nostril he had a very beautiful fleshy mole, about the size of half a chickpea. Among those who have some expertise in the science of physiognomy such a mole is considered a sign of great good fortune. His august voice was very loud, and he had a particularly nice way of speaking. In his conduct and manners there was no comparison between him and the people of the world—a divine aura was apparent around him.

> Both greatness in personal worth and regality in lineage, you would say
> Solomon had placed his ring on his finger.

The Birth of Shahzada Khanim

Three months after my birth, [12b] my sister Shahzada Khanim was born of one of the royal serving-girls, and [my father] gave her to his mother, Maryam-Makani.

The Birth of Shah-Murad

After her another son was born, also by one of the serving-girls. He was named Shah-Murad. Since he was born in the mountains of Fatehpur, he was called "Pahari."[54] When my exalted father sent him to conquer the Deccan, due to his consorting with bad men he overindulged in wine and passed away at the age of thirty in the vicinity of Jalnapur in the province of Berar. His complexion was dark, and he was tall in stature, inclining to be portly. Gravity was apparent in his manner, and bravery and manliness were evident from his conduct.

Prince Danyal

On Wednesday eve the second of Jumada I 979,[55] [September 10, 1572] another son was born of one of the concubines, and he was named Danyal. Since he was born in Ajmer in the house of one of the devotees of the blessed shrine of Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti named Shaykh Danyal, the child was named Danyal. After the death of my brother Shah-Murad, Danyal was dispatched toward the end of the reign to subdue the Deccan, and I too set off after him. While my exalted father was besieging the fortress of Asir, Danyal and a large contingent of amirs like the Khankhanan, Mirza Yusuf Khan's sons, and other commanders surrounded the fortress of Ahmadnagar. At the same time the fortress of Asir fell, Ahmadnagar also came under the control of the imperials. After His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani set out in victory and triumph from Burhanpur for the capital, he gave that province to Danyal and assigned him to consolidate the area. Following his brother Shah-Murad's bad example, he too passed away within a short while at the age of thirty-three from overindulgence in wine.



AKBAR WITH A SARPECH. India, Mughal period, ca. 1650. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper mounted on board. Image area: 24.2 x 15.8 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler. S1986.402

54. From the Hindi *pahar*, mountain. He was born on June 7, 1570. See Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama* 3 (trans. 2:514).



PORTRAIT OF PRINCE DANYAL, by Manohar. India, Mughal period, ca. 1600. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, overall page: 38.9 x 26 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.32r

He was very fond of guns and of hunting with guns, and he had named one of his guns Yaka-u-Janaza [one shot, and it's the funeral bier]. He himself had composed the following line of poetry and had it inscribed on it:

> Yearning to fall prey to you, the soul is refreshed. For everyone hit by your bullet it is "one shot, and it's the funeral bier."

55. It was the regnal year that had begun in Shawwal 979. Danyal was actually born in the following year of the Hegira, 980. See Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 2:373 (trans. 2:542).

After his wine drinking was carried to excess and the circumstance was reported to my father, orders of reproach were issued to the Khankhanan. [13a] Of course he forbade it and posted guards to watch him. When his access to wine had been completely blocked, he began to weep and importune some of his servants, saying, "Let them bring me wine by any means possible." To Murshid-Quli Khan, a musketeer who was in his immediate service, he said, "Pour some wine into this Yaka-u-Janaza and bring it to me." That wretch, in hope of favor, undertook to do this and poured double-distilled spirit into the gun, which had long been nourished on gunpowder and the scent thereof, and brought it. The rust of the iron was dissolved by the strength of the spirit and mingled with it, and the prince no sooner drank of it than he fell dead.

> One should not take an omen from his own heart; if he does, he should not take it for himself.

Danyal was a young man of fine stature, with a pleasing build and good-looking. He was very fond of elephants and horses. It was impossible for him to hear that anyone had a good horse or elephant and not get it. He was fond of Indian singing. Occasionally he composed poetry in the language and idiom of the people of India that wasn't bad.

After Danyal's birth, a daughter was born of Bibi Dawlatshad, and she was named Shakarunnisa Begam.[56] Since she was brought up in the lap of my exalted father's care, she turned out very well, good-natured and innately compassionate toward all people. From her infancy and childhood until now she has been constant in her love for me. Rarely does such affection exist between brother and sister. The first time, as is customary, they squeezed my sister's breast and a drop of milk came out, His Majesty my exalted father said to me, "Baba, drink this milk so that in reality this sister of yours may be like a mother to you." The Omniscient knows that from the day I drank that drop of milk I have felt within myself, along with sisterly and daughterly affection, that type of love that children have for mothers.

56. Shakarunnisa Begam died in Mathura on 14 Safar 1063 (January 4, 1653); see Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, 3:154.

After a while another daughter was born of Bibi Dawlatshad, [13b] and she was named Aram Banu Begam. Her temperament is greatly inclined to volatility and sharpness. My father loved her so much that he politely tolerated her acts of rudeness, and in his blessed sight, since he loved her so much, she did not seem so bad. He often said to me, "Baba, for my sake, after I'm gone, treat this sister of yours, who is, as the Indians say, my *ladla* (that is, my pet), as I do. Tolerate her coquettishness and overlook her rudeness and impudence."

❁ *His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar]'s Good Qualities and Pleasing Characteristics*

My exalted father's good characteristics were too many to be described. If books were to be composed on his good qualities, without exaggeration and disregarding our

father-son relationship, not even a small portion could be contained therein. Despite his rulership and such treasuries and treasures beyond enumeration, despite his war elephants and Arabian horses, never did he place his foot one iota above the level of humility before the divine court, and he considered himself the least of all creatures. Not for an instant was he unaware of God.

> Always in every place with everyone in every situation keep the hidden eye of your heart in the direction of the beloved.

Followers of various religions had a place in the broad scope of his peerless empire—unlike other countries of the world, like Iran, where there is room for only Shiites, and Rum, Turan, and Hindustan, where there is room for only Sunnis. Just as all groups and the practitioners of all religions have a place within the spacious circle of God's mercy, in accordance with the dictum that a shadow must follow its source, in my father's realm, which ended at the salty sea, there was room for practitioners of various sects and beliefs, both true and imperfect, and strife and altercation were not allowed. Sunni and Shiite worshiped in one mosque, and Frank and Jew in one congregation. Utter peaceableness was his established way. He conversed with the good of every group, every religion, and every sect and gave his attentions to each in accordance with their station and ability to understand.

His nights were spent in wakefulness and he slept so little during the day that in a twenty-four-hour period he slept no more than a watch and a half, and he considered vigilance at night to be a renewal of life.

His courage and bravery were so great that he could ride uncontrollable, enraged elephants and subdue into obedience elephants [**14a**] so murderous they wouldn't allow their mates near them. Usually, no matter how bad-tempered an elephant may be, it doesn't harm its mate or its keeper. Nonetheless, when an elephant so frenzied that it might have killed its keeper and wouldn't allow its mate near, or an elephant that had killed its mahout and gone berserk passed by a wall or tree, my father, relying on divine grace, would throw himself on the elephant's back, and as soon as he sat down, he would bring the elephant under control and calm it down. Such a scene has been witnessed more than once.

His Accession to the Throne, the Conquest of Delhi, and the Killing of Hemu the Grocer

Akbar acceded to the throne at the age of fourteen. After His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun] passed away in Delhi, Hemu the Infidel,[57] who had attached to himself all the Afghan rulers, assembled an amazing horde and set out for Delhi with a pack of elephants the likes of which none of the rulers of the vast expanse of Hindustan owned at that time. Before this happened, His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun] had dispatched [my father] to deal with some Afghans in the foothills of the Punjab. The news of his father's death reached my father through Nazar Chöli.[58] The contents of the following hemistich of poetry both describes the situation and forms a chronogram: "Humayun Padishah fell from the roof."[59] Bayram Khan, his ataliq, gathered the amirs who were with him in that souba and seated [my father] on the throne at an auspicious hour in the pargana of Kalanaur, a dependency of Lahore. When Hemu reached the outskirts of Delhi, Turdi Beg Khan and a large contingent who were in Delhi assembled and went out to oppose him. Battle broke out and the armies clashed,

57. For the episode of Hemu, who was known variously as Hemu the Grocer and Hemu the Infidel, see Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 1:616–19 and 2:45–66.

58. Reading Nazar Chöli as a proper name for the text's *nazarjui*. Nazar Shaykh Chöli is mentioned in the *Akbarnama*, 1:364 (trans. 1:657).

59. The chronogram *Humayun Padishah az bam uftad* yields 962, which must have been the regnal year. He died in Rabi' I 963 (January 1556). See Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 1:363 (trans. 1:654).

but after much fighting and killing defeat befell Turdi Beg Khan and the Moghuls as the forces of darkness overwhelmed those of light.[60]

> In all war and battle it is God who knows who will enjoy the glorious goblet of victory. / From the blood of champions and the dust of hosts the field turned red and the sky black.

60. The Battle of Tughluqabad took place on October 7, 1556. See Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 2:29 (trans. 2:47f.).

Turdi Beg Khan set out for my exalted father's camp with the defeated troops. Because Bayram Khan did not get along with him, he called him on the carpet with the pretext of his defeat and his shortcoming in battle and put an end to him.[61]

61. Bayram Khan had his arch-rival, Turdi Beg Khan, put to death shortly after the defeat. See Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 2:32 (trans. 2:51f.).

Once again, because of the conceit that had taken root in the accursed infidel's brain by scoring a victory, [**14b**] he emerged from Delhi with his hordes and elephants and headed forward as the glorious banners of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] set forth from Kalanaur to repel him. The forces of light and darkness clashed in the vicinity of Panipat on Thursday, the second of Muharram 964 [November 5, 1556]. Hemu's troops consisted of thirty thousand battle-scarred warrior horsemen, and the *ghazi*s [warriors] of the victorious legion were not more than four or five thousand. On that day Hemu was mounted on an elephant named Hawai. Suddenly an arrow struck the infidel in the eye and came out through the back of his head. When his troops saw this, they turned in rout. By chance, Shah-Quli Khan Mahram and several other warriors reached the elephant atop which was the wounded Hemu. They were about to shoot the mahout when he cried out, "Don't kill me! Hemu is on top of this elephant." Immediately they brought him as he was before His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani.

Bayram Khan said, "It would be appropriate for His Majesty to stick a sword into this infidel with his own hand so that he may acquire the reward for ghaza and incorporate the title ghazi into the seals of his decrees as part of his blessed name."

"I have already torn him to pieces," His Majesty said. And then he explained, saying, "One day in Kabul I was practicing drawing with Abdul-Samad Shirin-Qalam. I drew a picture of a person with disjointed limbs. One of those nearby asked who it was a picture of. I said, 'It's a picture of Hemu.'"

So as not to defile his hand with Hemu's blood, Akbar said to one of his servants, "Behead him!" The slain of the defeated forces numbered five thousand, not counting those who had fallen far afield.

Another of His Majesty's outstanding performances was his expedition to and conquest of Gujarat. When Mirza Ibrahim-Husayn and Muhammad-Husayn Mirza rebelled against the state and went to Gujarat, and all the amirs of Gujarat and the troublemakers of that region united and laid siege to the fortress of Ahmadabad, which was held by Mirza Aziz Koka and the imperial troops, His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani set out without stopping for Gujarat from Fatehpur with a regal assemblage because of the distress of Jiji Anaka, the above-mentioned mirza's mother. [**15a**] Such a long and lengthy road, which usually takes two months to travel, he traversed in nine days, traveling sometimes by horse, sometimes by camel, and sometimes by *ghurbahal* [horse-drawn carriage] and got himself to Sarela.

When they reached the vicinity of the enemy on the fifth of Jumada I 980 [September 13, 1572], council was held with his supporters. Some said that the enemy should be taken by surprise, but His Majesty said, "A surprise attack is the way of the fainthearted and the method of tricksters." Immediately he ordered drums sounded and

battle cries given, and when they reached the Sabarmati River, he commanded the men to cross in array. Aroused by the uproar of the imperial troops' crossing, Muhammad-Husayn Mirza himself came out to reconnoiter. From our side Subhan-Quli Türk and a few warriors had also gone to the river bank to scout out the enemy.

When the mirza saw that group, he asked, "What troops are these?"

"It is Jalaluddin Akbar Shah and his troops," said Subhan-Quli.

The hapless mirza refused to accept this, saying, "My spies saw the padishah in Fatehpur fourteen days ago. You are obviously lying."

Subhan-Quli said, "His Majesty has arrived today in nine days at the gallop from Fatehpur."

"How could the elephants have made it?" the mirza asked.

"What need is there for elephants when such stone-splitting warriors and champions, better than any mad elephants, are here?" replied Subhan-Quli. "Now we'll see what your claims and refractoriness are really made of."

The mirza, somewhat taken aback by hearing these words, went off to array his troops. His Majesty stopped long enough for the enemy to put on their arms and then advanced. Although he sent several messages to order Khan A'zam to advance, he stood still [**15b**] and said, "The enemy is far away. Until the army of Gujarat arrives from the fortress, we should stay on this side of the river."

"We have always relied on divine assistance, particularly on this campaign," replied His Majesty. "If we had kept our gaze upon the obvious chain of events, we wouldn't have made this quick march. Now that the enemy is headed for battle, it is not appropriate for us to lie low." So saying, he made his innate trust in God his shield and hurled himself and his horse into the water along with the select few who had been assigned to accompany him. Although the water was not shallow enough to wade, they made it across safe and sound. His Majesty then called for his helmet, but in his haste to bring it the arms bearer dropped the nosepiece. His Majesty took this as a particularly good omen and at once said, "Our outlook is very good because the front of our face is open." In the meanwhile the hapless mirza had arrayed his troops and was advancing to do battle with his benefactor.

> If you come out against your benefactor, you will be overturned even if you are the celestial sphere.

Khan A'zam had not the slightest inkling that His Majesty would arrive in the vicinity so soon. No matter how many times he was given news of His Majesty's approach, he refused to accept it until the royal arrival was proven to him. Then he arrayed the army of Gujarat and got ready for battle. At the same time, Asaf Khan sent reports to him that before the troops came out of the fortress the enemy forces were apparent among the trees. His Majesty put his trust in God and set forth. Muhammad-Quli Khan Toqbai, Turdi Beg Dewana,[62] and a group of champions sallied forth and pushed the enemy back with a bit of skirmish. [**16a**] His Majesty said to Raja Bhagwan Das, "The enemy is innumerable, and our men are few. We must unite and attack the enemy in unison, for a closed fist is more effective than an open hand." Having said this, he unsheathed his sword and attacked with his devoted men, crying aloud *Allahu akbar* [God is great] and *ya mu'in* [O helper].

> Consciousness flew from the world in the fray; the celestial sphere was deafened by the roar.

62. The equivalent passage in the *Akbarnama* (trans. 3:77) reads as follows: "Muhammad Quli Khan Toqbai, Tarkhan Diwana and others of the alert heroes who were the marksmen of the centre and were stationed in the van, hastened forward and after a short contest turned back." A Tarkhan Dewana is mentioned later in the *Akbarnama* (trans. 3:695), so "Tarkhan Dewana" may be the correct reading for our text's "Turdi Beg Dewana," who is otherwise unknown.

With imperial right and left flanks forward and a contingent of champions from the center, they hurled themselves valiantly into the fray. A *kawkabban*, a type of firework, had been lit among the enemy soldiers and was twisting in a thorn brake, creating such confusion that the enemy's war elephant began to move, causing the enemy's cohesion to be broken. Just then the center troop arrived and pushed back Muhammad-Husayn Mirza and the troops who were fighting with him. The imperial warriors made outstanding shows. Man Singh Darbari vanquished his foe in His Majesty's sight. Raghu Das Kachhwaha made a valiant showing. Muhammad-Wafa, one of the khanazads of this dynasty, made a brave showing and fell wounded from his horse.

By the grace of the Creator, and through the emperor's psychic ability and fortune, the enemy was scattered, and defeat befell them. In gratitude for this great victory the emperor placed the forehead of supplication on the threshold of the divine court to render thanks. Just then one of the *kalawant*s [singers] reported that Sayf Khan Kükältash had lost his life. Upon investigation it was learned that while Muhammad-Husayn Mirza was attacking the center with several of his riffraff, Sayf Khan encountered him by chance and, performing valiantly, was martyred. The mirza was also wounded by the warriors of the center.

The above-mentioned Kükältash was the elder brother of Zayn Khan Koka. An amazing thing is that one day, before this battle, while His Majesty [**16b**] was partaking of food, he asked a Hazara who was knowledgeable in the science of physiognomy, "From which direction will victory come?"[63]

"From your direction," he replied, "but one of the amirs of this army will be martyred."

Just then Sayf Khan Koka said, "I hope this felicity will be my lot."

> Many an omen has arisen from the game, and when the stars passed, the omen proved true.

In short, Muhammad-Husayn Mirza turned his reins, but his horse became trapped in the field of death, and he fell from his mount. A man named Gada-Ali, an imperial soldier, came across him, mounted him in front of himself on his horse, and took him to the emperor. Since two or three persons claimed to have participated in his capture, His Majesty asked him, "Who caught you?"

"The emperor's salt," came the reply.[64]

His hands had been bound behind his back, but now the emperor ordered them bound in front. Just then he requested water. Farhat Khan, a trusted slave, hit him on the head with both hands, but the emperor objected, called for an attendant, and allowed him to drink his fill. At this point Mirza Aziz Koka and his troop had not yet come out of the fortress.

After the capture of Muhammad-Husayn Mirza, His Majesty proceeded slowly toward Ahmadabad. He turned the mirza over to Rai Rai Singh, one of his trusted Rajputs, to mount him on an elephant and bring him along. Just then Ikhtiyarulmulk, an important commander of the Gujaratis, appeared with a troop of nearly five thousand men. With their appearance great fear overcame the imperial men, but His Majesty, in accordance with his innate courage and inborn intelligence, ordered the drums sounded and told Shaja'at Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das, and several others to charge and fire on the above-mentioned troop. Lest the enemy get hold of Muhammad-Husayn Mirza, Rai Rai Singh's men, with his approval and permission, severed the mirza's head from his body. [**17a**] My father would never have approved of

63. Jahangir's "Hazaras" are Pathan, or Afghan, tribesmen. The name is derived from the Mongol contingents of a thousand (*hazar*) that were stationed as outposts in these frontier areas during Mongol domination in the thirteenth century

64. There is a pun involved here. Salt is a metaphor for gratitude to one's patron. The mirza implies that he was caught because of his ingratitude to the emperor.

killing him. Ikhtiyarulmulk's troop was dispersed, and their horses were driven into a thorn thicket. Suhrab Beg Türkmän cut off his head and brought it in.

Such a victory was obtained through divine bounty and grace with only a few men. Likewise the province of Bengal was taken, as were fortresses renowned and famous throughout Hindustan, like Chitor and Ranthambhor. The province of Khandesh, the fortress of Asir, and other areas taken by the victorious imperial troops are too many to recount. If details were to be given, it would take too long.

A Description of His Marksmanship

In the battle of Chitor, he shot Jai Mal, the commandant of the fortress. In marksmanship he had no equal or peer. The very gun with which he shot Jai Mal, which was called Sangram, was one of the rare guns of the age. With it he hit three to four thousand birds and beasts. In marksmanship I can be called his star pupil, for I am an avid hunter of everything that can be hit with a gun, and I have shot eighteen antelope in one day.

A Description of His Austerity

Among the acts of austerity my exalted father practiced was abstinence from animal flesh. During three months of the year he ate meat, but for nine months he contented himself with Sufi-like meals and absolutely did not approve of killing or slaughtering animals. During his happy time killing animals was generally forbidden during many days and months. The details of the days and months during which he did not eat meat are included in the *Akbarnama*.[65]

65. Akbar's distaste for the consumption of animal flesh and his meatless days are discussed in Abu'l-Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari* ,1:59.

On the same date that I made I'timaduddawla a divan, I gave the office of divan of royal workshops to Mu'izzulmulk, a sayyid from Bakhtar. During my exalted father's time he was overseer of the *käräkaraqkhana*.[66] [17b]

66. The *käräkaraqkhana* was the department of clothing, while the *töshäkkhana*, with which it is almost always paired, was the department of textiles, hangings, and bedding. The word *käräkaraq* comes from the Turkish *käräk-yaraq*, necessities and paraphernalia. In Safavid Iran the word was almost always applied to small arms and implements, but it is clear from the *Jahangirnama* (see below, page 297) and from the entry in the *Ain-i Akbari* (1:101–103) that in Mughal India it referred to clothing textiles.

On just one day during the days of accession a hundred Akbari and Jahangiri servants had their ranks and jagirs increased.

On the Ramadan feast [January 30, 1606], being the first feast after my accession, I went out to the Idgah. There was a huge multitude. I performed the feast prayer, rendered thanks to God, and headed for the palace.

In accordance with the line that says "From the table of emperors comes relief to beggars," I ordered a bit of pure gold distributed in alms and charity. Of that amount a lac of dams was turned over to Dost-Muhammad to distribute among the poor and needy. A lac of dams was also given to Mir Jamaluddin Husayn Injü, Miran Sadr-i-Jahan, and Mir Muhammad-Riza Sabzavari to perform acts of charity around the city. Five thousand rupees were sent to the dervishes of Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Jami, and I ordered that every day one of the ranking officers of the imperial guard should give fifty thousand dams to the poor.

A jewel-studded sword hilt was sent to the Khankhanan. I promoted Mir Jamaluddin Husayn Injü to the rank of 3000. The office of comptroller was conferred, as before, upon Miran Sadr-i-Jahan.

Hajji Koka, one of my father's *koka*s [milk-sisters], was ordered to bring before me deserving women to whom land and cash might be given.

Muhammad Sadiq Khan's son Zahid Khan, who held the rank of 1500, I promoted to 2000.

67. The "Nur Ganj" of the text has been emended to Nur Gaj. Many elephants had names ending in *gaj*, Hindustani for elephant. *Nur* means light and is a reference to Jahangir's epithet, Nuruddin.

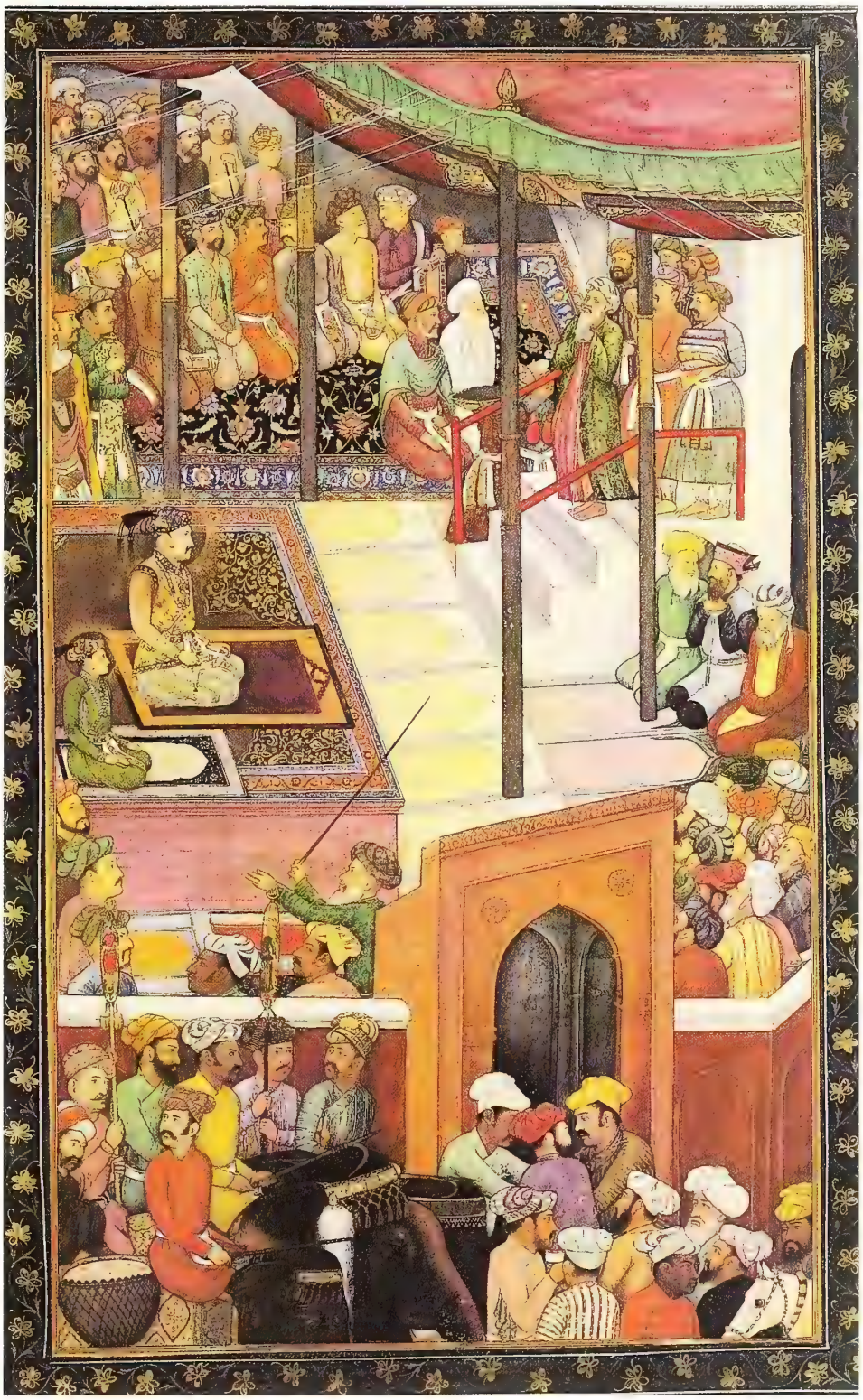
It had become customary for the grooms and stable masters to receive an amount called *jilawana* [rein money] from everyone who was awarded an elephant or a horse. I ordered this money to be given from the treasury so that people would not have to suffer requests and demands from this group.

On this day Salbahan arrived from Burhanpur and exhibited to my view my late brother Danyal's horses and elephants. One of the elephants he had brought was named Mast-i-Alast. [18a] I liked its looks, so I named it Nur Gaj.[67] An amazing thing was witnessed in this elephant. Beside both ears were bumps the size of small watermelons, and there was also a bump on the place where fluid drips out from elephants when they are in rut. The bump on its forehead was larger than has been seen in other elephants. I thought it looked very handsome and awe-inspiring.

I gave my son Khurram a string of gem prayer beads with the intention that he should attain his desires, both spiritual and physical.

The Taking of Zakat *from all Imposts in Kabul and Kandahar is Prohibited*

Since I had remitted the *zakat* of the realm,[68] the income of which amounted to many crores, I also forgave all transit imposts in Kabul, which is one of the major entrepôts on the Hindustan road, which amounted to one crore twenty-three lacs of dams.[69] From the two provinces of Kabul and Kandahar every year huge amounts were collected for the



JAHANGIR IN AN IDGAH, attributed to Daulat. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1610. Opaque watercolor on paper. Image area: 19.5 x 33 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst. I.4596, folio 13

zakat. I removed this ancient custom from these two places, and by this means great relief and benefit accrued to the people of Iran and Turan.

68. The *zakat* to which he refers is not the personal tithe in almsgiving, the general meaning of the word, but rather an import and export duty on commodities.

69. I.e. 12,300,000 dams (307,500 rupees).

Asaf Khan's jagir, which was in the souba of Bihar, was given to Baz Bahadur Khan, and I ordered a jagir allotted to Asaf Khan in the souba of the Punjab. When it was reported that an amount was owing from Asaf Khan's jagir, and now that a change had been decreed it would not be possible to collect it, I ordered one lac of rupees given to him from the treasury and the arrears collected from Baz Bahadur for the imperial revenues.

A Description of Sharif Amuli

I promoted Sharif Amuli to the rank of 2500. He is a very pure and nice person. Although he doesn't have a shred of learning, he usually speaks of lofty and noble things. He has traveled much in the garb of spiritual poverty and kept company with many great Sufis. He can quote from the maxims of great mystics, [**18b**] although he does it by rote and doesn't practice it. During my exalted father's time he left his dervish garb of poverty and attained the rank of amir and commander. His psyche is very powerful, and his conversation and words, although he is devoid of the most rudimentary Arabic, are quite eloquent and chaste. His compositional style is not without charm either.

A garden was left in Agra by Shah-Quli Khan Mahram. Because there was no heir, I offered it to Hindal Mirza's daughter Ruqayya Sultan Begam, the respected wife of my exalted father. My father entrusted my son Khurram to her, and she loved him a thousand times better than if he had been her own.

The First Nawroz after the Accession

On the eve of Tuesday the eleventh of Dhu'l-Qa'da 1014 [March 10, 1606], at the time of dawn, which is the time of effulgence of light, the sun moved from the constellation of Pisces into the house of its own nobility, which is the constellation of Aries. Because this was the first Nawroz after the royal accession, I ordered the walls of the Hall of Public and Private Audience covered, as it was in my exalted father's time, with fine textiles and a celebration made with great decoration and elaboration. From the first day of Nawroz until the nineteenth degree of Aries, the day of culmination, the people celebrated and reveled. Musicians and singers of every sort gathered. Dancing gypsies and charmers of India, who could steal away the hearts from angels, kept the entertainment lively. I decreed that everyone could drink whatever intoxicants or exhilarants he wanted without prohibition or impediment.

> Cup-bearer, brighten our goblet with the light of wine! Sing, minstrel, for the world is working as we desire.[70]

70. The line of poetry is by Hafiz, *Divan*, 6, line 10.

In my father's time, during these seventeen or eighteen days it was customary for one of the great amirs to give a party every day and arrange rare offerings of all sorts of jewels, gem-studded vessels, precious textiles, elephants, and horses and persuade His Majesty to attend their parties. In order to do honor to his servants he would take the



JAHANGIR WITH BOW AND ARROW. India, Mughal period, ca. 1605. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper mounted on board. Text: 1.7 x 7.5 cm, image area: 13.1 x 7.5 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler. S1986.408

trouble to attend the gathering, inspect the gifts, choose what he liked, and give the rest to the host. Because my mind was inclined to the welfare and ease of military and civilian alike, [**19a**] this year I gave back all the gifts except for a little bit from a few intimates, which I accepted to make them feel good.

During these days many of my servants were promoted. Among them, I made Dilawar Khan Afghan 1500. I promoted Raja Baso, one of the zamindars of the Punjab hills who has served me loyally since the time I was prince, and who held the rank of 2500, to 3500. I promoted Shah Beg Khan the governor of Kandahar to the rank of 5000. I promoted Rai Rai Singh, one of the Rajput amirs, to a similar rank. I ordered twelve thousand rupees to be given to Rana Shankar as assistance.

❁ *The Turmoil in Gujarat is Cleared up through the Good Offices of Raja Bikramajit*

At the beginning of my accession, one of Muzaffar Gujarati's sons, who considered himself the offspring of a ruler in that area, caused a turmoil by raiding the outskirts of Ahmadabad and in the process killing several commanders like Yatim Bahadur Uzbek and Rai Ali Bahati, who were among our courageous and distinguished warriors. In the end Raja Bikramajit and many officers with six or seven thousand horsemen were assigned to assist the army of Gujarat. It was decided that when our mind was relieved by the repulsion of the troublemakers, the raja would become the governor of Gujarat, and Qilich Khan, who had been assigned this task previously, would come to court. Once the imperial forces arrived, the unity of the troublemakers was broken, every one of them took refuge in the jungle, and the province came under our control. The particulars of this triumph were reported to us at a most auspicious hour.

In the meanwhile a report came from my son Parvez saying that the Rana had abandoned the outpost of Mandal, about thirty or forty kos from Ajmer, and fled. Imperial troops had been assigned to pursue him. It is hoped that my imperial fortune will annihilate him.

On the day of culmination many of my servants were honored by favors and increases in rank. [**19b**] Peshraw Khan, an old servant who came from Persia in His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun]'s retinue—indeed, he was one of the men sent as escort by Shah Tahmasp—was named Mihtar Sa'adat. Since he was the head and superintendent of my exalted father's carpet department and was without equal in his service, he had been awarded the title of Peshraw Khan. Although he is a retainer of gentle disposition and of a fretful nature, I promoted him to the rank of 2000 in view of the privileges he had acquired through service.

❁ *The Flight of Khusraw During the First Year of My Accession*

Corrupting notions had crept into Khusraw's head because of his youth and the conceit that afflicts the young, particularly during the days of my exalted father's illness when some short-sighted men, despairing utterly of pardon and forgiveness for the multitude of crimes and shortcomings they had committed, thought they could make Khusraw a puppet and take the reins of government into their own hands. They were, of course, unaware of the fact that the rule of empire is not something that can be carried out by a couple of weak-minded individuals. Whom does the All-Giving Creator consider worthy of this magnificent office? And upon whose capable shoulders has He draped this robe of office?

> Luck cannot be taken from its possessor. Crown and throne cannot be purchased. / It is not fitting to take the crown of fortune from a head God grooms for a crown.

The notions of the corrupt and short-sighted will result in nothing except regret and penitence, and imperial rule has been given to this petitioner at the divine court.

I constantly found Khusraw preoccupied and distracted. No matter how I tried to show him favor and compassion and attempted to remove the worries and concerns from his mind, it was of no use. Finally, when two gharis had elapsed of the eve of Sunday the eighth of Dhu'l-Hijja of the above-mentioned year [April 6], he emerged from the Agra citadel, having been counseled by a group of wretches, and set forth with a hundred fifty horsemen who were attached to him on the pretext of paying a visit to the blessed tomb of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar].

A short while after he set out, **[20a]** a lamp attendant who was acquainted with Wazirulmulk reported the news to him that Khusraw had fled. Wazirulmulk took the man along to Amiru'l-Umara. When the news was verified, Amiru'l-Umara came in a tizzy to the door of the Darbar Mahall and said to one of the eunuchs, "Convey my respects, and say that I have something urgent to say and His Majesty should come out." Because I hadn't dreamed of any such thing, I suspected that some news had come from the Deccan or Gujarat. But after I came out, it was clear what the matter was.

"What's to be done?" I asked. "Should I set out on horseback, or should I send Khurram?"

"If it is ordered," replied Amiru'l-Umara, "I will go myself." I so ordered. After that, he said, "If he won't come back on my advice, and if he takes up arms, what should be done?"

"If he won't come to his senses without a battle," I replied, "do whatever you have to. Rule does not tolerate any bonds of kinship or father-son relationship, as is said, 'A king is not related to anyone.'"

When I dismissed him, having said these things and more, it occurred to me that Khusraw detested [Amiru'l-Umara] utterly, and he was the object of jealousy among his peers because of the intimacy and station he enjoyed. God forbid that they should think up a plot against him and do away with him! I ordered Mu'izzulmulk to go and turn him back. Then, assigning Shaykh Farid Bakhshibegi to this task, I ordered a contingent of officers and ahadis who were on night watch to accompany him. Ihtimam Khan the *kotwal* [police chief] was assigned as scout and reconnaissance officer. I also decided that, God willing, when day broke I myself would set out. Mu'izzulmulk brought Amiru'l-Umara back.

Because around this time Ahmad Beg Khan and Dost-Muhammad had been sent to Kabul and were camped in the vicinity of Sikandra, which was right on Khusraw's route, after Khusraw reached that area they left their tents with some of their men to come to me and report that Khusraw was headed at a gallop for the Punjab. It occurred to me that he might have pulled a feint and actually be headed in some other direction. Because his uncle Raja Man Singh was in Bengal, most of the court servants thought **[20b]** he would head there. I sent men out in every direction. It became clear that he was going to the Punjab. Just then dawn broke, and, relying on God's graciousness and favor, I mounted with a firm resolve and set out, encumbered by no one and nothing.



MIRZA HUSAYN BROUGHT BEFORE JAHANGIR AT SIKANDRA. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1610. Opaque watercolor on paper. 28 x 18.6 cm. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. 34.5

Yea, he who is pursued by grief does not know how to ply the road. / He knows only that he must push forward, but he does not know with whom to go or with whom to stay.

When I reached the tomb of my exalted father, three kos outside the city, I sought assistance from his spirit. At the same time Mirza Shahrukh's son Mirza Husayn, who had wanted to accompany Khusraw, was seized and brought before me. When I questioned him, he couldn't deny it. I ordered his hands bound and him mounted on an elephant. This was the first good omen to appear from the blessed assistance of His Majesty. When it was noon and the heat was at its greatest, I stopped for a moment in the shade of a tree and said to Khan A'zam, "Inasmuch as I, my composure notwithstanding, have not had the regular dose of opium I should have had at the beginning of the day, and no one has reminded me of it, imagine what state that wretch must be in![71]

The vexing part of this affair was that my son, without reason or cause, had become an enemy and opponent. If I made no attempt to capture him, the seditious troublemakers would gain strength thereby, or else he would take his own lead and go to the Uzbeks or the Qizilbashes. Thereby disgrace would befall this empire. Based on these considerations, I focused my attention upon capturing him, and after a slight rest I proceeded two or three kos past the pargana of Mathura, which is twenty kos from Agra, and dismounted in a village in that pargana that had a tank.

When Khusraw had arrived at Mathura, he had encountered Hasan Beg Khan Badakhshi, one of my father's protégés who was coming from Kabul to pay homage to me. Since the Badakhshis are naturally inclined to sedition and insubordination, this was just what he had been praying for. [**21a**] Along with two or three hundred of the Oymaqs [tribes] of Badakhshan who were with him, he became Khusraw's guide and captain. Everyone they met along the way they plundered, seizing horses and goods. Merchants and conveyers of goods were plundered and pillaged by these miscreants. No one's women or children were safe from the disaster of these abominators anywhere they went. Khusraw could see with his own eyes what injustice was being wrought upon the ancestral realm of his fathers and forefathers, and at seeing these wretches' untoward actions he should have wished for death a thousand times over. In the end he had no choice but to try to placate these dogs.

If fortune and luck had been on his side, he would have repented and come to me without trepidation. The Omniscient knows I would have forgiven his shortcomings totally and been so kind and compassionate that not an iota of dread or trepidation would have remained in his mind. However, during the events that transpired after His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's death he had some notions caused by the corrupting influence of some mischief-makers, and he knew that these things had been reported to me. Therefore, he had no reliance on my love and compassion. Even while I was a prince his mother swallowed opium and killed herself because of his dreadful ways and because of the conduct of her own brother, Madho Singh.

71. Jahangir seems to imply here that Khusraw was also addicted to opium.

❁ *Description of the Good Nature of Khusraw's Mother and the Reason for her Death*[72]

What shall I write of her goodness and excellence? She had a mind to perfection, and she was so loyal to me that she would have sacrificed a thousand sons and brothers for one hair on my head. She constantly wrote advice to Khusraw and tried to reason with him to be loyal and loving to me. When she saw that it was of no use and there was no telling where it would end, she decided to take her own life out of the zeal that is an integral part of Rajput nature. Several times she went berserk—it must have been a hereditary trait since her father and brothers all used suddenly to appear quite mad, but after a while they would calm down.

While I was away on a hunt, on the twenty-sixth of Dhu'l-Hijja 1013 [May 5, 1605], with her mind in a state of imbalance she ate a lot of opium and died soon thereafter. It was as though she had foreseen this behavior in her wretched son. [21b] My first marriage, when I was quite young, was with her. After Khusraw was born I had given her the title of Shah Begam. Since she was incapable of tolerating the misconduct of her son and brother toward me, she despaired of her life in a fit of madness and delivered herself of this pain and grief. With her death, given the attachment I had to her, I passed my days without deriving pleasure in any way from life or living. For four days and nights, which is thirty-two watches, I was so upset and grief-stricken that I took no food or drink.

When this state was reported to my exalted father, he wrote me a letter of condolence so compassionate and loving and sent me a robe and turban he had taken from his own head and wrapped up. This display of favor cast water on the fire of my grief and calmed my turmoil.

The reason for all the preceding is to say that there is no greater wretchedness than that a son should cause his mother's death through his own misconduct, or that he should revolt against his father and choose to flee from his presence without the slightest provocation or reason, merely because of corrupting notions and fantasies. Since the Almighty Avenger has a requital in store for every act of conduct, in the end he came face to face with the worst possible of conditions, fell from favor, and was held in everlasting imprisonment.

> When a sober man behaves like a drunk he places his foot in a snare and his head in a noose.

In short, on Tuesday the tenth of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 8], I stopped in the station of Hodal. Shaykh Farid Bukhari and a troop of brave champions were sent out in pursuit of Khusraw and as scouts for the imperial army. Because of his past service and experience I sent Dost-Muhammad, who was in my retinue, to guard the citadel at Agra, the harem, and the treasuries.

As I was leaving Agra I had stationed I'timaduddawla the state vizier to watch and guard the city, but now I told Dost-Muhammad, "Because I am going to the Punjab, and that souba is in I'timaduddawla's jurisdiction, you will send him to me. You will also arrest Mirza Muhammad-Hakim's sons who are in Agra and keep them in prison. If such treatment is received from a son of my loins, what can be expected of nephews and cousins?" After Dost-Muhammad was dismissed, Mu'izzulmulk became bakhshi.

On Wednesday we stopped in Palwal, and on Thursday in Faridabad. On Friday the thirteenth [April 11], we reached Delhi. With the dust of the road still clinging to

72. Khusraw's mother's name is unknown. The daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber and niece of Jahangir's mother, Maryamuzzamani, she was entitled Shah Begam (king lady).

me I paid a visit to the blessed tomb of His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani and asked for his spiritual help. [**22a**] I gave money with my own hand to the poor and needy. From there I proceeded to the shrine of His Holiness Shaykh Nizamuddin Awliya, where I performed the rites of visitation. After that I gave a bit of money to Mir Jamaluddin Injü and another sum to Hakim Muzaffar to be distributed among the poor and needy.

On Saturday the fourteenth [April 12], camp was made in the Narela caravansaray, which Khusraw had burned as he passed through. The rank of Aqa Mulla, Asaf Khan's brother who had been ennobled by joining my service, was increased to 1000/300. He performed outstanding service on this trip.

A troop of Oymaqs was in attendance. Considering that some of these people were in league with Khusraw, lest they take fright two thousand rupees were given to their leaders to distribute among their men and make them hopeful of my favor. I gave money to Shaykh Fazlullah and to Raja Dhindhar to give to the poor and Brahmins along the way. I ordered thirty thousand rupees expended in Ajmer as assistance for Rana Shankar.

On Monday the sixteenth of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 14], I reached the pargana of Panipat. This place was always lucky for my noble fathers and respected ancestors, for two great victories took place here. One was the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi by the mighty forces of His Majesty Firdaws-Makani. It is recorded in the histories of the age. The second was the victory given by fortune over the miscreant Hemu at the beginning of my exalted father's reign, the details of which have already been given.[73]

73. See pages 41f. above.

When Khusraw passed through Delhi he was headed for this pargana. By chance Dilawar Khan had already arrived there, and when he heard these things he had his sons cross the Jumna [**22b**] while he himself, like a good soldier of fortune, decided to gallop with the intention of reaching the Lahore fortress before Khusraw got there. Just then Abdul-Rahim also reached this stopping place from Lahore. Dilawar Khan tried to persuade him, saying, "Send your sons across the river with mine, and pull off the road and wait for Jahangir's banners." However, Abdul-Rahim was so lethargic and timid that he could not bring himself to do it. He only stopped long enough to pay homage to Khusraw when he arrived and agreed, either voluntarily or involuntarily, to accompany him. He received the title of Malikulwuzara [King of Viziers] and became his autonomous vizier.

Dilawar Khan set out intrepidly for Lahore, and along the way he informed everyone he met, court servants, *karoris*, merchants, and others, of Khusraw's rebellion. Some he took along with him, and others he told to get out of the way. After these poor God-fearing men were safe from the tyrants' pillage and plunder, it was generally thought that if Sayyid Kamal in Delhi and Dilawar Khan in Panipat had shown sufficient courage and cunning by blocking Khusraw's way, the miserable group he had with him would not have been able to put up a resistance and would have dispersed, leaving Khusraw to be captured. In any case, they were not sufficiently courageous, but later on each of them made up for his shortcomings: Dilawar Khan performed an outstanding service by galloping to Lahore and entering the citadel before Khusraw's arrival, and Sayyid Kamal also performed valiantly in the battle with Khusraw, as will be described in the proper place.

On the seventeenth of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 15], the imperial forces stopped in the pargana of Karnal. At this station I promoted to the rank of 1000/1000 Abidin Khwaja, Khwaja Kalan Juybari's son and Abdullah Khan Uzbek's grandson who had come during my exalted father's time.

Shaykh Nizam Thanesari, one of the great imposters of the age, [23a] met Khusraw, encouraged him with good news, and escorted him a while along the way. He came to see me. When I heard his news, I gave him his expenses for the road and ordered him to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

On the nineteenth [April 17], we stopped in the pargana of Shahabad. There was very little water there. By chance there was a downpour, and everyone slaked his thirst.

I promoted Shaykh Ahmad Lahauri to the position of chief justice. From the time I was prince he has been a devoted servant and disciple. Aspirants and the devoted gain access to me through him, and he tells me to whom I should offer my hand and to whom I should present a portrait. When aspirants are presented, several pieces of advice are repeated: one should not sully one's time with enmity to any religion; one should maintain complete peace with followers of all religions; one should not kill any animal with one's own hand and thereby become like a butcher—except in battles and hunts.

> Seek not to deprive an animate being of its soul—except on the field of battle or during a hunt.

The luminaries, which are manifestations of divine light, should be venerated in accordance with the degrees of each one, and one should recognize that the real mover and creator in all forms and times is God. Indeed, one must contemplate so that the mind is never, either in private or in public, devoid of the thought and contemplation of Him.

> Be you lame, low, or unrefined, crawl to Him and seek Him.

My exalted father had this trait, and rarely was his mind devoid of this thought.

At the station of Aluwa I assigned Abul Bey Uzbek with fifty-seven other officers to reinforce Shaykh Farid and gave them forty thousand rupees for expenses. Another seven thousand rupees were given to Jamil Beg to distribute among the Oymaqs. I also awarded Sharif Amuli two thousand rupees.

On Tuesday the twenty-fourth of the month [April 22], five of Khusraw's attendants were captured and brought in. I ordered two of them, who confessed to being his servants, [23b] thrown beneath an elephant's feet. The other three, who denied it, were turned over until an investigation could be made.

On the twelfth of the month of Farvardin of the first year of my accession [March 21], Mirza Husayn and Nuruddin-Quli Kotwal entered the city of Lahore. On the twenty-fourth of the month,[74] Dilawar Khan's messenger brought word, saying, "Khusraw has rebelled and is headed for Lahore. Be informed." On that same day the city gates of Lahore were shut tight, and two days after that date Dilawar Khan entered the citadel with a few men and began to fortify the towers and ramparts. He repaired every breach or chink, and cannons and mortars were brought up on top of the citadel and made ready for action. The few court servants who were inside the citadel were all assembled and assigned duties. The people of the city too helped out in all loyalty. After two days everything was ready.

74. If this is the twenty-fourth of Farvardin, it is April 2; if it is the twenty-fourth of Dhu'l-Hijja, it is April 22. The former is more likely.

❁ *Khusraw Besieges the City of Lahore*

Khusraw arrived, set up camp, and ordered the city besieged and the battle begun. He also ordered fire set to whichever of the gates they could. To his looters he said, "After



BATTLE SCENE, possibly by Bishan Das. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1610–20. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper mounted on a stiffened card. 32.6 x 20.8 cm. Courtesy of Terence McInerney, New York

the citadel is taken I will order the city pillaged for seven days and the women and children taken captive." This murderous band set fire to one of the city gates. Dilawar Khan, Husayn Beg Diwan, and Nuruddin-Quli Kotwal constructed a wall on the inside opposite the gate. During these days Sa'id Khan, one of those who had been appointed to Kashmir, was camped on the banks of the Chenab River. When he heard the news he turned back at a gallop to Lahore. Upon reaching the Ravi River, he sent word to the defenders of the citadel that he was coming to help and to let him in. The defenders sent someone out by night to bring him and the few men with him into the citadel. [**24a**] After nine days of siege Khusraw and his followers received a constant inpouring of news of the arrival of imperial troops. Frightened out of their wits, they assumed that they would have to confront the imperial army.

Because Lahore is one of the great cities of Hindustan, such a huge multitude gathered within six or seven days that it was heard from reliable men that ten to twelve thousand horsemen were ready for battle and leaving the vicinity of the city, intent upon making a surprise attack on the vanguard. On Thursday eve the sixteenth, this news reached me in Saray-i-Qazi. That very night, although there was a heavy rain, I had the marching drums sounded and mounted. By the next morning we had reached Sultanpur. I was in Sultanpur until noon. As it

happened, at that very hour an encounter took place between the imperial troops and the wretched band.

Mu'izzulmulk had brought me a pot of *biryani*, and I was about to partake of it with gusto when news of the battle arrived. No sooner had I heard it than I took one mouthful for good luck and mounted, although I was very desirous of eating the biryani. Without regard for whether the men had arrived or how few the troops were, I proceeded with all haste. No matter how often I demanded my armor, they could not produce it. Of weapons I had only a spear and a sword. Entrusting myself to God's graciousness, I set forth without preparation. At the beginning of the ride there were not more than fifty riders along. No one had any idea that there would be a battle today. By the time we reached Gobindwal Bridge, four or five hundred riders, both good and bad, had gathered. When I crossed the bridge news of victory was received. The first person to bring the good news was Shamsi Töshäkchi. Because of this good news I entitled him Khoshkhabar Khan. Just then Mir Jamaluddin Husayn, whom I had sent to advise Khusraw, arrived. [**24b**] He spoke so much of the multitude and might of Khusraw's men that it caused fear. Although the news of Khurram's victory was constantly pouring in, this simpleton sayyid wouldn't believe it for anything and was surprised how such an army as he had seen could be defeated by Shaykh Farid's troop, which was extremely small in number and ill-equipped. When Khusraw's palanquin and two of his eunuchs were brought in, the mir accepted the truth. He got down from his horse, placed his head at my feet, and exhibited all sorts of humility and submission, saying that there could be no greater fortune than this.

A Description of Shaykh Farid and the Barha Sayyids during This Battle

In this action Shaykh Farid performed loyally and self-sacrificingly. He manned his forward detachment with the Barha sayyids, who are the outstanding brave men of their time and who fought valiantly in every battle in which they participated. Sayyid Mahmud Khan Barha's son Sayf Khan, the leader of the clan, made a courageous showing and was wounded. Sayyid Jalal, also one of the clan brothers, was hit by an arrow in his temple and died several days later. While the Barha sayyids, who were only fifty or sixty in number, removed a thousand or a fifteen hundred Badakhshis with blows of their swords, [the Barhas] themselves were cut to shreds. Sayyid Kamal and his brothers, who had been assigned to reinforce the forward detachment, entered from one side and fought in the fray beyond ordinary courage and bravery. After that, the men of the padishah's right wing charged, shouting "Hail to the Padishah." Hearing these words, the rebels went to pieces, and each ran off in a different direction. Nearly four hundred men of the Oymaqs were ground into the dust, and the chest in which Khusraw kept his jewels and valuables, which he always had with him, fell to them.

> Who could have known that this youngster would get on such bad terms with his elders? / With the first goblet he brought forth the dregs, abandoning my splendor and his own shame. / He burned the sun's throne in desiring Jamshed's place.

Short-sighted men in Allahabad had also tried hard to persuade me to rebel against my father. [**25a**] In the end their words and advice did not seem reasonable to me at all, for I knew how long a reign based on contention with my father would last. I was

not led astray by the advice of these weak-minded people but rather, putting into practice what was required by intelligence and knowledge, went to pay homage to my father, my guide, my metaphorical qibla and lord, and through the blessing of this correct intention I got what I got.

On the evening of the same day Khusraw fled, I gave Raja Baso, a great zamindar of the Lahore hill country, leave to go there and do whatever he had to to get hold of Khusraw. I assigned Mahabat Khan and Mirza Ali Akbarshahi a large troop and ordered them to pursue Khusraw in whatever direction he had gone. I also decided that if Khusraw went to Kabul, I would follow him there and not return until I had captured him. If he did not stop in Kabul but proceeded to Badakhshan and that vicinity, I would station Mahabat Khan in Kabul and return safe and sound. The wretch would be going to Badakhshan certainly to ally himself with the Uzbeks, which would be a disgrace to this dynasty.

How Khusraw Was Captured

On the day the imperial troops were assigned to pursue Khusraw, eleven thousand rupees were given to Mahabat Khan and twenty thousand rupees were given to the ahadis. Another ten thousand rupees were sent along with the above-mentioned troops to be given along the way to anyone necessary.

On Saturday the twenty-eighth [April 26] the royal camp stopped in the station of Jaipal,[75] seven kos from Lahore. That very day Khusraw and several men reached the banks of the Chenab River. In short, after the defeat, the men who had emerged with him from the battle chose different paths. The Afghans and the people of India, who were mostly his veterans, wanted to go back in the direction of Hindustan and carry out mischief. [**25b**] Husayn Beg, whose people, family, treasuries, and men were in the direction of Kabul, tried to persuade him to go to Kabul. In the end he acted on Husayn Beg's advice, and the men from Hindustan and the Afghans unanimously chose to separate themselves from him. Upon reaching the Chenab River, he wanted to cross at the Shapur Crossing, a major crossing. Boats were unobtainable, so he set out for the crossing at Sodhara, where his men got hold of one boat without a boatman and another filled with kindling and straw.

75. Or, as in some of the MSS, Jaihal. Whatever the name is, it does not appear to have survived to modern times.

Before Khusraw's defeat a decree had been issued to all jagirdars, highway patrols, and crossing guards in the souba of the Punjab saying that such a thing had happened and that they should be on the lookout. Because of these measures the crossings and rivers were closed. Husayn Beg wanted to take the boatmen from the boat with kindling and straw and put them in the boat without a boatman to take Khusraw across. They were discussing this when Damad Kamal, the *chaudhari* [village elder] of Sodhara, arrived and saw a group of men about to cross the river that night. He cried out to the boatmen, "It is the Emperor Jahangir's order that people not cross the river by stealth during the night. Be aware!" The people from the vicinity gathered because of the noise and uproar, and from the hands of the boatmen Damad Kamal grabbed the pole with which they drive boats, making it unmanageable. No matter how much money they offered for one of the boatmen to undertake to get them across, not one would accept. A report reached Abu'l-Qasim Namakin, who was in Gujrat in the vicinity of the Chenab, that a group was trying to cross the Chenab by night. Once he was informed of this, he mounted with his sons and a contingent and set out by night for the river bank at the crossing. Things went so far that Husayn Beg threatened the boatmen with arrows, and Damad Kamal also started shooting from the bank. The helpless boat floated on its own down river until finally toward the end

of the night it got stuck on a sand bar, [**26a**] and there was nothing they could do to get it unstuck.

Just then dawn began to break, and Abu'l-Qasim and Khwaja-Khizr Khan, who had assembled forces under Hilal Khan along the river, fortified the west bank of the river, while the east bank was fortified by the zamindars.

Prior to this event, I had dispatched Hilal Khan as a *sazavul* [steward] to the army that had been assigned to Kashmir under Sa'id Khan. By chance that very night he reached this vicinity. It was a very timely arrival. His initiative in bringing Abu'l-Qasim Namakin's and Khwaja-Khizr Khan's troops played a big part in the capture of Khusraw.

On Sunday morning the twenty-ninth of the month [April 27], the men mounted elephants and boarded boats and got hold of Khusraw. On Monday the 30th [April 28], as soon as the news of his capture reached me in Mirza Kamran's garden, I ordered Amiru'l-Umara to go to Gujrat and bring Khusraw to me.

In councils on state affairs and government I usually act according to my own opinion and understanding. I consider two instances in which I took my own advice the most outstanding. First was when, contrary to the advice and approval of all my faithful servants, I went from Allahabad to see my exalted father and attained the happiness of serving him. In this lay the best path for my own spiritual and temporal good, for through that very act I became emperor. The second was the pursuit of Khusraw, when I was not constrained by anything—not by selecting the most auspicious hour or anything else—and did not rest until I had him captured. It is very strange that after I set out, I asked Hakim Ali, who is learned in the art of mathematics, what the hour was like when I set out. He said, "If you had wanted to choose an hour for the attainment of this goal, in many years you could not have found the likes of the hour in which you mounted in good fortune."



Prince Khusraw Brought to Jahangir as a Captive, attributed to Manohar. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1610. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 35 x 23 cm. Raza Library, Rampur. Album 1, folio 6a

Khusraw is Brought, Hands Bound and Legs in Chains

On Thursday the third of Muharram 1015 [May 1], in Mirza Kamran's garden, Khusraw, hands bound and chains on his legs, was brought in to me from the left, in

accordance with the custom and code of Genghis Khan.[76] [**26b**] Husayn Beg was made to stand on his right and Abdul-Rahim on his left. Khusraw stood trembling and weeping between these two. Husayn Beg, thinking it might help him, began to speak wildly. When his object became apparent, he was not allowed to speak. I had Khusraw led away in chains, and I ordered the two miscreants put into an ox hide and a donkey's skin, mounted backwards on an ass on a day of assembly, and paraded through the city. Since the ox hide dried out more quickly than the donkey's skin, Husayn Beg stayed alive for four watches and then died of suffocation. Abdul-Rahim, who was in the donkey's skin, and who was given fluids from the outside (?),[77] survived.

From Monday the last of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 28] until the ninth of Muharram [May 7] I stayed in Mirza Kamran's garden because of the inauspiciousness of the hour. I gave Bhairawal, where the battle had taken place, to Shaykh Farid and awarded him the exalted title of Murtaza Khan. To maintain order and discipline in the kingdom I commanded that on both sides of the road from the garden to the city, posts should be erected and the seditious Oymaqs and the band who participated in the disturbance should be hanged and each one given retribution with a singular punishment. To the zamindars who were loyal I gave the office of chieftain and chaudhari of the area between the Chenab and Bahat [Jhelum] Rivers and granted each of them lands for income.

Of all Husayn Beg's possessions—and whenever his name is mentioned henceforth he will be called Oxen-and-Asses—nearly seven lacs of rupees were recovered from Malik Muhammad Namini's house, not to mention what he had entrusted elsewhere or had with him. When he came to this court with Mirza Shahrukh he had one horse. Gradually he advanced to the point that he possessed treasure troves, [**27a**] and such ambitions came into his mind.

Along the way, when the outcome of the Khusraw affair was still up to God's will, the area between the vilayat and Agra, which is the source of sedition and corruption, was without an effective governor. In fear that the Khusraw affair would take a long time I commanded that my son Parvez station some of his commanders against the Rana and come to Agra with Asaf Khan and the troop that was close to him and thereby guard and protect that area. Through God's grace and favor, the Khusraw affair was concluded satisfactorily before Parvez reached Agra. Therefore I ordered my son to come and wait upon me.

On Wednesday the twentieth of Muharram [May 18],[78] I entered the citadel of Lahore. Some supporters reported that it would be most politic to return to Agra while there was such turmoil in the soubas of Gujarat, the Deccan, and Bengal. This advice did not suit me because I had gathered from the reports of Shah Beg Khan, the governor of Kandahar, that the amirs of the Qizilbash frontier were going to make a move owing to the corrupting influence of several men remaining from the army of the mirzas of that area who were always shaking the chain of contention and strife and writing letters encouraging [the Qizilbash] to take Kandahar.

God forbid, I thought, that the death of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani and Khusraw's untimely rebellion might whet these people's appetites to make an attack on Kandahar. As it happened, what occurred to my royal mind actually took place. The governor of Farah, the malik of Seistan, and the jagirdars of that region attacked Kandahar with the assistance of Husayn Khan, the governor of Herat. Thanks to his courage and bravery, Shah Beg Khan made a manly defense [**27b**] by fortifying and securing the fortress and by so seating himself on the third tier of the fortress citadel that those outside could watch his parties. During the siege not only did he not gird his loins but he reveled and

76. For the Genghisid code, see note 43 on page 14 above.

77. The phrase is ambiguous (*az kharij ba u rutubat rasanidand*). It is not clear whether Abdul-Rahim was given liquids by others (which is what the text seems to say) or whether the donkey's skin was porous, allowing his body to breathe.

78. Emending the text's *hashtum* (eighth) to *bistum* (twentieth), a very common mistake in manuscript.

caroused, bareheaded and barefoot. Yet there was not a day on which he did not send a troop out of the fortress to engage the enemy. His valiant efforts were reported to me. As long as he was in the fortress it was like this.

When the news reached me in Lahore that the Qizilbash army had surrounded the fortress on three sides, it was apparent that it would be better and more politic for me to remain in these parts. I immediately appointed a large contingent under the leadership of Mirza Ghazi, who was accompanied by a number of officers and servants of the court, such as Qara Beg, entitled Qara Khan, and Tokhta Beg, entitled Sardar Khan. I appointed Mirza Ghazi to the rank of 5000/5000 and awarded him the privilege of drums. (Mirza Ghazi is the son of Mirza Jani Tarkhan, the padishah of the kingdom of Thatta. When that region was conquered by Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan Sipahsalar during His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign, the kingdom of Thatta became [Mirza Jani Tarkhan's] jagir, and he was given the rank of 5000/5000. After his death, his son Mirza Ghazi was promoted to his father's rank and service. Their fathers and forefathers were among the amirs of Sultan-Husayn Mirza "Bayqara," the ruler of Khurasan, and they were originally from the ranks of the Sahib-Qiran's amirs.)

Khwaja Aqil was appointed as bakhshi to this campaign. To cover expenses, forty-three thousand rupees were given to Qara Khan, and fifteen thousand rupees were given to Naqdi Beg and Qilich Beg, who accompanied Mirza Ghazi. I decided to stay in Lahore in order to settle this matter and to visit Kabul.

Around this time Hakim Fathullah's rank was increased to 1000/300.

Since Shaykh Husayn Jami had dreams about me that came true shortly afterward, I awarded him twenty lacs of dams, which would be thirty-five to forty thousand rupees, for his own expenses and for the khanaqah and the dervishes who were with him.

On the twenty-second [May 20], I favored Abdullah Khan by promoting him to the rank of 2500/1500. I ordered two lacs of rupees given as an advance on the ahadis' salaries and gradually deducted from their monthly pay. I ordered six thousand rupees given to Qasim Beg, Shah Beg Khan's son-in-law, and three thousand rupees to Sayyid Bahadur Khan, both as favors.

There was a Hindu named Arjan in Gobindwal on the banks of the Beas River.[79] **[28a]** Pretending to be a spiritual guide, he had won over as devotees many simple-minded Indians and even some ignorant, stupid Muslims by broadcasting his claims to be a saint. They called him guru. Many fools from all around had recourse to him and believed in him implicitly. For three or four generations they had been peddling this same stuff. For a long time I had been thinking that either this false trade should be eliminated or that he should be brought into the embrace of Islam. At length, when Khusraw passed by there, this inconsequential little fellow wished to pay homage to Khusraw. When Khusraw stopped at his residence, [Arjan] came out and had an interview with [Khusraw]. Giving him some elementary spiritual precepts picked up here and there, he made a mark with saffron on his forehead, which is called *qashqa* in the idiom of the Hindus and which they consider lucky.[80] When this was reported to me, I realized how perfectly false he was and ordered him brought to me. I awarded his houses and dwellings and those of his children to Murtaza Khan, and I ordered his possessions and goods confiscated and him executed.

There were two others, Raju and Amba by name, who made their living by tyranny and oppression under the protection of the eunuch Dawlat Khan. While Khusraw had Lahore under siege, they had made untoward acts of aggression. I ordered Raju hauled off to the gallows and a fine taken from Amba, who was known to be rich. In all, one

79. Arjan was the Fifth Guru of the Sikhs (1581–1606) and the compiler of the *Adi Granth*.

80. *Qashqa* is the Turkish word for a blaze on the forehead of a horse. This may be what the Turks in India called such a mark, but it is not, as he puts it, in the "idiom of the Hindus," who call such a mark a ticka.

hundred fifteen thousand rupees were collected from him. I ordered this amount spent on the *ghulurkhanas*[81] and charitable expenditures.

Sa'id Khan's son Sa'dullah was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000.

Parvez was so anxious to see me and pay homage **[28b]** that he quickly traversed the long distances during the monsoon season, when the rain was constant, attaining the felicity of homage on Thursday the twenty-ninth [May 27] after the passage of two watches and three gharis. In extreme affection I embraced him warmly and kissed him on the forehead.

Since such ugliness had been manifested by Khusraw, I had determined not to stay in any one place until he was captured, and it was probable that he would double back in the direction of Hindustan. In such a situation it seemed unwise and impolitic to leave Agra empty, it being the capital and place where the ladies of the royal harem resided and where the treasures of the world were buried. Therefore, when I set out in pursuit of Khusraw, a letter had been written to Parvez from Agra saying, "Your loyalty and service have resulted in Khusraw's flight from fortune and in felicity's turning its face to you. We are setting out in pursuit of him. Arrange matters somehow with regard to the Rana in accordance with the exigencies of the time and in the best interests of the state and get yourself quickly to Agra, for I entrust the capital and the treasury, which contains the riches of Croesus, to you and you to God the Almighty." Before this order reached Parvez, the Rana gave up and sent a messenger to Asaf Khan, saying, "Since I am wholeheartedly ashamed and mortified by my acts, I hope you will intercede on my behalf and arrange it so that the prince will be content with my sending my son Bagha."

Parvez refused to agree to this, saying, "He should either come himself or send his son Karan." At this point the news of Khusraw's rebellion arrived, and for the sake of prudence Asaf Khan and the other loyalists agreed to Bagha's coming. He attained the felicity of paying homage to the prince at Mandalga. There Parvez stationed Raja Jagannath and most of the amirs assigned to the campaign **[29a]** and set out for Agra with Asaf Khan and a few of his close companions and servants. Bagha was sent to the capital under escort by Qara Beg. When [Parvez] reached Agra he heard the news of Khusraw's capture, and after waiting two days the order reached him that because our mind was relieved in all regards he should come to us. On the above-mentioned date he attained the felicity of paying homage. I awarded him a parasol, which is a sign of regality, and promoted him to the rank of ten thousand. I ordered the divanis to give him a salary-producing jagir.

Around that same time I sent Mirza Ali Beg [to Kashmir] as governor. Ten thousand rupees were sent to Qazi Izzatullah for distribution to the poor and needy of Kabul. Ahmad Beg Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1250. The same day Muqarrab Khan, who had been sent to bring Danyal's children, returned from Burhanpur after six months and twenty-two days and reported in detail the news of that area. Sayf Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000. Shaykh Abdul-Wahhab, a sayyid from Bukhara who was the governor of Delhi during His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign, was relieved of his office and retired into the spiritual life on account of some horrid acts committed by his men.

Throughout the realm, be it in royal demesnes or be it jagirdars, I ordered ghulurkhanas to be arranged for the poor so that, in accordance with the ability of each place, simple food would be cooked for the benefit of pilgrims and travelers.

Amba Khan Kashmiri, a scion of the rulers of Kashmir, was promoted to the rank of 1000/300.

81. The Rogers and Beveridge translation has "*bulghur-khana*s (refectories)." In the Persian text it is consistently called *ghulurkhana* and defined as a sort of charitable soup-kitchen.

On Monday the eighth of Rabi' II [August 3], I awarded a royal sword to Parvez. Jewel-studded swords were also granted to Qutbuddin Khan Koka and Amiru'l-Umara.

As an act of affection I saw on this day Danyal's children, whom Muqarrab Khan had brought. [**29b**] There were three sons and four daughters left by Danyal. The sons' names were Tahmuras, Baysunghur, and Hoshang. I showed them more love and affection than anyone would have suspected. I assigned Tahmuras, the eldest, to be in my service always, and I entrusted the others to my sisters to be watched over properly.

A royal robe was sent to Raja Man Singh in Bengal. I awarded thirty lacs of dams to Mirza Ghazi as a bonus. Qutbuddin Khan Koka's son Shaykh Ibrahim was promoted to the rank of 1000/300 and awarded the title of Kishwar Khan.

I had stationed my son Khurram to guard the palaces and treasuries when I set out in pursuit of Khusraw. After my mind was relieved on that score, it was ordered that Khurram should bring Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani and the harem to me.[82] When they reached the vicinity of Lahore, on Friday the twelfth of the month [August 7] I got in a boat and attained the happiness of paying homage and greeting my mother in the vicinity of a village named Dhar. After executing the rites of körünüsh, prostration (*sijda*), and *taslim*,[83] and after observing the formalities the young owe their elders under the terms of the Genghis code and Timurid law, I performed my evening worship of the Omniscient King. When that was finished I obtained permission to withdraw and entered the fortress in Lahore.

On the seventeenth [August 12], I assigned Mu'izzulmulk as bakhshi to the Rana campaign and dispatched him thither.

Because news had been received of a rebellion by Rai Rai Singh and his son Dulip Singh in the vicinity of Nagaur, I ordered Raja Jagannath to proceed at a gallop with a contingent of court servants and Mu'izzulmulk to deal with the insurgents.

I promoted Sardar Khan, who had replaced Shah Beg Khan as governor of Kandahar, to the rank of 3000/2500, [**30a**] and I awarded him fifty thousand rupees. Khizr Khan, the former governor of Khandesh, and his brother Ahmad Khan were awarded three thousand rupees. Qasim Khan's son Hashim Khan, a hereditary servant of this state and worthy of patronage, was promoted to the rank of 2500/1500. I also awarded him a royal horse. I sent robes of honor to eight amirs assigned to the Rana campaign. Nizam Shirazi the storyteller was awarded five thousand rupees. Three thousand rupees for the expenses of ghulurkhanas in Kashmir were given to the agent of Mirza Ali Beg the governor to be sent there. I gave a jewel-studded dagger worth six thousand rupees to Qutbuddin Khan.

I received news that an Afghan named Shaykh Ibrahim had started peddling his wares as a spiritual guide in a pargana in the vicinity of Lahore. As is the custom of the hoi polloi and the vile, a multitude of Afghans and others had gathered around him. I ordered him summoned and entrusted to Parvez to be held in the Chunar fortress until the affair died down.

On Sunday the seventh of Jumada I [August 31], many officers and ahadis were rewarded. Mahabat Khan's rank was increased to 2000/1300. Dilawar Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1400. Wazirulmulk was promoted to 1300/550. Qiyam Khan got the rank of 1000/1000. Shyam Singh was promoted to 1500/1200. Forty-two officers were similarly promoted. Most days are spent in the same way. I gave Parvez a ruby worth twenty-five thousand rupees.

82. Jahangir's mother was entitled Maryamuzzamani (the Mary of the Age). She was the daughter of Raja Bihari Mal of Amber.

83. *Körünüsh* is the formal salute of the Timurid and Genghisid dynasties. The *taslim* is a more elaborate salute described below. By "prostration" (*sijda*) he means the kowtow inferiors or youngers performed to superiors or elders. In this case, the emperor performs all these rituals to his mother, Maryamuzzamani. Abu'l-Fazl (*Ain-i Akbari*, 1:156f.) defines the *körünüsh*, *taslim*, and *sijda* as follows: "The world-lord [Akbar] established the custom of placing the palm of the hand on the forehead, and they call it, in the language of the time, *körünüsh*, i.e. he has taken the head (by means of which physical and mental life exists) in the hand of supplication and offered it to the monarch and made himself ready to take orders. The practice [of *taslim*] is as follows. Servants who receive favor place the back of the right hand on the ground and then slowly lift it, and when they are standing they place the palm of the hand on the top of the head, and in this pleasing manner they show their submission. This is called *taslim*. His Majesty used to say, 'One day His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun] awarded me a royal

crown. I put it on my head, but since it was too big, I had to hold it on with my hand while lowering my head, thus performing an act of veneration. The monarch liked this novel manner and established the *körünüsh* and *taslim* in this fashion.' When given leave to depart or paying homage, when given ranks and jagirs, when honored or awarded an elephant or a horse, three *taslim*s are performed. At other times when various favors are shown, a single *taslim* is performed. . . . Devoted servants have added a prostration of veneration."

❁ *Solar Weighing Festival at the Beginning of My Thirty-Eighth Year*

On Wednesday the ninth of the above-mentioned month [September 2], corresponding to the twenty-first of Shahrivar, after the elapse of three [**30b**] watches and four gharis, the solar weighing festival for the beginning of my thirty-eighth year was held.[84] With all customary elaboration the implements of weighing and the balance were put together and made ready in Her Majesty Maryam-Makani's house.[85] At the established hour I sat in the balance. Each of the suspending chains was held by an elder, and they offered prayers. First I was weighed against gold, three maunds and ten seers in the weight of Hindustan.[86] Afterward I was weighed against some other metals and all sorts of aromatics and essences, twelve times—the details will follow.

I have myself weighed twice a year against gold, silver and other metals, all sorts of silk, textiles, and all sorts of grains and other things.[87] I am weighed once at the beginning of the solar year and once at the beginning of the lunar year. The gold from these two weighings I turn over to the treasurers to give to the poor and needy.

❁

On this same blessed day I ennobled Qutbuddin Khan Koka, who has been hoping for such a day for years, with all sorts of favors, first appointing him to the rank of 5000/5000 and then bestowing upon him a royal robe of honor, a jewel-studded sword, and a royal horse with a jewel-studded saddle and giving him leave to depart as the governor of Bengal and Orissa, which is a place of fifty thousand horsemen. Thus ennobled, he set out in that direction, and a bonus of two lacs of rupees was given him to help with expenses. The relationship I have to his mother stems from the fact that when I was an infant I was looked after by her. The intimacy I have with her I do not have with my own mother. Qutbuddin Khan's mother [**31a**] stands in the place of an affectionate mother to me, and I do not love him any less than I do my own children and brothers. Of all the kokas, the one who is really worthy to be a koka to me is Qutbuddin Khan. Three lacs of rupees were given to Qutbuddin Khan's assistants.

On this same day I sent one hundred thirty thousand rupees as *sachïq* to Pahari's daughter, Parvez's fiancée.[88]

On the twenty-second [September 3], Baz Bahadur Qalmaq, who had long been in rebellion in Bengal, was led by fortune to pay homage to me on this date. I gave him a jewel-studded dagger and twenty thousand rupees and promoted him to the rank of 1000/1000.

A lac of rupees in cash and goods was given to Parvez.

Keshav Das Maru was promoted to the rank of 1500/1500. Abu'l-Hasan, who was my brother Danyal's administrator and executor, attained the felicity of paying homage along with his children. He was promoted to the rank of 1000/500.

At the beginning of the month of Jumada II [September 24], I awarded Shaykh Bayazid, a shaykhzada of Sikri who is outstanding for his intellect and wisdom and for his long service, the title of Mu'azzam Khan and assigned him the governorship of Delhi.

On the twenty-first of the month [October 14], I made a present to Parvez of a necklace containing four rubies and a hundred pearls.

I promoted Hakim Muzaffar to the rank of 3000/1000 and gave Nath Mal, the raja of Manjholi, five thousand rupees.

84. Muhammad-Salih Kambo, author of a history of Shahjahan's reign, comments as follows on the custom of weighing the emperor: "The manner of weighing is as follows. Since it is His Majesty's custom and habit to have beggars sought out, and his generous nature is always looking for a pretext to relieve those who are in need, therefore twice a year he sits, like the orient sun in majesty, in the pan of the scale of auspiciousness in the solar and lunar weighing ceremonies. Twice a year by solar and lunar calculation a magnificent celebration and a large-scale banquet is arranged by order of His Majesty. An amount equal to his weight in gold and silver is distributed among the destitute and the poor according to their deservedness and merits. Although this type of alms is not mentioned in the religious law, nonetheless since scholars of this country are all in agreement that such alms are the most perfect type of alms for repelling corporeal and spiritual catastrophes and calamities, therefore this pleasing method was chosen and established by His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar], whose personality was, like the world-illuminating sun, based upon pure

A'zam Mirza Koka's Disloyal Letter Comes to Light, but He is Pardoned

An event that happened recently is the discovery of a letter Mirza Koka had written to Raji-Ali Khan, the *zabit* of Khandesh. It was my belief that his disloyalty was on account of Khusraw and their father- and son-in-law relationship in particular. From the contents of this letter, which was in his own hand, it was clear that he had not lost any of the treachery that was innate in him, and he had trod this same [dis]pleasing path with my exalted father also. [**31b**]

In short, the letter he had written at some time to Raji-Ali Khan was filled from beginning to end with evil, malcontentedness, and things no enemy would ever write, certainly not of the likes of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, an emperor and appreciative lord who had patronized and favored him from his very infancy because of the service his mother had rendered and promoted him to the point that he had no equal or peer.

This letter fell into Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan's hands from among Raji-Ali Khan's effects in Burhanpur, and the khwaja had brought it to show me. Upon seeing and reading it, the hair on my body stood on end. Were it not for what people would think and for the rights of Shirdan, his mother, I would have throttled him with my own hands. Anyway, I summoned him, placed the letter in his hand, and said, "Read it aloud to the people!" I suspected that when he saw it he might drop dead, but he was so startled that he began reading it in a fashion that you would think it hadn't been written by him and he was reading because he was so ordered. Every one of those present at court, both Akbari and Jahangiri servants who heard it, reviled and chided him.

"Disregarding the treachery and defective loyalty you have practiced with regard to me," he was asked, "what transpired with my exalted father, who raised you and your line from the dust of the road and promoted you to such wealth and station that you were the envy of your peers, that you had to write such things to the enemies of his state and thus place yourself in the circle of the ungrateful and wretched? Yea, what can be done with original disposition and innate nature? Since your clay was mixed with the water of disloyalty, what else could come of it? [**32a**] What you had done to me I forgave and retained you in the same rank and station you possessed, for I thought your treachery had singled me out. Now that it has been found out that you acted thus toward your lord and patron, I leave you with the action and intention that you have and had."

When I was finished with this speech, he closed his lips, unable to answer. What could he reply in the face of such disgrace? I ordered him relieved of his jagir. Although what this ingrate had done was unpardonable, I overlooked it on account of certain considerations.

The Marriage of Sultan Parvez to the Daughter of Prince Murad

On Sunday the twenty-sixth of the aforementioned month [October 19], the marriage of Parvez to Prince Murad's daughter was held. The betrothal was performed in Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani's quarters, and the banquet was held in Parvez's house. Everyone who was present at the celebration was ennobled with all sorts of favors and honors. Nine thousand rupees were turned over to Sharif Amuli and several other amirs to be given as alms to the poor and needy.

On Sunday the tenth of Rajab [November 1], I went out of the city to hunt in Girjhak and Nandana and stopped in Ram Das' garden, where I remained for four days.

effulgence. . . . In short, from that time forward this praiseworthy act has become usual and customary in this mighty empire. The princes are also weighed once a solar year" (*Amal-i-Salih*, 1:321ff., translation mine)

85. Maryam-Makani, Jahangir's grandmother, died in 1603.

86. Three maunds ten seers is equivalent to 120 kilograms, or 265 pounds.

87. On page 197 he gives a more detailed list of items against which he was weighed.

88. *Sachiq* consists of gifts sent prior to a wedding from the groom's house to the bride's. The marriage is described below.

On Wednesday the thirteenth [November 4], Parvez's solar weighing was held. He was weighed twelve times against various metals and other things. Each weighing came to two maunds and eighteen seers. I ordered everything distributed to the poor. On this same day Shaja'at Khan's rank was set at 1500/700. **[32b]**

After Mirza Ghazi and the army assigned to accompany him departed, it occurred to me that I ought to send another contingent after them. I gave Bahadur Khan Qorbegi the rank of 1500/800 and sent him off with the Oymaqpuri troop,[89] which was nearly three thousand men, under the leadership of Shah Beg and Muhammad-Amin. Two lacs of rupees were given this contingent to help with expenses, and a thousand musketeers were also assigned.

89. Possibly Oymaq-i Purabi, a cavalry troop from the Purab, the eastern Gangetic plain.

I assigned Asaf Khan to guard Khusraw and defend Lahore. Since Amiru'l-Umara was ill, he was deprived of the honor of waiting upon me and remained in the city.

Abdul-Razzaq Ma'muri, who had been summoned from the Rana's country, was awarded the post of imperial bakhshi. It was ordered that he should serve in this capacity jointly with Abu'l-Hasan. It was my father's rule, and I adhere to it, that in major appointments two persons should be made partners, not out of lack of confidence but because they are only human, and no man is safe from afflictions and illnesses. If one of them has a difficulty or an obstacle, the other can be present and the affairs of God's servants will not fall into abeyance.

During this time news arrived that on the day of Dasehra, a major Hindu festival,[90] Abdullah Khan had made an expedition from Kalpi, his jagir, entering the province of Bundela and making great displays of military valor. He had made a prisoner of Ram Chand, Nanda Kuwar's son who had been creating disturbances in that jungle and difficult terrain for a long time, and taken him to Kalpi. For this pleasing service he was awarded a standard and the rank of 3000/2000.

90. For the Dasehra festival, see note 38 on page 12 above.

From reports from Bihar it was brought to my attention that, on account of certain acts of opposition and disloyalty, Jahangir-Quli Khan had done battle on rough ground with Sangram, one of the chief zamindars of the souba of Bihar who had nearly three thousand horsemen and innumerable foot soldiers. In the fray the khan had performed valiantly. In the end Sangram was killed by a gunshot wound, and many of his men also fell in the battle. The rest ran away. Since this was an outstanding act Jahangir-Quli Khan performed, I promoted him to the rank of 4500/3500. **[33a]**

Three months and six days were spent hunting. Five hundred eighty-one animals were taken by gun, leopards, trap, and *qamargha*.[91] Of these, I shot 158 myself. Qamarghas were held twice. The first time, in Girjhak, when the ladies of the harem were along, 155 animals were killed; the second time, in Nandana, 110. A list of the animals killed is as follows: mountain sheep, 18[5]; mountain goats, 29; wild asses, 10; nilgais, 9; antelope and others, 348.

91. *Qamargha* is a type of hunt in which animals are surrounded in an ever-shrinking circle.

On Wednesday the sixteenth of Shawwal [February 4, 1607], I returned safe and sound from the hunt, entering the city of Lahore after one watch and six gharis of the day had elapsed. A curious thing had been noticed during the hunt. In the vicinity of Chandwala, where a tower had been erected, I shot a black antelope in the belly. When it was wounded, a sound emerged from it, the likes of which had never been heard before from an antelope not in rut. Aged huntsmen and those who were with me all expressed amazement and said, "We do not remember, nor have we heard from our fathers, such a sound coming from an antelope not in rut." Since this experience was not a little strange, it has been recorded.

I found the meat of mountain goat more delicious than any other animal's. Although the skin of goats is so extremely evil-smelling that even with tanning the

stench doesn't go away, the meat has no odor at all. I ordered one of the male goats, the largest of all, weighed. It weighed two maunds and twenty-four seers, which is twenty-one Persian maunds. Likewise I ordered a large mountain sheep weighed, and it weighed two maunds and three seers Akbari, which is equivalent to seventeen Persian maunds. [**33b**] The largest of the wild asses taken weighed in at nine maunds sixteen seers, equivalent to seventy-six Persian maunds.

I have heard repeatedly from huntsmen and avid hunters that at a certain time a worm develops in a mountain sheep's horn, and from the worm's movement an itching pain develops that makes the sheep fight its own kind. If it cannot locate an adversary of its own kind, it knocks its horn against a tree or rock to relieve the itch. After a search was made the worm was discovered in the horn of a female of the species. Because the female does not fight, it became apparent that the tale had no basis in fact. Although the meat of the wild ass is religiously licit, and most people eat it with relish, it is repugnant to my nature.

Earlier, the chastisement of Dulip and his father Rai Rai Singh had been ordered; the news now came that Sadiq Khan's son Zahid Khan, Rana Shankar, and Mu'izzul-mulk, along with another group of officers and imperial servants, had obtained news of Dulip in the vicinity of Nagaur, a dependency of Ajmer. They set out on an expedition against him and located him. Because he had no opportunity to escape, he perforce defended himself and fought with the imperial forces. After a bit of skirmishing he suffered a crushing defeat, abandoning many men to being killed and fleeing into the valley of misfortune with his goods.

> Weapons broken and belt loosened, neither able to fight nor concerned for his head.

Despite his advanced years, I reconfirmed Qilich Khan in his rank in continuation of my father's patronage of him, and I ordered him a jagir in the sarkar of Kalpi.

The Death of Qutbuddin Koka's Mother

In the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da [February 18–March 19, 1607], Qutbuddin Khan Koka's mother passed away. She had given me milk in my mother's stead—indeed, she was kinder than a mother—and I had been raised from infancy in her care. [**34a**] I took one of the legs of her bier on my own shoulder and carried it a bit of the way. I was so grieved and depressed that I lost my appetite for several days and did not change my clothes.

The Second Regnal Year: March 11, 1607–March 8, 1608

The Second Nawroz after the Royal Accession

On Wednesday the twenty-second of Dhu'l-Qa'da 1015 [March 11, 1607], when three and a half gharis had elapsed, the sun entered its house of nobility.[1] The imperial palace was decorated with customary elaboration, and a huge celebration was held. At the auspicious hour a seating upon the throne occurred. I honored the amirs and courtiers with favors and awards.

1. The sun's entering its house of nobility and other such expressions that will be encountered on each Nawroz mean that the sun has entered Aries and the new year has begun.

The Qizilbash Lay Siege to Kandahar

On this same auspicious day a report came to me from Kandahar, saying that the army that had been assigned to Mirza Jani's son Mirza Ghazi to assist Shah Beg Khan had entered the town of Kandahar on the twelfth of Shawwal [January 31], and the Qizilbash, upon learning of the arrival of imperial troops while they were yet six stages away, fled pell-mell and did not draw in their reins until they reached the banks of the Helmand River, a distance of fifty-six kos.

Later it became apparent that the governor of Farah and a group of rulers in the area had allowed themselves to think that Kandahar could be easily taken during the chaos of interregnum after the death of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. Without being ordered by Shah Abbas,[2] they gathered troops, persuaded the malik of Seistan to join them, and sent a messenger to Husayn Khan, the governor of Herat, requesting assistance. He sent auxiliaries, and after that they set out to attack Kandahar. Shah Beg Khan, the governor of Kandahar, realizing that war was a two-way street and if, God forbid, he should be defeated Kandahar would be lost, decided that it would be better to hole up in the fortress and dispatch swift messengers to court than to do battle. [**34b**] By chance, the imperial forces that had been sent after Khusraw from Agra were camped in Lahore just then. As soon as the news was received a large contingent of amirs and officers was dispatched under Mirza Ghazi. However, before he reached Kandahar, the news reached the shah that the governor of Farah and some of the jagirdars of the vicinity had set out against Kandahar. Realizing that this was improper, the shah sent one of his dignitaries, Husayn Beg by name, to forbid this action, and an edict was issued to them to withdraw from the Kandahar fortress and return to their places, for, as he said, "the affectionate relationship between our noble fathers and the sublime dynasty of Jahangir Padishah is ancient."

2. Shah Abbas I, the Safavid ruler of Iran, ruled from 1587 to 1629.

Even before Husayn Beg arrived to deliver the shah's order, however, the attackers were unable to withstand the imperial troops and retreated. Husayn Beg chastised them and set out to pay homage, which felicity he attained in Lahore. He declared that the

wretched group who had attacked Kandahar had acted without orders from Shah Abbas and hoped that our imperial mind would not be troubled in this respect. In short, after the imperial troops arrived in Kandahar, the fortress was turned over by command to Sardar Khan, and Shah Beg Khan set out for court with the auxiliary troops.

❁

On the twenty-seventh of Dhu'l-Qa'da [March 16], Abdullah Khan brought Ram Chand Bundela in chains for me to view. I ordered the shackles removed from his feet and a robe of honor placed on his shoulders. Then I turned him over to Raja Baso, who stood as guarantor for him and a group of his relatives who had been captured along with him. The generosity and favor shown him had never occurred to him in his wildest dreams.

❁ *Sultan Khurram is Promoted*

On the second of Dhu'l-Hijja [March 21], I awarded my son Khurram a tümän tugh, **[35a]** a banner, and drums, and promoted him to the rank of 8000/5000. I also gave him a jagir.

❁ *The Situation of Pir Khan, Son of Dawlat Khan, and Babur's Invasion of Hindustan*

On this same day, Pir Khan, Dawlat Khan Lodi's son who had accompanied Danyal's children from Khandesh, was awarded the title of Salabat Khan and the rank of 3000/1500. Given a banner and drums, he was singled out from among his peers for the exalted address as "son."

Salabat Khan's forefathers and uncles have always been extremely important in the Lodi tribe. A previous Dawlat Khan was Salabat Khan's grandfather's uncle. After Sikandar [Lodi]'s death, when his son Ibrahim began to misbehave with his father's amirs and put several to death for some slight fault, Dawlat Khan grew fearful of him and sent his son Dilawar Khan to His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur]'s service in Kabul to advise His Majesty to conquer Hindustan. Since he too was thinking of making such an expedition, he set out without delay and proceeded as far as the vicinity of Lahore without pulling in his reins. Dawlat Khan and his followers paid homage and pledged their allegiance. Since [Dawlat Khan] was an aged man of impressive exterior and interior and was reliable in his service and support, His Majesty usually addressed him as "father." He awarded him the governorship of the Punjab and ordered all the amirs and jagirdars of that souba to obey him. Then, taking Dilawar Khan, he returned to Kabul. The next time he had the readiness for an expedition to Hindustan and got as far as the Punjab, Dawlat Khan joined the retinue, but he died around that time. **[35b]** Dilawar Khan was awarded the title of khankhanan, and he participated in the battle that took place between His Majesty Firdaws-Makani and Ibrahim Lodi.[3] He remained in service in His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun]'s retinue, and when His Majesty retreated from Bengal he battled bravely with Sher Khan Afghan at the Monghyr outpost but was captured during the battle. Sher Khan tried hard to persuade him to accept a position in his retinue, but he declined, saying, "Your fathers have always been liege men to my fathers. That being so, how could I possibly do such a thing?" Sher Khan was insulted and ordered Dilawar Khan bricked up in a wall.

Umar Khan, the grandfather of my "son" Salabat Khan and Dilawar Khan's first cousin, received patronage under Salim Khan. After Salim Khan died and his son Firoz was killed by Muhammad Khan, Umar Khan and his brothers grew fearful of

3. The Battle of Panipat, which took place on April 20, 1526 (see Babur, *Baburnama*, folios 266a–267b).

Muhammad Khan and went to Gujarat, where Umar Khan passed away. His son Dawlat Khan, a courageous and handsome young man about whom everything was pleasing, chose to serve Bayram Khan's son Abdul-Rahim, who was awarded the title of khankhanan during His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar]'s reign, and in that capacity Dawlat Khan made brave showings and performed good service. The Khankhanan not only considered him a true brother but treated him a thousand times better and more affectionately than a brother. Most of the conquests the Khankhanan made were due to his steadfastness and bravery. When my exalted father conquered the province of Khandesh and the Asir Fortress, he placed Danyal in that province and all the other areas that had been taken from the rulers of the Deccan, [**36a**] returning himself to Agra. At that time Danyal detached Dawlat Khan from the Khankhanan and kept him in his own retinue, turning over to him all the affairs of his estate and showing him the greatest of favor until he died in his service. He left two sons, Muhammad Khan and Pir Khan. Muhammad Khan, the elder brother, passed away shortly after his father's death, and Danyal killed himself with excessive drink. After my accession, I summoned Pir Khan to court. Recognizing his innate worthiness, I promoted him to the rank recorded above. There is today in my service no one with greater influence—so much so that at his entreaty I overlook enormous crimes, the likes of which would not be pardoned through the intercession of any other servant of my court. Truly he is a young man of good disposition, manly, and worthy of patronage. What I have done for him has been rightly done, and he will enjoy further rewards.

Plans for the Conquest of Transoxiana

The conquest of Transoxiana, the hereditary kingdom of my fathers and forefathers, being foremost in my mind, I wanted to cleanse the arena of Hindustan of the brambles of troublemakers and rebels, station one of my sons in this kingdom, and go myself, taking the army in full array, with mountainous, lightning-paced elephants and an enormous treasury, and set out with all preparations having been made to conquer my ancestral land. Based on this desire, I dispatched Parvez to deal with the Rana, intending to go to the Deccan myself. However, at this juncture Khusraw's improper action took place and it became necessary to pursue him and deal with his insurgence. Parvez's affairs likewise did not appear promising, and so, with a view to the exigencies of the time, he gave the Rana a respite and set out to pay homage to me, taking one of the Rana's sons along. [**36b**] He attained the felicity of attendance in Lahore.

Departure for a Tour of Kabul

When my mind was relieved of Khusraw's mischief, and the threat from the Qizilbash who held Kandahar under siege had been satisfactorily resolved, it occurred to me to make a hunting tour of Kabul, which is like home to us, and then head for Hindustan, thus transforming the desires of my mind into reality. Therefore, on the seventh of Dhu'l-Hijja [March 26], I left the Lahore fortress at an auspicious hour and camped in Dilamez Garden on the other side of the Ravi River.

I spent Sunday the nineteenth of Farvardin [March 29], which was the day of the sun's culmination, in the garden. Several courtiers were raised to rank and promoted. Ten thousand rupees were given to Husayn Beg, the emissary of the ruler of Iran. I stationed Qilich Khan, Miran Sadr-i-Jahan, and Mir Sharif Amuli in Lahore and ordered them to tend to any affairs that might come up.

On Monday I decamped from the garden and stopped at Harhar, three and a half kos from the city.

On Tuesday camp was made at Jahangirpur. This spot is one of my favorite hunting grounds. In the vicinity is a tower erected at my order over the grave of an antelope named Hansraj, which was without equal in tame antelope fights and in trapping wild antelopes. On the tower Mulla Muhammad Husayn Kashmiri, the chief calligrapher of the age, had inscribed the following prose composition in stone: "In this delightful open space came an antelope into the trap of the ruler of the world, the God-fearing Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir. Within a month it had lost its wildness and become the chief of the royal antelopes." On account of the rarity of the above-mentioned antelope, I ordered that no one molest the antelopes of this plain and that their flesh would be like the flesh of cows for the infidel and like the flesh of pigs for Muslims. [37a] I also commanded a gravestone made in the shape of an antelope and erected. I ordered Sikandar Mu'in, the jagirdar of that pargana, to construct a strong fortress in Jahangirpur.

On Thursday the fourteenth [April 2], camp was made in the pargana of Chandala. From there, on Saturday, after proceeding one stage, we stopped in Hafizabad in the pavilions that had been built by the karori of that place, Mir Qawamuddin. In two marches we reached the banks of the Chenab River, and on Thursday the twenty-first of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 9] we crossed the bridge built over that river, camping in the vicinity of the pargana of Gujrat.[4]



Mughal Troops Chase the Armies of Da'ud, attributed to Manohar. From an *Akbarnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1600. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 24.1 x 12.6 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Purchase. F54.30a

The Reason Gujrat is so Named

When His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani was headed to Kashmir, he ordered a fortress constructed on the other side of the river, and he had a group of Gujars who made their living by robbery and highway banditry brought in to populate it. When it became a dwelling for the Gujars, it was named Gujrat and turned into a separate pargana. The Gujars are a group who do little manual labor and subsist on milk and curds.

On Friday, camp was made five kos from Gujrat in Khawasspur, which had been settled by Khawass Khan Afghan. Proceeding from there with two stops, we camped on the banks of the Bahat River.[5] That night a strong wind began to blow, and black clouds covered the sky. It rained so hard that aged old men could not remember anything like it. Finally it turned to hail, and every hail stone was the size of a chicken's egg. With the flooding of the water and the wind, the bridge broke. I and my intimates of the harem crossed by boat. Since there were too few boats, I ordered the men not to cross by boat but to build a new bridge. It took a week to build, and then all the army crossed easily.

4. Gujrat is north of the Chenab River on the Lahore–Rawalpindi road.

5. The Bahat River is now generally known by its other name, Jhelum. It is one of the main tributaries of the Indus.

The Source of the Bahat, and Why it is Called Vernag

The source of the Bahat is a spring in Kashmir called Vernag. In the Hindi language Vernag means [great] snake.[6] Apparently there was once a great serpent in this place. During my father's lifetime I went twice to visit this spring. [37b] From the city of Kashmir to there is twenty kos. There is an octagonal pool, approximately twenty ells by twenty ells, and there are the traces of an ascetics' temple in the vicinity, with stone chambers and numerous caves. The water of this spring is extremely pure. Although the depth cannot be estimated, if a poppy seed is thrown in, it can be seen clearly until it hits the bottom. Many fish can also be seen in it. Since I had heard that the depth of this spring was over a man's head, I told them to throw a rope with a stone tied to it into the spring. When it was measured, it turned out that it was no more than one and a half times the height of a man. After my accession I ordered the perimeter of the spring encased in stone, a garden made around it, straight waterways made, and porticos and chambers constructed around the spring. Thus a place was created the likes of which few travelers can point to.

When the river reaches Pampur, ten kos from the city, it increases. All the saffron of Kashmir is produced here. It is not known whether so much saffron is produced anywhere else in the whole world. Every year five hundred Indian maunds, which is the equivalent of four thousand Persian maunds, of saffron are produced. I once came to this land with my exalted father during the saffron flowering season. With all other flowers in the world, first comes the stalk, and then the leaves and flowers are produced. The saffron flower is just the opposite: when the stalk is up four fingers from the dry earth, an iris-colored flower with four petals blossoms. In the middle of the flower are four filaments as orange as a safflower and as long as one finger joint. This is the saffron. It grows in [un]plowed, unwatered earth in the midst of clods. In some places the saffron fields extend for a kos, and in others for half a kos. It looks better from a distance. At the time of picking, all my intimates got headaches from the intense smell. [38a] Although I was enjoying wine and was drinking by the cupful, I got a headache too. I asked the bestial Kashmiris who were picking the flowers how they were. From their answer it was obvious that it had never occurred to them in all their lives to have a headache.

In Kashmir the water from Vernag Spring is called the Bahat. It joins with water from other streams and nullahs to the left and right and becomes a river, passing right through the middle of the city. Its breadth in most places is no more than an arrow shot. This water is too heavy and indigestible for anyone to drink. All the people of Kashmir get water from the lake next to the city, which is called Dal. The water of the Bahat enters this lake and then goes on through Baramula, Pakhli, and Dhamtur to the Punjab.

There is plenty of water in Kashmir from streams and springs. By far the best is the water of Lar Valley, [which joins the Bahat in the village of Shihabuddinpur. This village is one of the celebrated places of Kashmir and][7] is on the banks of the Bahat. A remarkable thing is that a hundred graceful plane trees have joined branches in a delightful green spot of earth, providing shade for the whole area. The surface of the ground is so covered in greenery and clover that it would be in poor taste to spread a carpet on it.

6. *Vir* is Sanskrit for powerful; *nag* means snake in Hindi. Vernag is the modern Kashmiri spelling for this well-known Mughal garden and spring.

7. This portion is missing from the Tehran text; translation added from Rogers and Beveridge.

A Description of the Buildings Left by Sultan Zaynul'abidin, and an Example of his Thaumaturgy

This village was founded by Sultan Zaynul'abidin, who ruled Kashmir in autonomy for fifty-two years.[8] They call him the "Great King" and relate many miracles of him. His architectural monuments in Kashmir are many. One of them is a building he constructed in the middle of a lake called Wular, the width and length of which are not more than three to four kos. The building is called the Zayn Lanka. He expended a lot of effort in building it. The spring that feeds the lake is as deep as a river. First he had a lot of stone brought by boat and dumped into the place where the building was to be. It did absolutely no good. [**38b**] Finally he had several thousand stone-filled boats sunk, and with much effort a patch of land one hundred by one hundred ells was raised from the water to create a platform. On one side of the platform a building was constructed, and he made a temple for worshiping his deity. There is no finer place. He often came here in a boat and dwelt, worshiping the Omniscient King. They say he made many forty-day retreats here.

One day, one of his sons came, intent upon killing him. Finding him alone in his temple and drawing his sword, he attacked, but when his gaze fell upon the sultan, he lost his nerve and retreated because of the sultan's paternal dignity and pious aura. After a moment the sultan emerged from his temple, got into a boat with the lad, and set out for the city. Along the way, he said to the boy, "I left my prayer beads in the temple. You get in a skiff and bring the prayer beads." Entering the temple, the boy saw his father there. The wretch was so ashamed that he fell at his father's feet and begged for forgiveness. They tell many such extraordinary things of him, and they say that he knew well how to detach his astral body.

When he noticed that his sons were in a hurry to govern and rule, he said, "It is quite easy for me to abdicate the rule—nay, to abdicate life, but after me you will not accomplish anything, and your rule will not last. Within a few days you will have to pay for your deeds and intentions." Having so spoken, he stopped eating and drinking and spent forty days in this manner, his eyes unacquainted with sleep. He spent his time with ascetics and hermits worshiping the Omnipotent Ever-Living. On the fortieth day he bade farewell to life and passed to God's mercy. [**39a**] He left three sons, Adam Khan, Hajji Khan, and Bahram Khan. They rose up in dispute with one another, all three were ruined, and the governance of Kashmir passed into the hands of the Chaks, who were military commoners of the region.[9] Three of those rulers had buildings constructed on the other three sides of the platform Zaynul'abidin had made in Lake Wular, but none was as soundly built as his.

Autumn and spring in Kashmir are sights to see. I saw the autumn, and it seemed even better than what I had heard. So far I haven't seen the spring in that country. I hope one day I shall.

On Saturday the first of Muharram 1016 [April 18], I decamped from the banks of the Bahat and, in a day, reached the fortress of Rohtas, which was built by Sher Khan Afghan.[10] It is impossible to imagine a more impregnable place than this fortress, constructed on a patch of broken ground. Since this area is next to the Gakhars' territory,[11] and they are all rebellious and refractory, it occurred to him to build the fortress as a means to chastise and punish them. When it was only partially finished Sher Khan

8. Zaynul'abidin Shahi Khan ruled Kashmir from A.H. 823 (1420) to A.H. 875 (1470), fifty-two lunar years.

9. The Chaks had come to Kashmir from Dardistan, the Gilgit-Hunza region, and been recruited in large numbers into the army of Shah Mir (ruled 1339–42). They played a large role as kingmakers in the history of Kashmir. See Kapur, *Kingdom of Kashmir*, 181–95.

10. Sher Khan Afghan is the Sher Khan Sur who drove Humayun from the subcontinent and ruled from 1540 to 1555.

passed away, and his son, Salim Khan, completed it. On one of the gates outside the fortress has been inscribed in stone the cost of the fortress: 161,000,000-plus dams, which would be 4,025,000 rupees in the reckoning of Hindustan, or 120,000 tumans in the currency of Iran, corresponding to one *arb*, 21 lacs, 75,000 khanis of the currency of Turan.[12]

On Tuesday the fourth [April 21],[13] having proceeded four and three quarters kos, we stopped in Pila. *Pila* is what they call a hill in the Gakhars' language. From there I descended into the village of Bhakra. In these same peoples' language *bhakra* means a thicket of shrubs with a scentless white flower. The entire way from Pila to Bhakra I came down a riverbed that had some running water and oleander flowers like peach blossoms, very colorful and in full bloom. In the land of Hindustan this flower is always in bloom. **[39b]** There were many of them on both sides of the riverbed. To those riding and walking with me an order was given to put bouquets of these flowers in their turbans, and anyone who did not have a flower on his head would have his turban taken off. An amazing field of flowers was thus made!

On Thursday the [sixth] of the aforementioned month [April 23], we stopped in Hatya. Along the road there were many *palash* flowers in bloom.[14] This flower is peculiar to the forests of Hindustan. It has no odor, but its color is a fiery orange. The base is black, and the bush is about the size of a red rose bush, although sometimes it gets larger. It looks so beautiful you can't take your eyes off it.

Because the air was so fine, a patch of cloud was screening the light and heat of the sun, and a gentle rain was falling, I was taken by a desire to drink wine. In short, the road was traversed in the utmost good spirits and joy. This place is called Hatya because it was founded by a Gakhar called Hathi. The land from Margala to Hatya is called Pothuwar.[15] There are few crows in this area. From Rohtas to Hatya is the abode of the Bhugyals, who are related to and of the same ancestry as the Gakhars.

We decamped on Friday. When four and three-quarters kos had been traveled, I stopped at the station of Pakka. It is so called because it has an inn of baked brick, and in the Indians' language "baked" is *pakka*. What an amazingly dusty place it was! The carriages had a hard time making it to the station because of the ill state of the road. Rhubarb had been brought to this place from Kabul, but most of it had gone bad.

On Saturday the eighth [April 25], we decamped. After traversing four and a half kos camp was made in the village of Khor. In the Gakhars' language *khor* means a gully or a break in the landscape. This province has few trees.

On Sunday we passed by Rawalpindi and camped. This place was founded by a Hindu named Rawal, and *pindi* means village in the same language. Near the place we stopped, in the middle of a valley was a running stream with a pool in which the water of the stream collected. **[40a]** Since this station was not without delight, I stayed there for a while and asked the Gakhars how deep the water was. They didn't give a precise answer but said, "We have heard from our fathers that there are alligators in this water. Animals that go into the water come out wounded. Therefore no one dares to go in." I ordered a sheep thrown in. It swam all the way across the pool and got out. After that I ordered a servant to go in. He also came out unscathed. It was obvious that what the Gakhars said had no basis. The pool was about an arrow shot across.

On Monday camp was made in the village of Kharbuza. Gakhars at some earlier time had constructed a dome there and took a toll from passers-by. Since the shape of the dome bore a resemblance to a melon (*kharbuza*), it became known by that name.

On Tuesday the eleventh [April 28], I stopped in Kala Pani, which means "black water" in the Hindi language. At this station there is a mountain pass called Margala. In

11. For the Gakhars, or Ghakkars, see Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and Baluchistan*, 361ff.

12. The *arb* is normally a hundred crores, or a billion. Jahangir must be using *arb* here to mean crore. Since he has said previously that the Turanian khani is equal to one third of a rupee, the 4,025,000 rupees would be the equivalent of 12,075,000 khanis, not 12,175,000.

13. Text has fourteenth, obviously wrong since the next date given is Saturday the eighth. Emended to Tuesday the fourth.

14. Alvi and Rahman (*Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 100) identify this flower as *Butea frondosa*. It is called both *palash* and *dhak* in Hindi.

15. Text has Ponhuhar. For Pothuwar see Elliot, *History of India* 6:309.

Hindi *mar* means to waylay, and *gala* is what they call a string of animals, i.e. it is the place where caravans are plundered. The frontier of the Gakhars' territory extends to here. They are like a pack of animals, always fighting and bickering with each other. No matter how much I wished to put an end to this contentiousness, it was of no use. "It is difficult to make an ignorant man's soul have worth."

On Wednesday camp was made at Baba Hasan Abdal. One kos east of this place is an extremely fast-flowing waterfall. Along the entire road to Kabul there is not another waterfall like this one. On the way to Kashmir there are two or three such waterfalls. In the middle of the lake that is the source of this water Raja Man Singh built a small building. In the water were many fish from a quarter of an ell to half an ell long. We stopped in this delightful place for three days. Wine was drunk with my intimates, and I went fishing. Until this time I had never thrown a *sufra* net, which is a much-used kind of net known in Hindi as a *bhanwar jal* [spinning net]. It is difficult to cast. Having thrown one with my own hands, I caught ten to twelve fish. **[40b]** I put pearls in their noses and turned them loose in the water.

I inquired from historians and natives of the area concerning Baba Hasan. No one could give any precise information. There is a well-known spot in that place, a spring that emerges at the base of a small mountain. The water is so extremely pure and limpid that this line of Amir Khusraw's could be applied to it:[16]

> So pure it is that fine sand at the bottom of the water could be counted by a blind man in the heart of night.

16. Amir Khusraw of Delhi (1253–1325) is perhaps the most famous Indo-Persian poet of all times.

Khwaja Shamsuddin Khwafi, who was my exalted father's vizier for a long time, built a platform with a pool in the middle from which the spring water emerges. From there it is employed for the cultivation of orchards. Beside this platform he built a dome for his own burial, but as it turned out it wasn't his lot to be buried there. Hakim Abu'l-Fath Gilani and his brother Hakim Humam, who were intimate companions of my exalted father's, were placed in the dome at His Majesty's command.

On the fifteenth [May 2], camp was made in Amrohi. It is an amazing, uninterrupted sea of green with absolutely no rises or depressions. In this village and its vicinity dwell seven or eight thousand households of Kihtars and Dilazaks. All sorts of mischief, aggression, and banditry are practiced by this group. I ordered the sarkar of Attock and this area given to Zafar Khan, the son of Zayn Khan Koka. By the time the imperial banners returned from Kabul, he was to have moved out all the Dilazaks in the direction of Lahore and captured and held in chains the chieftains of the Kihtars.

On Monday the seventeenth [May 4], we decamped and, having proceeded one stage, stopped in the vicinity of the fortress of Attock on the banks of the Nilab River. At this station Mahabat Khan was promoted to the rank of 2500.

The above-mentioned fortress is one of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's structures and was completed by the efforts of Khwaja Shamsuddin Khwafi. It is a strong fortress. In these days **[41a]** the water of the Nilab had so receded from flood that a bridge could be constructed of only eighteen boats, and the men crossed easily.

I left Amiru'l-Umara in Attock on account of his weakness and illness. I ordered that the bakhshis should not let anyone other than my intimates and attendants cross the river because the province of Kabul could not support a large army, and that the camp should remain in Attock until the return of the imperial banners.

On Wednesday the nineteenth [May 6], I got on a *jala* with the princes and several

intimates, crossed the Nilab River in safety, and got off on the bank of the Kama River. The Kama is a river that flows in front of the town of Jalalabad.

A jala is a thing made of bamboo and grass to the underside of which are attached inflated skin bags. In this province they call it a *shal*. In rivers and streams that have rocks in the middle it is safer than a boat.

Twelve thousand rupees for distribution to the poor were given to Mir Sharif Amuli and those who had been assigned to Lahore. Abdul-Razzaq Ma'muri and Bihari Das, the bakhshi of the ahadis, were ordered to complete the contingent assigned to go with Zafar Khan and send them off.

One stage farther we stopped in Saray Bara. Opposite Saray Bara, on the other side of the Kama River, is a fortress Zayn Khan Koka built when he was assigned to reduce the Yusufzai Afghans to naught. He named it Nawshahr and spent around fifty thousand rupees on it. They say that His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun] hunted rhinoceros in this area, and I also heard His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani say, "I watched this type of hunt two or three times in my father's company."

On Tuesday the twenty-fifth [May 12], I descended in the serai at Daulatabad. Ahmad Beg of Kabul, the jagirdars of Peshawar, and the chiefs of the Yusufzai [and] Ghoriya-khel came to pay homage. Since Ahmad Beg's service was not found to be pleasing, the province was taken from him and awarded to Sher Khan Afghan.

On Wednesday the twenty-sixth [May 13], camp was made in the garden Sardar Khan had constructed in the vicinity of Peshawar. I made a tour of Gurh Khattri, a major temple of the yogis **[41b]** situated in the vicinity, thinking that I might see a fakir from whose conversation some spiritual benefit might be derived. Such a person proved to be as rare as a phoenix or the philosopher's stone. All I saw was a herd of miserable ignoramuses, from seeing whom I got nothing but confusion of mind.

On Thursday we camped in Jamrud. On Friday we reached the Khyber Pass and camped in Ali Masjid. On Saturday I went through the tortuous pass and dismounted in Gharibkhana. At this station Abu'l-Qasim Namakin, the jagirdar of Jalalabad, brought an apricot that was no less good than the best apricots of Kashmir. While at the station of Dakka,[17] some of the cherries my exalted father had named *shahalu* were brought from Kabul.[18] I had a great inclination to eat them, and even though they did not live up to their billing, they were eaten with great gusto as an accompaniment to wine.

On Tuesday the second of Safar [May 19], camp was made outside Batsawal, which is situated on the banks of the river. On the other side of the river is a mountain that has absolutely no trees or greenery on it. It is for this reason they call it Koh-i-Bedawlat [wretched mountain]. I heard from my exalted father that there are gold mines in mountains like these. At Mount Ala Bughan, when my exalted father was headed for Kabul, I participated in a qamargha hunt. A hundred red antelopes were bagged.

I had turned all my fiscal and administrative duties over to Amiru'l-Umara, but his illness lingered on and forgetfulness so overwhelmed his nature that what was said one hour did not stick in his memory to the next, and day by day it was getting worse. Therefore on this day, Wednesday the third of Safar [May 20], I awarded the post of vizier to Asaf Khan and gave him a regal robe of honor and a jeweled ink pot and pen. By lucky coincidence, twenty-eight years prior to this, at this very station my exalted father had ennobled him with the post of mirbakhshi. As an offering in return for the gift of the vizierate, he presented a ruby his brother Abu'l-Qasim had purchased for forty thousand rupees and sent. **[42a]** He requested that Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, who

17. Text is slightly awkward or corrupted here. Given the itinerary, this should be Dakka, now known as Loe Dakka, in Afghanistan.

18. *Alu* is a Persian word that occurs in the names of various cherries (*alubalu*), apricots (*zardalu*), and peaches (*shaftalu*). The common name for this variety of cherry is *gilas*, but Akbar gave it the name *shahalu* (king cherry), to distinguish it from the homonym that means lizard, as Jahangir explains on page 81 below.

held the post of bakhshi, be allowed to accompany him. I took Jalalabad from Abu'l-Qasim Namakin and awarded it to Izzat Khan.[19]

A white stone was found in the riverbed at Nimla. I ordered it carved in the shape of an elephant and on the elephant's breast this hemistich was inscribed, which corresponds to the Hegira date: "Jahangir Padishah's white-stone elephant."[20]

This same day Kalyan, Raja Bikramajit's son, came from Gujarat. Unbelievable tales had been heard about this troublemaking bastard. One of them was that he kept a Gypsy Muslim woman in his house, and lest it become known he had killed her mother and father and buried them in his house. I ordered him held in chains until an investigation could be made into his actions and deeds. After the truth was ascertained I ordered that first his tongue should be cut off and then he should be kept in perpetual confinement and eat his meals with dog-keepers and outcasts.

On Wednesday camp was made in Surkhab. From there I stopped in Jagdalak. At this station many chestnut trees were seen, which make the best wood for burning. Although this station did not have a defile or declivity, it was very rocky.

On Friday the twelfth [May 29], camp was made at Barikao, and on Saturday at Yurt-i-Padishah.

On Sunday the fourteenth [May 31], I descended in the vicinity of Kabul. At this station the office of comptroller and chief justice of the town was awarded to Qazi Arif, the son of Mulla Sadiq Halwa'i. Also at this station they brought some ripe cherries from the village of Gulbahar. Nearly a hundred were eaten with relish. Dawlat, the headman of the village of Chakari **[42b]** brought some unusual flowers and presented them. I had never seen anything like them in all my life. From there, I camped in Grame, where they brought for my inspection a piebald animal shaped like the flying rodent called *gilahri* in Hindi. They say that mice will not come into a house in which this animal is kept, and therefore they call it "prince of mice." Since I hadn't seen one before, I ordered the painters to draw a likeness of it. It is larger than a mongoose, and on the whole it bears a great resemblance to a civet cat.[21]

Having assigned Ahmad Beg Khan to chastise and punish the Afghans of Bangash, an order was given for Abdul-Razzaq Ma'muri in Attock to send two lacs of rupees in the care of Raja Bikramajit's son Mohan Das to be distributed among the auxiliaries of the aforementioned expeditionary force. A thousand musketeers were also assigned to this expedition.

Shaykh Abdul-Rahman, the son of Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl, was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500 and awarded the title of Afzal Khan. Fifteen thousand rupees were given to Izzat Khan, and twenty thousand rupees were earmarked for him to repair the fortress of Besh Bulagh. I awarded the Jaunpur sarkar in fief to Dilawar Khan Afghan.

❁ *Entrance into Kabul*

On Thursday the eighteenth [June 4], I proceeded from Mastan Bridge to Shahrara Garden, where the imperial camp was to be located, scattering rupees, half-rupees, and quarter-rupees on both sides to the poor and needy, and entered the garden. It appeared quite delightful and fresh. Since it was Thursday, I held a drinking party with my intimates and cohorts. In the heat of the moment I ordered those who were the same age as I to jump across a canal that ran down the middle of the garden, approximately four ells broad. Most couldn't do it and fell at the edge of or in the middle of the stream. Although I jumped too, it wasn't the kind of leap I had made at age thirty in my exalted father's presence. These days, when I am in my forties, I cannot jump with such force and nimbleness. **[43a]**

19. Reading Izzat for the text's "Arab." In subsequent occurrences, the text has the correct Izzat.

20. The chronogram *sang-i safed fil-i Jahangir padishah* yields 1006. A *y* is needed to give the expected 1016.

21. Alvi and Rahman (*Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 42) identify this animal as the mottled polecat (*Putorius sarmaticus*).

On this day I toured seven of Kabul's famous gardens on foot. I don't recollect ever having walked so much.

First I toured Shahrara Garden. After that, I went to Mahtab Garden and the garden my father's grandmother Bikä Begim had constructed. From there I passed on to Orta Bagh and the garden my [grand]mother Maryam-Makani had built. Suratkhana Garden has one large plane tree, the likes of which is not to be found in any other garden in Kabul. Having seen Chaharbagh, the largest garden in town, I returned to where I was staying.

Cherries have an amazing appearance on the tree—like butterflies. You'd think they were chunks of round ruby suspended from the branch.

The pavilion in Shahrara Garden was built by Shahr Banu Begim, the daughter of Mirza [Sultan]-Abusa'id and paternal aunt of His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur]. Many terraces have been added, and there is not another like it in Kabul for delightfulness and charm. It has all sorts of fruits and grapes. It is so delicate that to place one's foot on it with shoes on would be distasteful and unnatural. In the vicinity of the garden I spied an excellent plot of land. I purchased it from the owners and ordered that the water that comes from around Guzargah should be stopped up in the middle of this plot and a garden should be built that would have no equal in all the world. I named it Jahanara [world adorner].

As long as I was in Kabul I held conversations, sometimes with my intimates and cohorts and sometimes with the ladies of the harem, in the Shahrara Garden. At night I ordered the ulema and religious students of Kabul to arrange noodle-cooking sessions and archery contests and to dance the *arghushtak*. To each of the noodle-makers I gave a robe of honor, and I gave them a thousand rupees to distribute among themselves. **[43b]** I ordered twelve of my trusty courtiers to distribute a thousand rupees to the poor, indigent, and needy every day I was in Kabul.

There were two plane trees on the edge of the middle canal in the garden. I named one of them Farahbakhsh [joy giver] and the other Sayabakhsh [shade giver]. Between these two trees I ordered a slab of white stone one ell in length and three quarters of an ell in width set up with my name and [those of my ancestors] in order back to the Sahib-Qiran [Temür] inscribed thereupon. On the other side was inscribed that I had totally rescinded Kabul's customs duties and excises, and any of my descendants or successors who acted contrary to this would be subject to divine wrath.

Until the time of my accession such excise taxes were customary and usual, and every year enormous sums were collected from God's servants. The elimination of this heretical innovation occurred during my reign.[22] During this trip to Kabul, the subjects and people were given complete relief and enjoyed total welfare.

The maliks and chieftains of Ghazni and vicinity were awarded robes of honor and shown favor, and the requests they had were decided in the best way.

It is an amazing coincidence that the words "Thursday, the eighteenth of Safar,"[23] the date I entered Kabul, yield the Hegira year. I ordered this inscribed on the stone.

Near the platform at the foot of the mountain to the south of Kabul known as the Takht-i-Shah, a dais of stone had been made where His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur] used to sit and drink wine. A round basin had been carved in the stone in one corner of the dais, and it held nearly two Hindustani maunds of wine. He had his name and the date inscribed on the wall of the dais, which is nestled against the mountain, in the following words: "The seat of the padishah, asylum of the world, Zahiruddin Babur son of Umar-Shaykh Kürägän—may God extend his kingdom forever—in the year 914 [1508–9]." I also ordered another platform sculpted facing this one, with a small basin

22. Customs duties and other taxes on trade had been imposed under the Mongols and continued by the Timurids. Since such taxes were un-Islamic, they had always been considered unlawful by the Muslim ulema.

23. The words *roz-i panjshamba bizhdah-i Safar* yield 1016.

carved like the other one at the edge, and I ordered my name with the name of the Sahib-Qiran inscribed there. The day I sat on the platform, **[44a]** I ordered both basins filled with wine to be given to those who were present. A poet of Ghazni produced the following chronogram for my coming to Kabul: "Monarch of the countries of the seven climes."[24] I gave him a robe of honor and a reward and ordered the chronogram recorded on the wall adjacent to the platform.

Fifty thousand rupees were given to Parvez. I made Wazirul-mulk a mirbakhshi. An order was given to Qilich Khan to send one hundred seventy thousand rupees from the Lahore treasury for expenses incurred by the Kandahar expeditionary force.

While touring the *khiaban* of Kabul and Bibi Mahru,[25] I ordered the governor to have saplings planted to replace the trees the disgraced Husayn Beg had cut down. I toured the Yurt and Chalak meadows, which seemed to be extremely delightful places.



A Seated Antelope, possibly by Mansur. India, Mughal period, ca. 1625. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. Image area: 12 x 19.1 cm. Courtesy of Terence McInerney, New York

The headman of Chakari shot an ibex and brought it to me. Until then I had never seen an ibex. It resembles a mountain goat. The difference is in the horns. An ibex's horn is curved while a mountain goat's is straight and spiraled.

My Knowledge of Turkish

In connection with an account of Kabul, I was shown His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur]'s memoirs. They were entirely in his own blessed handwriting, except for four sections I copied myself. At the end of these sections I penned a sentence in Turkish to show that the four sections were in my writing.

Although I grew up in Hindustan, I am not ignorant of how to speak or write Turkish.

On the twenty-fifth of Safar [June 11], I toured the Safed Sang glen, which is unbelievably nice, with some of the ladies of the harem.

On Friday the twenty-sixth I attained the felicity of visiting the shrine of His Majesty Firdaws-Makani. I ordered a lot of money and much food, bread, and halvah distributed to the poor for the repose of the dead. Until now Ruqayya Sultan Begam, Mirza Hindal's daughter, had not visited her father's grave, but on this day she did.[26]

On Thursday the third of Rabi' I [June 18], I ordered the royal race horses brought to the Khiaban and the princes to race them. **[44b]** A bay Arabian horse the Adilkhanid ruler of the Deccan had sent me ran better than any of the others.

24. The chronogram *padishah-i bilad-i haft iqlim* yields 1016.

25. A *khiaban* is an avenue or boulevard, usually with trees on either side; Bibi Mahru is a well-known shrine in the Kabul vicinity (see Babur, *Baburnama*, folio 198a)

26. Mirza Hindal, Babur's third son, is also buried in Kabul.

Around this time Mirza Sanjar Hazara's son and Mirza Bashi's son came to pay homage—Mirza Sanjar and Mirza Bashi were chiefs and leaders of the Hazara. The Hazaras of Mirdad Defile brought two ibexes they had shot. Such large ibexes had not been seen before. They were twenty percent larger than a big *markhor*.[27]

27. The *markhor* is a type of mountain goat, *Capra megaceros*.

News arrived that Shah Beg Khan, the governor of Kandahar, had reached the pargana of Shor, his jagir. I decided to award Kabul to him and set out for Hindustan.

A letter came from Raja Bir Singh Deo saying that he had captured his nephew who was causing so much trouble and killed many of his men. I ordered him sent to the fortress at Gwalior, there to remain in prison.

The pargana of Gujrat in the sarkar of the Punjab was awarded to Sher Khan Afghan. I promoted Qilich Khan's son Chïn-Qilich to the rank of 800/500.

On the twelfth [June 27], I summoned Khusraw and ordered the chains removed from his legs so that he could walk around Shahrara Garden. My fatherly affection would not allow me to keep him from touring the garden.

With Ahmad Beg's dismissal I awarded the fortress of Attock and vicinity to Zafar Khan. I awarded fifty thousand rupees to Taj Khan, who had been assigned to deal with the troublesome Afghans in Bangash.

On the fourteenth [June 29], I awarded Ali Khan Karor, an old servant of my father's and supervisor of the royal band, the title of Nawbat Khan and promoted him to the rank of 500/200. Maha Singh, Raja Man Singh's grandson, was also assigned to deal with the wretches in Bangash, and I made Ram Das his tutor.

Lunar Weighing

On Friday the eighteenth [July 3], the lunar weighing for my fortieth year was held. Two watches of the day had elapsed when the ceremony commenced. I gave ten thousand rupees from the weighing in gold to ten of my trusted men to distribute to the deserving and needy.

On this day a letter arrived from Sardar Khan, the governor of Kandahar, that had come in twelve days via Hazara and Ghazni. It said that Shah Abbas's emissary who was coming to court had entered Herat. The shah had written to his men, saying, "Which opportunistic sower of strife has attacked Kandahar without my order? **[45a]** Does he not know that our relations with the noble lineage of the Sahib-Qiran, particularly with His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun] and his glorious descendants, are of the highest order? If perchance they have taken that land, let them surrender it to the men and representatives of my brother Jahangir Padishah and return to their proper places."

It occurred to me to order Shah Beg Khan to guard the Ghazni road in such a way that travelers from Kandahar could reach Kabul with ease.

Around this same time I assigned Qazi Nuruddin the post of comptroller of the sarkar of Malwa and Ujjain.

Mirza Shadman Hazara's son, the grandson of the Qaracha Khan who had been one of His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani's important amirs, came to pay homage. Qaracha Khan had married [his son to] a Hazara woman, and this boy was born of her.

On Saturday the nineteenth [July 4], I promoted Rana Shankar, the son of Rana Udai Singh, to the rank of 2500/1000. An order was given for Rai Manohar to have the rank of 1000/600.

The Shinwari Afghans brought a mountain ram whose two horns had grown together. It resembled the horn of an ibex. These same Afghans had killed and brought a markhor goat, the likes of which I had never seen—indeed, I had never imagined

such a thing. I ordered the artists to draw its likeness. It weighed four Hindustani maunds. Its horn was an ell and three eighths long.

On Sunday the twenty-seventh [July 12], I promoted Shaja'at Khan to the rank of 1500/1000. The environs of Gwalior was given to I'tibar Khan as a jagir. Qazi Izzatullah and his brothers were assigned to the Bangash expedition.

The Death of Qutbuddin Khan

Toward the end of these days [**45b**] a report came from Islam Khan in Agra along with a letter Jahangir-Quli Khan had written him from Bihar. It stated that on the third of Safar [May 20] Qutbuddin Khan had been wounded after the first watch by Ali-Quli Ustajlu in Burdwan in the province of Bengal. He died after the second watch of the night.

The details of this affair are as follows. Ali-Quli was the table steward of Shah Isma'il, the ruler of Iran. After Shah Isma'il's death, he fled on account of the mischief and sedition that were part of his nature and came to Kandahar. In Multan he met with the Khankhanan, who had been assigned to the province [of Thatta], and set out for there in his company. The Khankhanan made him a servant of Akbar in absentia, and by performing services during the trip he was promoted to a rank befitting his station. He was in my father's service for a long time. When my father was headed for the Deccan with good fortune and had assigned me to attack the Rana, Ali-Quli became my retainer. I awarded him the title of Sherafgan [lion-thrower]. Then, when I went from Allahabad to pay my respects to my exalted father, most of my retainers and men left me on account of the inattention that had been shown to me. Ali-Quli also chose to leave my service at this time. After my accession I was manly enough to overlook his faults and gave him a jagir in the souba of Bengal. From there I was informed that it was not proper to station the likes of such troublemakers in that province, so I ordered Qutbuddin Khan to send him to court. If he had any vain notions, he would pay the price.

The khan knew him well enough, and as soon as the order arrived he took the men he had with him and set out at a gallop for Burdwan, Ali-Quli's jagir. No sooner was Ali-Quli informed of Qutbuddin Khan's arrival than he went out by himself with two grooms to greet Qutbuddin Khan. After his arrival in the midst of the troop, the khan's men pulled him off his horse. Since Ali-Quli's suspicions had been aroused by the manner of Qutbuddin Khan Koka's arrival, he said in order to catch him off guard, [**46a**] "What kind of leadership is this?" The khan had his men pull back, and he alone joined Ali-Quli so that he could relate the contents of the order to him.

Seizing the opportunity, Ali-Quli immediately drew his sword and wounded him two or three times with it. Since Amba Khan Kashmiri, a scion of the rulers of Kashmir, had a great affection and regard for the khan, he raced forward in loyalty and manliness and struck Ali-Quli a hard blow to the head, but the vicious fellow stuck a poniard into Amba Khan, fatally wounding him. When the men saw Qutbuddin Khan in this situation, they fell on Ali-Quli, chopped him to pieces, and dispatched him to hell. It is hoped that the disgraceful wretch's place will forever be in hell. Amba Khan died right there, and Qutbuddin Khan Koka passed away to God's mercy in his own quarters four watches later.

What can I write to express my grief and sadness over this terrible news? To me Qutbuddin Khan Koka was like a dear son, an affectionate brother, and a devoted friend. What can be done against divine destiny? Giving in to my fate, I concentrated upon having forbearance. After the death of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, I have not



THE WEIGHING OF PRINCE KHURRAM. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1625. Opaque watercolor on paper. 30.3 x 18.8 cm. Bequeathed by P. C. Manuk Esq. and Miss G. M. Coles through the N.A.C.P. 1948.10–9.069. ©British Museum

experienced anything like these two events, i.e. the death of Qutbuddin Koka's mother and the martyrdom of Qutbuddin himself.

❁ *Khurram is Weighed*

On Friday the sixth of Rabi' II [July 21], I went to the house Khurram had built in Orta Bagh—truly a harmonious structure. It was my father's custom to have himself weighed twice a year, on the solar and lunar new year, and to have the princes weighed on the solar new year. This year, however, which is the beginning of my son Khurram's sixteenth lunar year, the astrologers and astronomers said that his horoscope for this year was portentous. Since his health had not been good, I ordered him weighed against gold, silver, and other customary metals, and the gold distributed to the poor and needy. [**46b**] The whole day was spent in Baba Khurram's house in merriment and pleasure, and most of his offerings were pleasing.

Having experienced the delights of Kabul and having eaten most of its fruits, out of certain considerations and because of being so far from the capital, I ordered the forward camp[28] to move out for Hindustan on Sunday the fourth of Jumada I [August 17]. Several days later I left the city and stopped in the Safed Sang glen. Although the grapes were not yet perfectly ripe, I had eaten some excellent grapes in Kabul, which has many good varieties of grapes, particularly the *sahibi* and the *kishmishi*. The shahalu is also a tasty fruit. One can eat more of it than of other fruits. One day I ate a hundred fifty of them. Shahalu means the cherry (*gilas*) that is found in most parts of the vilayat. Since the word *gilas* can be confused with the *gilas* that means lizard, my exalted father named the cherry "shahalu."

Grafted apricots can be very good and are abundant. There is one tree in particular in Shahrara Garden that my uncle Mirza Muhammad-Hakim planted. It is known as the Mirzai. The apricots from other trees cannot be compared to the ones from this tree.

The peach [tree] is also extremely fine and elegant. A peach was brought from Istalif. I had it weighed in my presence. It weighed twenty-five rupees, which is sixty-eight standard mithcals.

The excellence of the fruits of Kabul notwithstanding, not one is as delicious as the mango in my opinion.

The pargana of Mahaban was given to Mahabat Khan as a jagir. Abdul-Rahim, the bakhshi of the ahadis, was promoted to the rank of 700/200. Mubarak Khan Shirvani was assigned the post of garrison commander to the sarkar of Hissar. I ordered that Mirza Faridun Barlas should be given a jagir in the souba of Allahabad.

On the fourteenth of the above-mentioned month [July 29], I promoted Iradat Khan, [**47a**] Asaf Khan's brother, to the rank of 1000/500, gave him a royal robe of honor and a horse, and assigned him the post of bakhshi to the souba of Patna and Hajjipur. Since he was my arms bearer, I sent by him a jeweled sword for my "son" Islam Khan, the governor of the aforementioned province.

While traveling in the vicinity of Ali Masjid and Gharibkhana, I saw a big spider with a body as large as a crab. It was strangling a snake an ell and a half long and had half killed it. I stopped for a while to watch, and a moment later the snake gave up the ghost.

❁ *The Body of "Khwaja Tabut"*

In Kabul I had been informed that during the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna,[29] a person named Khwaja Tabut had died in the vicinity of Zahhak and Bamian. He had

28. When traveling, the Mughals had two duplicate camps. While stopped in camp number one, camp number two, called the "forward camp," was taken forward and set up to be ready for the emperor when he arrived. Camp number one was then dismantled and taken forward.

29. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna ruled the Ghaznavid Empire from 998 to 1030.

been buried in a cave, but his body had not yet disintegrated. It sounded very strange. I dispatched one of my trusted journal writers with a surgeon to go to the cave, observe the situation as it was, and bring back a detailed account. They arrived back and said that the half of the body that was in contact with the ground had mostly disintegrated but the other half, which was not touching the ground, was as it had been. The fingernails, toenails, and hair had not fallen off, but the hair of the beard and moustache had fallen away from one side of the nose.

From the date written on the entry to the cave it was apparent that he had died before the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. No one knows who it really is.

On Thursday the fifteenth [July 30], Arslan Bey, the warden of the Kahmard fortress and a middle-ranking liege man to Wali Khan the ruler of Turan, came and paid homage. It had always been heard that the Uzbeks had killed Mirza Husayn, the son of Mirza Shahrukh. During these days someone came bearing a letter purportedly from him and an onion-colored ruby worth a hundred rupees as an offering. He hoped and begged that a troop would be assigned to help him get Badakhshan away from the Uzbeks. A jeweled girth dagger was sent to him, and a decree was issued **[47b]** saying that while the imperial banners were camped in this vicinity, if he was really Mirza Husayn the son of Mirza Shahrukh, it would be best for him to come to me so that I might grant his requests and send him back to Badakhshan.

The two lacs of rupees were dispatched that had been earmarked to defray expenses incurred by the expedition sent under Maha Singh and Ram Das against the insurgents in Bangash.

On Thursday the twenty-second [August 6], I went to Bala Hissar to observe the buildings there. There was no suitable place for me to sit. I ordered the building destroyed and a regal palace and court built.

On this same day a peach was brought from Istalif. It was as large as a big quince and larger than any peach that had ever been seen before. I ordered it weighed. It came to sixty-three Akbari rupees, or sixty tolas. When I cut it in half the pit also split in two, and the kernel was sweet. Of all the varieties of fruit from trees that were eaten in Kabul, none was better than this one.

The Death of Mirza Shahrukh

On the twenty-fifth [August 9], word came from Malwa that Mirza Shahrukh had bidden farewell to the transitory world—may God inundate him with His mercy. From the day he joined my exalted father until the day he died he never did anything that would trouble the royal mind and always served in loyalty.

The mirza apparently had four sons. [Two of them,] Hasan and Husayn, were twins. Husayn had fled from Burhanpur and gone by sea to Persia, whence he had gone to Badakhshan. They say he is still there, as was recorded just above concerning his letter and his messenger. No one knows whether he is really Mirza Husayn or whether he is just somebody the Badakhshanis have picked up, as they have some other false mirzas, and called Mirza Husayn. From the time he came out of Badakhshan, Mirza Shahrukh had the felicity to serve my father.

Until now, which has been some twenty-five years, because of the cruelty and oppression they experience from the Uzbeks, **[48a]** every so often the Badakhshanis have proclaimed a Badakhshani boy who has a good countenance and demeanor, and

in whom traces of nobility are apparent, to be Mirza Shahrukh's son of the race of Mirza Sulayman. A large group of dispersed Oymaqs and people from the mountains of Badakhshan, who are called Gharchas,[30] gather around him to fight the Uzbeks and wrench some of Badakhshan from their control. The Uzbeks counterattack, capture the false mirza, stick his head on a lance, and parade it throughout the whole of Badakhshan. Once having seen this, the seditious Badakhshanis produce another so-called mirza. Until now several "mirzas" have been killed. It seems to me that as long as there is any trace of Badakhshanians around, they will keep it up.

30. Gharcha, or Ghalcha, is a name given to mountain Tajiks in the Badakhshan area.

The mirza's third son is Mirza Sultan, who is superior in looks and conduct to any of the mirza's other sons. I asked my exalted father for him and kept him in my service. I have seen to his education, and I consider him one of my sons. He is nothing like his brothers in any way, shape, or fashion. After my accession I promoted him to the rank of 2000/1000 and sent him to the souba of Malwa, which was his father's jagir.

The fourth son is Badi'uzzaman, whom the mirza always kept in his own service. He has attained the rank of 1000/500.

Since coming to Kabul we had not experienced a qamargha hunt. Now that the hour was drawing nigh to return to Hindustan, and I was very anxious to hunt red antelope, I ordered Mount Qoruq, seven kos from Kabul, to be quickly surrounded.

On Tuesday the fourth of Jumada I [August 17] I set out to hunt. Nearly a hundred antelopes came into the qamargha. Half of them were hunted down. It was a really exciting hunt. Five thousand rupees were given away as tips to the ryots who were there.

This same day **[48b]** Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl's son Shaykh Abdul-Rahman's rank was increased by 500 suwar to 2000/2000.[31]

31. For the *suwar* rank, see translator's preface, page xx.

On Thursday the sixth [August 19] I went to His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur]'s throne platform. Since I was leaving Kabul the next day, I considered that day a holiday like Arafa,[32] and there and then I ordered a wine party arranged and the basin carved in the rock filled with wine. All the intimates and courtiers who were present were given many goblets. Few days have passed as pleasantly.

32. Arafa Day, when pilgrims go out to Mount Arafa, is the "day of farewell" at the end of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

On Friday the seventh [August 20], after one watch had elapsed, I left the city and camped in the Safed Sang glen. All the way from Shahrara Garden to the glen I tossed *drab*s and *charan*s, which are half- and quarter-rupee coins, to the poor and needy on both sides of the road. On this day, just as I was mounting an elephant to leave Kabul, I received news of Amiru'l-Umara's and Shah Beg Khan's recoveries. I took the news of the health of these two major courtiers as a good omen for myself.

On Tuesday the twelfth [August 25], a march was made for one kos from Safed Sang and camp was made in Grame. I stationed Tash Beg Khan in Kabul to watch over the city and environs until Shah Beg Khan came.

On Monday the eighteenth [August 31], we proceeded two and a half kos from Butkhak along the Duaba road and stopped at a spring beside which were four plane trees. Until now no one had bothered to improve this spot, and no one was aware of its potential. It is a really splendid place and worthy of having a building constructed and being turned into a real place. At this same stopping place a qamargha hunt was held. Approximately 112 antelopes and other animals were taken, 24 ibexes, 50 red antelopes, and 16 mountain goats. **[49a]** Until now I had not seen an ibex. It is really a remarkably good-looking animal. Although the black antelope of Hindustan is very fine-looking, this one is something else altogether. I ordered a mountain ram and an

ibex weighed. The ram came to one maund and thirty-three seers, and the ibex weighed in at two maunds and ten seers. An ibex this large ran so fast that twelve swift and fast-paced dogs tired and had a lot of trouble bringing it down. After the flesh of sheep and the Barbary goat, there is no meat so delicious as that of the ibex. Some cranes were also caught in this place.

Khusraw Rebels Again

Although improper actions had repeatedly been taken by Khusraw and he deserved a thousand types of chastisement, my paternal affection for him would not allow me to put him to death. Albeit according to the law of rule and the maintenance of empire it is disapproved to do such things, I closed my eyes to his faults and had him kept in the utmost luxury and comfort. However, it became obvious that he was sending messengers to some short-sighted villains and encouraging them to make trouble and assassinate me.

Encouraged by his promises, a group of unthinking misfortunates plotted together to assassinate me during the hunts that were to take place in Kabul and environs. Inasmuch as the generosity of the Divine keeps and guards this sublime family, the plot did not succeed.

On the day we were camped at Surkhab, one of that band came as a supplicant before Khwaja Waysi, my son Khurram's divan, and said that nearly five hundred men had conspired with Hakim Abu'l-Fath's son Fathullah, Inayatuddin Ali Asaf Khan's son Nuruddin, and I'timaduddawla's son Sharif at Khusraw's instigation and were lying in wait [**49b**] to carry out the design of the malevolent enemies of the monarch. Khwaja Waysi reported this to Khurram, and he could not wait to tell me immediately.

I praised Khurram for his worthy action and decided to have the perpetrators captured and executed by various tortures. Then it occurred to me that since we were about to set out on a journey, to have them seized would occasion a tumult and chaos in the royal camp. I ordered just the ringleaders seized. Fathullah was turned over in chains to guards, and two or three other wretches were executed along with three or four of the chief conspirators.

Qasim-Ali had been a retainer of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's. After my accession to the throne I awarded him the title of Diyanat Khan. He always represented Fathullah as disloyal and said things about him. One day he said to Fathullah, "When Khusraw fled and His Majesty went out in pursuit of him, you said to me that the Punjab should be given to Khusraw and an end put to this quarrel." Fathullah denied it, and both sides resorted to an exchange of oaths. Not ten or fifteen days had passed when that hypocritical wretch was caught and paid the price for his perjury.

The Death of Muzaffar Ardistani

On Saturday the twenty-second of Jumada I [September 4], news arrived of the death of Jalaluddin Muzaffar Ardistani, who was from a family of physicians and doctors. He claimed to be descended from Galen. Be this as it may, his treatments were without equal, and his experience only added to his knowledge. Since he was extremely handsome and well built, he gained entry into Shah Tahmasp's assembly during his beardless days. The shah recited this hemistich of poetry to him: "What a beautiful physician! Come, let us all be ill."

Hakim Nadi-Ali, his contemporary, is even more learned than he was, but in terms of treatment, bringing luck to others, piety, and rectitude, [**50a**] this physician [Muzaffar] surpassed all. Other doctors of the age could not be compared to him. He

possessed many virtues beyond his skill in doctoring. He had a special loyalty to me. He built a house in Lahore of extreme grace and beauty and repeatedly begged me to honor him with my presence. Since I wanted to keep his favor, I accepted. Aside from his relationship with me as a companion and physician, the above-mentioned doctor was skilled in worldly affairs and commerce—so much so that in Allahabad I made him divan of my estate for a time. Because of his great honesty he was very harsh and severe, and people were greatly offended by his conduct.

He had ulcerated lungs for around twenty years, but with his medical skill he managed to keep himself going wonderfully. While speaking he often used to be seized by such bad coughing spells that his cheeks and eyes became red, and little by little he turned blue. I said to him repeatedly, "You are a learned physician. Why don't you treat your own affliction?" He would reply, "An ulcerated lung is not something that can be treated."

While he was suffering from this illness, one of his intimate servants introduced poison into the medicine he was used to taking every day and gave it to him to drink. When he realized what had happened, he took measures to treat it. He was very insistent that he not be bled, although it was necessary.

By chance, one night he was going to the privy when he was seized by a coughing spell that caused the ulcers in his lungs to rupture. So much blood poured out of his mouth and nose that he lost consciousness and a dreadful sound issued from him. The ewer-bearer, realizing something was wrong, went into the privy, saw him drenched in blood, and cried out, "They've killed the doctor!" Upon examination it became clear that there was no trace of a wound on his body and that it was the ulcer in his lungs that had ruptured. [**50b**] Qilich Khan, the governor of Lahore, was informed, and after the truth of the affair was ascertained the body was entrusted to the earth. He left no worthy son.



MOUNTAIN SHEEP, by Padarath. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 16.5 x 20.7 cm. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. 7A.1

❁

On the twenty-fourth [September 6], a hunt was held between Wafa Garden and Nimla. Around forty red antelopes were killed. A female leopard was captured in this hunting ground. The zamindars of the vicinity, Laghmanis and Avghan-Shalis, came and said, "For the last hundred or hundred and twenty years neither do we remember nor have we heard from our fathers that a leopard has been seen in these parts."

❁ *Solar Weighing Ceremony*

On the second of Jumada II [September 14], camp was made in Wafa Garden and the solar weighing ceremony was held.

On this day the Uzbek named Arslan Bey, who was a commander and amir of Abdul-Mu'min Khan, and who was currently the warden of the Kahmard fortress, abandoned the fortress and paid homage to us. Since he had come in sincerity, I honored him with a royal robe of honor. He is an energetic, simple Uzbek who is worthy of being patronized.

On the fourth of the month [September 16], an order was given for Izzat Khan to arrange a qamargha on the Arzina hunting plain in Jalalabad. Around three hundred animals were bagged: 35 mountain rams; *qushchi* [?], 25; argali sheep, 90; *tughli* [?], 55; white antelope, 95. Since it was midday when we arrived at the hunting ground, and the weather was very hot, many good hunting dogs were ruined. The time for running dogs is either early morning or the end of the day.

On Saturday the twelfth [September 24], we stopped in Saray Kura. At this station Shah Beg Khan came with a good force and paid homage. He is one of those patronized by my exalted father His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. Personally he is very brave and valiant. Repeatedly during my father's reign he made great showings with the sword, and in my time he maintained the fortress at Kandahar well in the face of the ruler of Iran's troops. He was under siege for a year before imperial forces came to help. His conduct with soldiers is aristocratic and not overbearing, **[51a]** but simply because they have agreed to remain with him in battles he puts up with a lot of whining from his liege men, and this makes him appear lenient. I have often told him to stop this conduct, but since it is innate in him it has done no good.

On Monday the fourteenth [September 26], I promoted Hashim Khan, a khanazad of this dynasty, to the rank of 3000/2000 and made him the governor of the souba of Orissa. This same day news arrived that Mirza Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman, who was in the province of Malwa, had, out of ignorance and the folly of youth, set out with a group of mischief-makers and sowers of strife to get themselves to the Rana's territory and see the Rana. Abdullah Khan, the governor of that area, having been informed of this, set out in pursuit, captured him on the way, and put to death several of the wretches who were in on the conspiracy with him. An order was given for Ihtimam Khan to go from Agra and bring the mirza to court.

On the twenty-fifth of the month [October 7], news was received that Imam-Quli Khan, the nephew of Wali Khan the governor of Transoxiana, was going to kill the so-called Mirza Husayn who had become known as Mirza Shahrukh's son. More or less, killing sons of Mirza Shahrukh has become like killing a demon since, as they say, from every drop of blood another demon springs up.

At the station of Dhaka, Sher Khan Afghan came and paid homage. As I was leaving I had stationed him to Peshawar to guard the Khyber Pass, and he had guarded and preserved the road impeccably.

Zayn Koka's son Zafar Khan had been assigned to get the Dilazak Afghans and the Kihtars, who had been causing all sorts of trouble in the vicinity of Attock, the Beas, and that region, to move away. After bringing those troublemakers, who were around a hundred thousand households, in the direction of Lahore, Zafar Khan came to pay homage at this station. It was obvious that he had carried out his mission perfectly.

When the month of Rajab commenced [October 12], which [this year] corresponded to the solar month of Aban, and it was remembered that it was the customary month for my exalted father's lunar weighing ceremony,[33] I decided that the value of all the articles against which he used to have himself weighed for the solar and lunar year would be calculated, and whatever it amounted to would be sent to the great cities

33. That is, the lunar and solar months of Akbar's birth coincided.

of the realm and distributed to the poor and needy for the repose of His Majesty's soul. [51b] The total came to a lac of rupees, which is three thousand tumans of Persia and three lacs of khanis in the reckoning of the people of Transoxiana. This amount was distributed by trustworthy men in twelve major cities like Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Gujarat, etc.

On Friday the third of the month [October 14], I awarded my "son" Salabat Khan, whom I consider no less than my real sons, the title of Khan Jahan, and I ordered that his name should be written as Khan Jahan in orders and decrees. He was also given a royal robe of honor and a jeweled sword.

Shah Beg Khan was entitled Khan Dawran, and I gave him a jeweled girth dagger, a war elephant, and a royal horse. The whole sarkar of Kabul, Tirah, Bangash, and the provinces of Swat and Bajaur, along with the task of dealing with the Afghans of those territories, were given to him as jagir and garrison commander. At Baba Hasan Abdal he was given leave to depart. I also ordered Ram Das Kachhwaha a jagir in this province and made him one of the auxiliaries of this souba.

I increased Mota Raja's son Kishan Singh's rank to 1000/500.

A decree was penned to Murtaza Khan the governor of Gujarat saying that since reports of the piety, learning, and purity of Mian Wajihuddin's son had reached me, Murtaza Khan should give him a certain amount on our behalf. He should also have him write down several of the divine names that had been proven efficacious and send them to us. If God's grace was favorable, I would repeat them continually.

Several Hunts

Prior to this, I had dismissed Zafar Khan to go to Baba Hasan Abdal to get a hunt together. He had made a fenced-in area. Twenty-seven red antelope and sixty-eight white antelope had come into it. I myself shot twenty-nine antelope, and Parvez and Khurram together brought down several. After that an order was given to my intimates and cohorts that they could shoot. Khan Jahan shot better than anyone else. Every antelope he shot at he hit.

On the fourteenth of the month [October 25], a qamargha was held with Zafar Khan in Rawalpindi. I shot an arrow at a red antelope from a far-off platform, and was amazed when the arrow hit and the antelope fell. Taken were thirty-four red antelopes, thirty-five of the black-tail antelopes called *chikara* in Hindi, and two wild boars.

On the twenty-first [November 1], another qamargha was held by Hilal[34] Khan three kos from the Rohtas fortress. I had taken the ladies of the harem along on this hunt, and a good hunt it was and came off amazingly well. Two hundred red and white deer were bagged. Aside from the mountains of Rohtas, which have this sort of deer, no place other than Girjhak and Nandana [52a] in all Hindustan has this sort of white deer. I ordered a red deer taken and kept alive so that perhaps some of them could be taken to Hindustan for breeding.

On the twenty-fifth [November 5], another hunt was held in the environs of Rohtas. During this hunt too my sisters and inmates of the harem were along. Nearly a hundred red antelopes were taken. It was mentioned that Shams Khan, Jalal Khan Kakar's uncle who was in the vicinity, had, despite his advanced years, an avidity for hunting that youths of fewer years seldom had. Since I had heard that his nature was inclined to spiritual poverty and dervishes, I went to his house. I liked him immensely. I gave two thousand rupees to him and a like amount to his wives and sons. I also ordered five more villages with large incomes given to him as an emolument so that he might spend his days in ease and free of worry.

34. The text has Bilal, but it should be Hilal, as on pages 57 and 311.



JAHANGIR IN DARBAR WITH A WHITE FALCON. India, Mughal period, ca. 1605. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 29 x 21.1 cm. Courtesy of the National Library of Russia. Dorn 489, folio 80b

On the sixth of Sha'ban [November 16], Amiru'l-Umara came to the Chandala station to pay homage. I was glad he had regained his health. All the doctors, both Hindu and Muslim, had been unanimous in agreeing that he was going to die, but God in his grace and generosity granted him recovery so that materialists who do not recognize the divine will might know that the Omnipotent can treat and cure with his innate grace and mercy any difficult pain that those who see only external, secondary causes give up as hopeless.

Rai Rai Singh is Pardoned

On this day Rai Rai Singh, one of the great Rajput amirs, obtained the felicity of paying homage through the good offices of Amiru'l-Umara. Because of a fault he had committed during the Khusraw affair, he had been suffering humiliation and shame in his home, but his fault was pardoned.

When I set out from Agra in pursuit of Khusraw, I trusted him enough to station him in Agra and ordered that when the ladies were summoned he would escort them. After the harem was summoned he went with them for two or three stages and then left them at Mathura because of hearing some foolish tales and returned to his homeland, thinking that he would wait and see what the end of the conflict would be. In a short time, however, [**52b**] the Divine Effector had ended that affair and broken the unity of the mischief-makers, but the stigma of disloyalty remained with Rai Rai Singh.

For Amiru'l-Umara's sake I ordered that he should retain the rank he had held and that his jagir should be returned to him.

I awarded Sulayman Beg, one of my attendants from my princely days, the title of Fidai Khan.

On Monday the twelfth [November 22], we stopped in Dilamez Garden on the banks of the Ravi River. I paid homage to my mother in this garden. Mirza Ghazi, who had performed excellent service in the Kandahar expedition, paid homage. I showed him great favor.

The Line of Shah Ni'matullah Wali of Kirman

On Tuesday the thirteenth [November 23], we entered Lahore. The next day Mir Khalilullah, the son of Mir Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Mirmiran, a descendant of Shah Ni'matullah Wali,[35] came to pay homage. During Shah Tahmasp's reign there was no lineage in all his realm so great as this one. The shah's sister, Khanïsh Begüm, was married to Mir Ni'matullah, the father of the Mirmiran, and she bore him a daughter. The shah married this daughter to his son Isma'il Mirza. He made the Mirmiran's sons his

35. Shah Ni'matullah Wali (1330–1431), the eponymous founder of the Ni'matullahi order of dervishes, is buried in Mahan, near Kirman, Iran.

sons-in-law and gave his daughter to his eldest son, who had the same name as his grandfather. Isma'il Mirza's daughter, who was the shah's sister's [grand]child, was married to his other son, the above-mentioned Mir Khalil.

After the shah's death, little by little the family fell on hard times until, during Shah Abbas's reign, they were at once reduced to naught, all the property they had was lost, and they were unable to remain any longer where they were. Mir Khalil joined my service. Since he had suffered hardships getting here, and traces of loyalty were clear in him, I inundated him with untold favor and gave him twelve thousand rupees in cash and awarded him the rank of 1000/200 with a jagir.

I ordered the divanis to increase my son Khurram's rank to 8000/5000 [**53a**] and give him income-producing jagirs in the vicinity of Ujjain and the sarkar of Hissar Firoza.

On Thursday the twenty-second [December 2], at Asaf Khan's request, I went to his house with the ladies of the harem and spent the night. The next day he presented his offerings for my approval. He had assembled ten lacs of rupees' worth of gems, jeweled utensils, textiles, elephants, and horses. Several rubies and emeralds, a couple of pearls, a few pieces of cloth, and several items of Central Asian and Chinese porcelain were accepted, but I gave the rest back to him.

Murtaza Khan had sent a ring from Gujarat as a gift. The bezel, shank, and ring had all been carved from a single stone of ruby of good color and brilliance. It weighed one and a half *tank*s and one *surkh*, which is one mithcal and fifteen surkhs.[36] It was shown to me. I liked it a lot. Until today no such ring had ever been heard of as coming into the possession of any ruler. Another ruby with six facets,[37] which weighed two tanks and fifteen surkhs and was worth twenty-five thousand rupees, had been sent. The ring was valued at the same amount.

Around this same time an emissary of the sharif of Mecca came with a letter and a curtain from the door of the Kaaba and displayed much sincerity. Five lacs of dams, which is equivalent to seven or eight thousand rupees, were given to the above-mentioned emissaries, and I ordered a lac of rupees' worth of rare and precious objects from Hindustan sent to the sharif.

36. This should probably be emended to "eleven surkhs." *Panzdah* (fifteen) and *yazdah* (eleven) are often confused in manuscript. See translator's preface, p. xvi.

37. The translation "with six facets" is conjectural. The Persian *shish parcha* literally means "with six flanges."

The Souba of Kandahar is Given to Mirza Ghazi

On Thursday the tenth of the month [Ramadan, December 19], Mirza Ghazi was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000. Although the entire province of Thatta had been made his jagir, part of the souba of Multan was also added to his jagir, and the governance of Kandahar and the protection of that territory, which is the frontier of Hindustan, was placed in his capable hands. [**53b**] I also awarded him a robe of honor and a jeweled sword and gave him leave to depart.

Mirza Ghazi is an extraordinary person. He composes good poetry under the pen name Wiqari. The following line is by him: "If my weeping makes him laugh, it is no wonder: the more the clouds weep, the brighter the face of the garden."

On the fifteenth [December 24], the Khankhanan's offering was presented for my inspection. He had sent forty elephants, a gem, jeweled utensils, Persian textiles, and cloth made in the Deccan and that area. In total it was worth one hundred fifty thousand rupees. Mirza Rustam and most of the courtiers appointed to the above-mentioned souba also sent offerings. I liked several of the elephants.

News of the death of Rai Durga, one of my exalted father's protégés, arrived on the eighteenth of this month [December 27]. He had served for more than forty years in His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's retinue in the circle of amirs, and his rank had gradually increased to 4000. Before he had the honor to pay homage to my father, he was an important liege man to Rana Udai Singh. He had died on the tenth of Shahrivar [ca. August 22]. He made good contributions during military councils.

Sultan-Shah Afghani, whose nature was full of evil and sedition, was formerly in Khusraw's service and enjoyed complete intimacy—indeed, this troublemaker was the cause for the wretch's flight, but after Khusraw was defeated and captured, Sultan-Shah managed to save himself by running away to the foothills of Khizrabad and that area. In the end, he was captured by Mir Moghul, the karori of that region. Since he was the cause for the ruination of such a son, I ordered him shot in the public square of Lahore. The above-mentioned karori's rank was increased, and he was given a robe of honor.

On the twenty-ninth [January 7, 1608], Sher Khan Afghan, an old servant of mine, died. He can be said to have killed himself by constant indulgence in wine. He used to drink four bumpers of twice-distilled liquor in one watch. He even drank during Ramadan last year. This year it occurred to him to make up for the lost Ramadan during the month of Sha'ban and fast for two consecutive months. By abandoning the habit that had become second nature to him, he developed a weakness in his stomach and lost his appetite altogether. Little by little the weakness increased until he died at the age of fifty-seven. **[54a]** I consoled his sons and brothers as befitted their station and even gave them some of his rank and jagir.

On the first of Shawwal [January 9], I went to see Mawlana Muhammad-Amin, a disciple of Shaykh Mahmud Kamangar's. This Shaykh Mahmud was one of the great men of his time, and His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani was so devoted to him that he once poured water over his hands. The *mawlana* is a man of good nature, and, although he has detached himself from worldly things and maintains spiritual poverty and humility, his conversation is very pleasant. He taught me several litanies he remembered and gave me valuable advice and pleasing maxims. I was greatly inspired. I gave him a thousand *bigha*s of land as an emolument and a thousand rupees in cash and bade him farewell.[38]

38. The *bigha* is approximately five eighths of an acre.

One watch of the day had elapsed on Sunday when I set out from Lahore for Agra. Having made Qilich Khan governor, Mir Qawamuddin divan, Shaykh Yusuf bakhshi, and Jamaluddin kotwal, and having given each a robe of honor as befitted his station, I set forth.

On the twenty-first [January 29], I crossed the river at Sultanpur and stopped after two kos in Nakodar. My exalted father had given Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl twenty thousand rupees' weight in gold to construct a bridge and a waterchute between these two parganas. In truth it is exceedingly pleasant, and the bridge is most harmonious. I ordered Mu'izzulmulk, the jagir of Nakodar, to construct a pavilion and small garden on the right-hand side of the bridge so that travelers might enjoy the sight.

On Tuesday the tenth of Dhu'l-Qa'da [February 16], Wazirulmulk passed away of dysentery. He had the honor to have served me before my accession and was the divan of my estate. Toward the end of his life an ill-omened son was born in his house, and by the end of forty days the child had driven both mother and father to desperation. **[54b]** He finally died when he was two or three years old. Lest the Wazirulmulk's family go to ruin, I promoted Mansur, his brother's son, to rank; however, "the aroma of love cometh not from him."

On Monday the fourteenth [February 20], while on the road, it was heard that two lions were menacing travelers between Panipat and Karnal. I got my elephants together and set out. When I reached the place they had been spotted, I got on a female elephant and ordered the other elephants to encircle the lions as in a qamargha. By God's grace I shot them both and eliminated the evil of these two, which had blocked the people's way.

On Thursday we descended in Delhi, and I stopped in the quarters called Salimgadh, which Salim Khan Afghan had built in the middle of the Jumna while he was governor. My exalted father had given the place to Murtaza Khan, a native of Delhi. The khan had built an extremely pleasant and lovely terrace of stone overlooking the river. At the bottom of the building, next to the water, a square, tiled *chaukhandi* [pavilion] had been built at His Majesty [Jannat]-Ashyani [Humayun]'s order. There are few places with such air. While His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani was in Delhi he used to sit there most of the time in conversation with his companions and courtiers. I stayed in this residence for four days, holding wine parties with my intimates and enjoying myself. Mu'azzam Khan, the governor of Delhi, presented offerings. Other jagirdars and personages who were there also presented offerings and gifts for my inspection, each according to his station.

I wanted to have a qamargha hunt in the pargana of Palam, a dependency of the above-mentioned city and a major hunting ground, and spend a few days in this diversion. However, since it was announced that an [auspicious] hour for approaching Agra was nigh, and there would not be another such hour any time soon, I canceled my plans and set out by boat on the river. **[55a]**

❁ *The Arrival of Mirza Shahrukh's Children*

On the twentieth of the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da [February 26], four sons and three daughters of Mirza Shahrukh's he had not revealed to my father were brought.

I turned the boys over to important courtiers and the girls to the ladies of the harem to look after.

❁

On the twenty-first [February 27], after six or seven summonses had been sent, Raja Man Singh arrived from the Rohtas fortress in the province of Patna and Bihar. He, like Khan A'zam, is one of the adversarial old wolves of this eternal dynasty. What these two have done to me, and what I have done to them, only God—and probably no one else—knows. The raja presented as an offering a hundred male and female elephants, not one of which was worthy to enter the royal stables. Since he was a protégé of my father's, I did not take him to task for his faults but treated him with royal favor.

On this day a starling that could speak and clearly said *"mian tuti"* [reverend parrot] was brought. It was exceedingly strange. In Turkish this bird is called *torghay*.

The Third Regnal Year: March 9, 1608–March 10, 1609

The Third Nawroz after the Royal Accession

On Thursday the second of Dhu'l-Hijja [1016, March 9, 1608], corresponding to the first of Farvardin, the sun, which keeps the world bright and shining with its light, moved from the constellation of Pisces into the pleasure palace of Aries, bestowing upon the world new hope and giving compensation and recompense to those who had been plundered by the cold and oppressed by autumn by clothing them with turbans of spring, new year's robes, and green cloaks of victory.

> Once again there came from the supreme commander an order for nonexistence to give back what it had devoured.

The Nawroz festival was held in the village of Rankatta, which is situated five kos from Agra. At the auspicious and happy hour of transit I sat upon the throne, and the amirs, intimates, and other courtiers offered their congratulations.

During this assembly I gave Khan Jahan the rank of 5000/5000. I gave Khwaja Jahan the post of bakhshi. I dismissed Wazir Khan from the vizierate of the souba of Bengal and sent Abu'l-Hasan Shihabkhani in his place. Nuruddin-Quli became the kotwal of Agra.

Since His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's tomb was on the way, **[55b]** it occurred to me that if I visited it while passing, the short-sighted might think I had paid a visit simply because I happened to pass by. I therefore decided to enter Agra and then, with a special intention to make a visit—exactly as His Majesty had gone on foot from Agra to Ajmer to get me—I too would go on foot from Agra to his blessed tomb, a distance of two and a half kos, and attain the felicity of a visitation. Would that it were possible for me to go the distance on my head!

Two watches of Saturday the fifth [March 12] had elapsed when I set out for Agra at an auspicious hour, scattering the equivalent of five thousand rupees in small coins on both sides of the road until I entered the royal palace inside the fortress.

An Albino Leopard

On this day Raja Bir Singh Deo brought an albino leopard for me to see. Although albino specimens of other birds and animals, which are called *tuyghun*, are found, until now an albino leopard had not been seen. Its markings, which were black, were of an ugly color, and the white of its body was somewhat bluish in tint. Albino animals I

have seen are the falcon, the sparrow hawk, the hawk that is called *bighu* in Persian, the sparrow, the crow, the partridge, the quail, and the peacock. There is usually an albino hawk in the aviary. I have also seen an albino flying squirrel [and] one of the species of black antelope that is not found anywhere other than Hindustan. Albinos of the *chikara* antelope, which are called *safeda* in Persian, have often been seen.

During these days Ratan, the son of Bhoj Hada, one of the chief Rajput amirs, came to pay homage. He had brought three elephants as an offering. I liked one of them a lot. In the office it was valued at fifteen thousand rupees. I made it a royal elephant and gave it the name Ratan Gaj. The maximum value of elephants in the possession of the great rajas of Hindustan used to be no more than twenty-five thousand rupees. Now they have become very expensive. I awarded Ratan the title of Sarbuland Rai. **[56a]** I promoted Miran Sadr-i-Jahan to the rank of 5000/1500 and Mu'azzam Khan to the rank of 4000/2000. Abdullah Khan was promoted to the rank of 3500. Both Muzaffar Khan and Bhao Singh were promoted to the rank of 2000/1000. I promoted Abu'l-Hasan the divan to the rank of 1500 and I'timaduddawla to 1[5]00/250.

On the twenty-fourth [March 31], Raja Suraj Singh, my son Khurram's uncle, came to pay homage. He brought Shyam, a cousin of the damn Rana's. He is quite honorable and knows how to ride an elephant well. Raja Suraj Singh had brought along a poet who composed in Hindi. He presented a poem in praise of me that said, "If the sun had a son, it would always be day and never night because after sunset the son would take the sun's place and keep the world bright. Thanks be to God that He granted your father such a son so that after his death the people should not have to wear mourning, which is like the night. The sun itself is jealous and says, 'Would that I too had a son to take my place and not allow night to come to the world.' By your brightness and brilliance, despite such a catastrophe, the world is so illuminated that it is as though night had neither name nor trace." Rarely have I heard such subtle conceits from the poets of India. As a reward for this eulogy I gave him an elephant. The Rajputs call a poet *charan*. One of the poets of the age versified these sentiments as follows:

> If the world illuminator had a son, there would be no night and it would always be day / Because when he hid his golden crown, the son would show his diadem. / Render thanks that after such a father such a son has taken his place / That with the passing of that king no one made his clothes black in mourning.

On Thursday the eighth of Muharram 1017 [April 14], Jalaluddin Mas'ud, who held the rank of 400 and was not lacking in bravery, having shown his valor in several confrontations, **[56b]** died of dysentery between the ages of fifty and sixty. He was an opium addict and used to break opium into small pieces like cheese and eat it. It was reported that he had often eaten opium from his own mother's hand. When his illness became severe and traces of imminent death appeared, his mother, out of attachment to him, took an overdose of the same opium she used to feed him and died herself an hour or two after her son. Until now such affection on the part of a mother for her son has not been heard of. Among the Hindus it is customary for women to burn themselves after the death of their husbands, either out of love or in order to maintain their fathers' reputations and honor before their relatives, but the likes of this act has never been committed by a mother, Muslim or Hindu.

On the fifteenth of the month [April 21], I gave a horse, the best of the royal stable, to Raja Man Singh as a show of favor. Shah Abbas had sent it to His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani along with several other horses and suitable gifts brought by Minuchihr, one of his chief slaves. The raja was so delighted by the gift of this horse that he wouldn't have been happier had I given him a kingdom. When it was brought it was three or four years old, and it developed splendidly in Hindustan. All the courtiers, both Moghul and Rajput, were in agreement in declaring that no such horse had ever before come from Persia to Hindustan. When my exalted father gave the province of Khandesh and the souba of the Deccan to my brother Danyal and returned to Agra, he affectionately ordered him to make a request for anything he wanted. Taking advantage of the opportunity, he asked for this horse, and it was given to him.

On Tuesday the twentieth [April 26], a report came from Islam Khan with the news of the death of Jahangir-Quli Khan, the governor of the souba of Bengal and an especially loyal servant of mine. **[57a]** He served in the circle of great amirs on account of his innate ability and natural talent. I was very saddened by his death. I gave the governorship of Bengal and the post of ataliq to Prince Jahandar to my "son" Islam Khan and put Afzal Khan in his stead as governor of the souba of Bihar.

Hakim Ali's son, whom I had sent to Burhanpur on several missions, came back, bringing some Carnatic jugglers, who were without equal. One of them juggled ten balls, each of which was the size of an orange, one citron, and one red berry in such a way that, the difference in size notwithstanding, he never missed. He did various juggling acts so well that it boggled the mind.

Around this same time a dervish came from Ceylon bringing an unusual animal called a *devang*.[1] Its face looks like that of a large bat,[2] and overall the body is similar to a monkey's but it has no tail. Its movements are like those of the black ape called *ban manus* [orangutan] in Hindi. The body was the size of a baby monkey two or three month old. Since it had been with the dervish for five years, it was obvious it was not going to get any bigger. It drinks milk and eats bananas. Since it looked extremely strange, I showed it to the artists and ordered them to make a likeness of it with its various movements. It is really horrible looking.

On this day Mirza Faridun Barlas was promoted to the rank of 1500/1300. Since Payanda Khan Moghul had grown old in military service, an order was also given for him to receive a jagir corresponding to a personal rank of 2000. Alif Khan was promoted to the rank of 700/500. The rank of my "son" Islam Khan, the governor of the souba of Bengal, was fixed at 4000/3000. The wardenship of the Rohtas fortress was transferred to Kishwar Khan, **[57b]** Qutbuddin Koka's son. Ihtimam Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/300 and assigned the post of admiral and head of the Bengal fleet.

On the first of Safar [May 7], Khan A'zam's son Shamsuddin presented ten elephants. He was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500 and awarded the title of Jahangir-Quli Khan. Zafar Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000.

Since I had proposed marriage to the daughter of Jagat Singh, Raja Man Singh's grandson, on the sixteenth [May 22] I dispatched the amount of eighty thousand rupees to the raja as sachïq.

Muqarrab Khan sent a European canvas from Cambay.[3] Until then no work of such excellence by the painters of Europe had ever been seen.

Around this time my aunt Bakhtunnisa Begam passed on to God's mercy of consumption and hectic fever at the age of sixty-one. I promoted her son Mirza Wali to the rank of 1000/200.

1. *Devanga* is the Telugu name for the slender loris of south India and Ceylon (*Loris tardigradus*). Alvi and Rahman, *Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 37.

2. Reading *ba-shabparak* (like a bat) for the text's nonsensical *pusht barak*.

3. Cambay, south of Ahmadabad in Gujarat, was one of the principal trading posts established by Europeans. Jahangir appreciated European art to the extent that he had European paintings installed in the throne jharoka. See Beach et al., *King of the World*, 95, fig. 38, *Jahangir Receives Prince Khurram on his Return from the Mewar Campaign*.

A Transoxanian named Aqam Hajji paid homage to me in Agra. He had spent a long time in Anatolia. Not lacking in intelligence or savoir faire, he called himself an ambassador of the Ottoman. He also had credentials of unknown authorship. After considering his circumstances, not one of my courtiers believed that he was an ambassador. (When the Sahib-Qiran [Temür] conquered Anatolia and the ruler, Ïldïrïm Bayazid, fell captive to him, after taking tribute and one year's revenue from the entire province of Anatolia, the Sahib-Qiran decided to give the conquered territory back to Ïldïrïm Bayazid. However, Ïldïrïm Bayazid died just then, and the Sahib-Qiran gave the kingdom to Bayazid's son Musa Chelebi and withdrew. From that time until now, despite such generous treatment, neither has anyone come on behalf of the Ottomans nor have they sent an ambassador.) How now is it to be believed that this Transoxanian is an emissary of the Ottoman sultan? His claim did not seem reasonable in the slightest. **[58a]** Since no one could give evidence of the truth of his claim, I ordered him to leave and go wherever he wanted.

Marriage to Jagat Singh's Daughter

On the fourth of Rabi' I [June 8], Jagat Singh's daughter entered the harem, and a wedding ceremony and banquet were held in Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani's quarters. Included in the dowry Raja Man Singh sent were sixty elephants.

Mahabat Khan is Sent to the Deccan

Since repulsion of the Rana was foremost in my mind, it occurred to me that Mahabat Khan should be dispatched. I assigned him twelve thousand fully equipped cavalrymen with experienced commanders. Aside from those, five hundred ahadis, two thousand musket-carrying foot soldiers, and an artillery consisting of seventy or eighty cannon mounted on elephants and camels, and sixty elephants were also assigned to accompany this expedition, as was a war chest of twenty lacs of rupees.

On the sixteenth of the month [June 20], Shah Ni'matullah Yazdi's son Mir Khalilullah, a general report on whom and on whose family has already been given,[4] passed away of dysentery. From his countenance his loyalty and dervish inclinations were obvious. Had he lived long enough, and had he continued in my service, he would have attained high rank.

The bakhshi of Burhanpur had sent several mangoes. I ordered one of them weighed. It weighed fifty-two and a half tolas.

4. See page 88 above.

Lunar Weighing Ceremony

On Wednesday the eighteenth [June 22], the weighing ceremony for my fortieth lunar year was held in Maryamuzzamani's quarters. I ordered the gold from the weighing distributed to the women and the deserving.[5]

On Thursday the fourth of Rabi' II [July 8], Zahir Beg, the bakhshi of the ahadis, was entitled Mukhlis Khan, and Mulla Naqiba of Shabistar, a very learned and talented man who knew the sciences of history and genealogy well, was awarded the title of Mu'arrikh Khan.

On the tenth of the month [July 14], I elevated Abdullah Khan's brother Barkhordar above his peers with the title of Bahadur Khan. **[58b]** Mihtar Khan's son Munis offered a jade tankard that had been made during the reign of Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän and had his name on it.[6] It was a precious and beautiful gift, and the stone was extremely white and flawless. On the neck of the bowl the mirza's name and the year of the Hegira had been carved in the *riqa'i* script. In and of itself it is extremely

5. Here and elsewhere Jahangir refers to the custom of giving the proceeds from the weighing to the women of the harem, who supervised the distribution to charity.

6. Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän was the son of Shahrukh (ruled 1405–1447) and grandson of Amir Temür. He ruled as governor of Samarkand from 1411 until his death in 1449.



TANKARD. Central Asia, Samarkand, ca. 1447–49; later inscription with Jahangir's name dated A.H. 1022 (1613). White jade (nephrite). Ht 14.5 cm., max. diam. 16 cm., base diam. 6.8 cm. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon. 328

precious. I also ordered my name and Arsh-Ashyani's blessed name inscribed on the edge of the lip. Mihtar Khan is an old servant of this dynasty. He had the honor to serve Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun], and during my exalted father's reign he was promoted to the rank of amir. My father considered him one of his trustworthy men.

On the sixteenth [July 20], an order was issued for Sangram's province,[7] which had been given as a bonus to my "son" Islam Khan for a year, to be transferred as a bonus to Afzal Khan, the governor of the souba of Bihar.

On this day I increased Mahabat Khan's rank to 3000/2500. Husayn Khan Tukriya's son Yusuf Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/800.

On the twenty-fourth [July 28], I gave Mahabat Khan leave to depart with the amirs and men who had been assigned to deal with the Rana. The khan was given a robe of honor, a horse, a royal elephant, and a jeweled sword. Zafar Khan was awarded a banner and was given a royal robe of honor and a jeweled dagger. Shaja'at Khan was also awarded a banner, and I gave him a robe of honor and a royal elephant. Raja Bir Singh Deo was awarded a robe of honor and a royal horse. Mangli Khan was given a horse and a jeweled dagger. Narayan Das Kachhwaha, Ali-Quli Darman, and Hizhabr Khan were awarded the same. Bahadur Khan and Mu'izzulmulk the bakhshi were awarded jeweled daggers. [59a] And so on, each of the amirs and commanders, according to his station and rank, was shown some imperial favor.

7. Rana Sangram of Kharagpur, who had rebelled. See page 64.

After the first watch of the day the Khankhanan, who held the high post as my ataliq, came from Burhanpur to pay homage. He was so happy and glad to see me that he didn't know whether to walk on his feet or on his head. In confusion he threw himself at my feet, but I kindly raised his head, embraced him warmly, and kissed his face. He offered me two strings of pearl prayer beads and several rubies and emeralds. The value of the gems was three lacs of rupees. Aside from those things he presented for my inspection many goods of every sort and variety.

On the seventeenth of Jumada I [August 19], Wazir Khan, the divan of Bengal, came to pay homage. He had brought as offerings sixty male and female elephants and a *qutbi* ruby.[8] Since he was an old servant who had performed every sort of service, I ordered him to remain in the retinue.

8. A *qutbi* ruby may be the balas ruby

Since Qasim Khan absolutely did not get along with his elder brother Islam Khan, he had been summoned from Bihar to serve at court. On this day he came to pay homage.

On the twenty-second [August 24], Asaf Khan offered a ruby weighing seven tanks his brother Abu'l-Qasim had bought for seventy-five thousand rupees in the port of Cambay. It was an extremely good color and size; however, in my opinion, it was not worth more than sixty thousand rupees.

Although Rai Singh's son Dulip had committed grievous errors, I pardoned him and overlooked his crimes because he had taken refuge with my "son" Khan Jahan.

On the twenty-fourth [August 26], the Khankhanan's sons, who had followed behind him, arrived to pay homage and make an offering of the equivalent of twenty-five thousand rupees. On this same day the khan offered ninety elephants. [**59b**]

Solar Weighing Ceremony

On Thursday the first of Jumada II [September 2], the solar weighing ceremony was held in Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani's quarters. Some of the gold was divided among the women, and the rest was ordered distributed to the poor of the realm.

On the fourth of the month [September 5], I ordered the divanis to give Khan A'zam an income-producing jagir equivalent to a rank of 7000. On this day was brought a lactating female antelope that allowed itself to be milked with ease. Until now it had been seen and heard that there was no difference in taste among antelope's milk, cow's milk, and ox's milk. They say that antelope's milk is good for shortness of breath.

On the eleventh of the month [September 12], Raja Man Singh asked for leave to go to Amber, his homeland, to see to the preparation of the expeditionary force for the Deccan, to which he had been assigned. I awarded him a royal elephant named Hushyar Mast and granted him leave.

Monday the twelfth [September 13] was the anniversary of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's death. Aside from the expenses for the banquet, which are charged separately, I sent four thousand rupees to be distributed among the poor and the dervishes who were at his blessed tomb.

On this day I awarded Khan A'zam's son Abdullah the title of Sarafraz Khan and Qasim Khan's son Abdul-Rahim the title of Tarbiyat Khan.

On Tuesday the thirteenth [September 14], I had Khusraw's daughter summoned so I could see her. No one could remember a child resembling its father so. The astrologers had said, "She is unlucky for her father, but she is lucky for you." In the end it proved true. They had said that I shouldn't see her until she was three years old. Since she had passed this age, she was seen.

On the twenty-first [September 22], the Khankhanan undertook to smooth things out in the Nizamulmulk's territory, where some disturbances had occurred since His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's death. Having written his pledge, he gave it to me, saying, "If I do not discharge this task within two years, I will be guilty of a fault"—provided that in addition to the army that was already in the souba, twelve thousand more soldiers and a treasury of ten lacs of rupees be assigned him. I ordered that the troops and treasury should be quickly made ready so that he could be sent off.

On the twenty-sixth [September 27], I assigned Mukhlis Khan, the bakhshi of the ahadis, to the post of bakhshi to the souba of the Deccan and gave his place [**60a**] to Admiral Ibrahim Husayn.

On the first of Rajab [October 1], Peshraw Khan and Kamal Khan, both of whom were servants well-known to me, died. Peshraw Khan had been given as a slave by Shah Tahmasp to my grandfather. His name was Sa'adat, and when he rose in His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's service to the office of supervisor and foreman of the carpet department,[9] he was given the title of Peshraw Khan. He was so expert and capable in his office that it might as well have been a garment sewn especially for him. At the age of ninety he was more nimble than youths of fourteen. He had the honor to serve my grandfather, my father, and me. Until the moment he died he was not for one instant without the pleasure of wine.

9. The carpet department (*farashkhana*) housed not only carpets but also hangings, tents, and canopies. When the imperial camp was on the move, the foreman of the *farashkhana* and his army of *farrashes* (literally "spreaders") were responsible for setting up the vast array of tents and enclosures.

Defiled by wine, Fighani went into the earth. Alas if the angels smell his fresh shroud![10]

10. The line is by the poet Baba Fighani (*Divan*, 259, line 3347.)

Fifteen lacs of rupees were left by him. He has a son who is highly unworthy named Ri'ayat. However, because of the rights his father had acquired through service, the office of coforeman of the carpet department was given to him jointly with Tokhmaq Khan.

Kamal Khan, a servant who was loyal and devoted to me, was from the caste of Kalals of Delhi. On account of his obvious honesty and trustworthiness I made him the *bökäülbegi* [head taster]. Such servants are hard to find. He had two sons, to whom I showed great kindness, but where are the likes of him?

On the second of the month [October 2], La'l Kalawant died at the age of sixty-five, maybe even seventy. He had grown up from childhood in my father's service and had been taught every type of music and singing that is performed in the Hindi manner. One of his slave-girls ate opium and killed herself over him. Few Muslim women ever display such loyalty.

The Eunuchs of Bengal

In Hindustan, especially in the province of Sylhet, a dependency of Bengal, it has long been the custom for the ryots and people to make eunuchs of some of their sons and give them in lieu of taxes to the rulers. Little by little this custom has infected other provinces, **[60b]** and every year many children are ruined and castrated as the custom has gained great currency. At this time I ordered that henceforth no one was to do this hideous thing and that the buying and selling of eunuchs of tender years should be completely abolished. Decrees were issued to Islam Khan and the other governors of the souba of Bengal to the effect that anyone caught practicing this thing would be punished by execution, and any young eunuch in anyone's possession was to be taken away. Until now no prior ruler has succeeded in this endeavor, but, God willing, this wrongful custom will soon be completely eliminated, and once the trade in eunuchs is forbidden no one will do this ugly and useless thing.

I gave a bay horse, one of those sent by Shah Abbas and the best of my royal stable, to the Khankhanan. He was so happy it can't be described. Truly no horse this large and beautiful has ever come to Hindustan before. I also awarded him the elephant Fattuha, which is without equal in battle, along with twenty other elephants.

Kishan Singh, Khurram's younger maternal uncle who was assigned to accompany Mahabat Khan, was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000 for having performed outstanding services by bringing down the Rana's men in battle with his spear, killing twenty of the Rana's renowned men, and capturing nearly three thousand.

On the fourteenth of the month [October 14], I ordered Mirza Ghazi to go to Kandahar. By sheer coincidence, just as the mirza was setting out from Bhakkar for Kandahar, the news arrived of the death of Sardar Khan,[11] an important and intimate liege man to my uncle Mirza Muhammad-Hakim and known as Tokhta Beg. I gave half his rank to his sons.

11. Sardar Khan was then governor of Kandahar. See above, pages 61 and 67.

A Visit to the Blessed Tomb of Arsh-Ashyani

On Monday the seventeenth [October 17], I set out on foot to visit the blessed tomb of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. Had it been possible I would have gone the way on my eyelashes and head **[61a]** since to get me my exalted father went on foot

from Fatehpur to Ajmer, a distance of 120 kos, to visit His Holiness Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti.[12] Even if I were to go the distance on my head and eyes, how would it compare?

When I attained the felicity of a visitation and saw the building over the blessed tomb, it didn't look the way I wanted it to because I had intended it to be such that world travelers wouldn't be able to point to another such building in all the world. Since during construction the ill-omened Khusraw had to be dealt with and I had to go to Lahore, the builders had constructed it according to their own tastes. In the end some modifications were made, and although a huge amount had been spent on it and they worked on it for three or four years, I ordered expert architects to redesign certain places, this time in consultation with men of knowledge, in such a way that it would be acceptable. Little by little a sublime structure took shape, and an exquisite garden was laid out around the building over the tomb. A huge and very tall gateway complete with minarets was made of white stone and completed. In toto, they told me that fifteen lacs of rupees, equivalent to fifty thousand tumans of Iranian currency and five lacs of Turanian khanis, had been spent on this sublime building.

On Sunday the twenty-third [October 23], I went to Hakim Ali's house to see a pool he had built. I went with a group of intimates who hadn't seen it yet. He had made it like one he had built in Lahore during His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign. The pool is six ells square. On one side had been built a well-lit chamber. Its entrance was through the water, yet the water could not get in. Ten to twelve people could hold a conversation in it. He made an offering of what cash and jewels were available at the time. After I inspected the house and my intimates had entered, I promoted the hakim to the rank of 2000 and returned to the palace.

On Sunday the fourteenth of Sha'ban [November 13], the Khankhanan was awarded a jeweled girth sword, a robe of honor, **[61b]** and a royal elephant and was dismissed to his Deccan duty. Raja Suraj Singh, who was also assigned to the above-mentioned duty, was promoted to the rank of 4000/2000.

Since it was being constantly reported that the ryots and inhabitants of Ahmadabad in Gujarat were being harassed by Murtaza Khan's brothers and liege men, and that he was incompetent to keep his relatives and men sufficiently under control, I dismissed him from that souba and gave it to A'zam Khan. However, it was decided that A'zam Khan himself should remain in the retinue, and his eldest son, Jahangir-Quli Khan, was sent to Gujarat as his deputy. Jahangir-Quli Khan's rank, including promotion, was fixed at 3000/2500. It was ordered that provincial affairs should be taken care of in consultation with Mohan Das the divan and Mas'ud Beg Hamadani the bakhshi. Mohan Das was promoted to the rank of 800/500, and Mas'ud Beg was promoted to the rank 300/150. Of those at court Tarbiyat Khan was promoted to the rank of 700/400, and Nasrullah Khan was given the same rank. Mihtar Khan, a summary account of whom has already been given,[13] died on this day. I promoted his son Munis Khan to the rank of 500/130.

On Wednesday the fourth[14] of Dhu'l-Hijja [March 1, 1609], a son was born to Khusraw by Khan A'zam's daughter. I named him Buland-Akhtar.

A Portrait of the Sahib-Qiran Temür

On the sixth of the month [March 3], Muqarrab Khan sent a picture the Europeans believe **[62a]** to be a likeness of His Majesty the Sahib-Qiran. When Ildirim Bayazid was captured by his victorious forces,[15] a Christian who was governor of Istanbul at the

12. See above, page 21.

13. See above, page 96.

14. Reading "4th" for the "14th" of the text.

15. The Ottoman Sultan Ildirim (or Yildirim, "the Thunderbolt") Bayazid (reigned 1389–1403) was captured by Amir Temür's forces near Ankara in 1402 and died the following year in captivity. See Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar*, 3:509.

time sent an emissary with rarities and gifts to show his obedience and servitude, and an artist who had been sent along with the emissary drew a picture of His Majesty. If this claim has any basis in fact, there will never be a better gift for me; however, since His Majesty's descendants bear no resemblance to the features in the picture, I am unconvinced that it is true.

The Fourth Regnal Year: March 11, 1609–March 9, 1610

The Fourth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

The transit of the world-illuminating sun into the constellation of Aries occurred on the eve of Saturday the fourteenth of Dhu'l-Hijja 1017 [March 11, 1609], and Nawroz was commenced with blessedness and rejoicing.

On Friday the fifth of Muharram 1018 [March 31], Hakim Ali died. He was a peerless physician. He also was very learned in the Arabic sciences. He composed a commentary on the *Canon* during my exalted father's reign.[1] Just as his appearance was better than his conduct and his acquired skill was greater than his innate ability, his diligence **[62b]** was greater than his understanding. In general he was bad-tempered and mean.

On the twentieth of Safar [May 15], I awarded Mirza Barkhordar the title of Khan Alam.

A watermelon was brought from the vicinity of Fatehpur that was larger than any that had been seen before. I ordered it weighed. It weighed thirty-two and a half seers.

Lunar Weighing Ceremony

On Monday the nineteenth of Rabi' I [June 12], the lunar weighing ceremony was held in my exalted mother's quarters. Some of the gold was divided among the women who were gathered on that day.

Changes in the Deccan Campaign

Since it was obvious that it was necessary for me to send one of the princes in order to ensure stability and to conduct the affairs of the souba of the Deccan, it occurred to me to send my son Parvez. I ordered arrangements made for sending him and the hour for leave-taking ascertained.

I had summoned to court Mahabat Khan, who had been assigned to lead the expedition against the damn Rana, for some items of business with me, and I awarded Abdullah Khan the title of Firoz-Jang and assigned him in Mahabat Khan's place. I dispatched Abdul-Razzaq the bakhshi to relay to all the officers of the expeditionary force my order not to disobey anything the khan said and to know how extremely influential a word of praise or complaint from him was.

On the fourth of Jumada I [July 26], one of the goatherds, a well-known clan, brought for my inspection a gelded goat that had teats like a female and gave a coffee cup of

1. The *Canon* is Avicenna's (980–1037) great compendium of medicine, *al-Qanun fi'l-tibb* (*The Canon on Medicine*).

milk every day. Since milk is one of God's gifts and the means of nourishment of many animals, I took this strange thing to be a good omen.

On the eighth of the month [July 30], I promoted Khan A'zam's son Khurram to the rank of 2000/1500 and sent him as governor of the province of Sorath, which is known as Junagadh.

I promoted Hakim Sadr to the rank of 500/30 and gave him the title of Masihu'z-Zaman [messiah of the age].

On the sixteenth of the month [August 7], a jeweled girth sword was sent to Raja Man Singh.

On the twenty-second [August 13], the twenty lacs of rupees that had been earmarked to defray expenses of the Deccan force **[63a]** accompanying my son Parvez were handed over to a separate treasurer, and another five lacs of rupees were ordered to defray Parvez's expenses.

On Wednesday the twenty-fifth [August 16], Jahandar, who had previously been assigned to the province of Bengal under Qutbuddin Khan Koka's escort, came to pay homage. I realized that he is truly congenitally crazy.

Since my mind was on preparations for the Deccan, on the first of Jumada II [August 22] I assigned Amiru'l-Umara too to this duty and awarded him a robe of honor and a horse. I promoted Jagannath's son Karam Chand to the rank of 2000/1500 and assigned him to accompany my son Parvez.

On the fourth of the month [August 25], 370 ahadi cavalrymen were assigned to accompany Abdullah Khan as auxiliaries on the Rana campaign. A hundred horses were also sent from the stables of the sarkar for him to give to any of the officers or ahadis he thought worthy.

On the seventeenth [September 7], I gave my son Parvez a ruby worth sixty-thousand rupees, and I gave my son Khurram another ruby and two pearls worth approximately forty thousand rupees.

On Monday the twenty-eighth [September 18], Jagannath was promoted to the rank of 5000/3000.

On the eighth of Rajab [September 27],[2] Raj Singh was promoted to the rank of 4000/3000 and given leave to depart for Deccan duty.

On Thursday the ninth [September 28], Prince Shahryar came from Gujarat to pay homage.

2. Reading *hashtum* (eighth) for the text's *bistum* (twentieth) to accord with the flow of dates.

Parvez is Given Leave to Depart on the Deccan Campaign

On Tuesday the fourteenth [October 3], I gave my son Parvez leave to depart to conquer the realm of the Deccan. He was awarded a royal horse and a jeweled sword and dagger, and each of the commanders and amirs assigned to accompany him was made happy with the award, according to his rank and station, of a robe of honor, horse, elephant, girth sword, or jeweled dagger. I assigned a thousand ahadis to the Deccan campaign in Parvez's retinue.

During these days a report came from Abdullah Khan saying that he had pursued the damn Rana into mountainous and rugged terrain **[63b]** and that several elephants and supplies had fallen into his hands. When night came, however, the Rana had escaped on foot and run away. "Now that I have his back against the wall," he said, "he will soon be captured or killed." I promoted the khan to the rank of 5000 and awarded Parvez a string of pearl prayer beads worth two thousand rupees. Since I had given the province of Khandesh and Berar to this son, I gave him the fortress of Asir also and

stipulated that three hundred horses should accompany him for him to bestow upon any of the ahadis and officers who were worthy of reward.



On the twenty-sixth [October 15], Sayf Khan Barha was promoted to the rank of 2500/1350 and assigned as garrison commander to the sarkar of Hissar.

On Monday the fourth of Sha'ban [October 23], an elephant was awarded to Wazir Khan.

On Friday the twenty-second [November 10], I ordered that *bhang* [narcotics] and *buza* [beer], being sources of great mischief, should not be sold in the markets and that gambling houses should be eliminated. I was very insistent upon this point.

On the twenty-fifth [November 13], a lion was brought from the royal lion house to be made to fight an ox. Many people had gathered to watch. There was also a group of yogis, and the lion approached one of the yogis, who was naked, in a playful manner, not in rage, and knocked him to the ground. Then, just as though it were copulating with a female of its own kind, it mounted him and began to hump. It did the same thing the next day. It has acted like this several times. Since before now no such thing had ever been seen, and it is exceedingly strange, it is recorded.

On the second of Ramadan [November 19], Ghiyas Khan was promoted at Islam Khan's request to the rank of 1500/800. I also promoted Faridun Khan Barlas to the rank of 2500/2000.

A thousand *tolchas* of gold and silver and a thousand rupees were given in alms on the day the sun entered the constellation Scorpio, which is called Sankrant in the parlance of the Hindus. **[64a]**

On the tenth of the month [November 27], I gave an elephant to Shah Beg Khan Yuzi. Salamullah Arab, a distinguished young Arab and son-in-law of the ruler of Dizful, came to me because of the fear he entertained of Shah Abbas. I took him under my wing and awarded him the rank of 400/200.

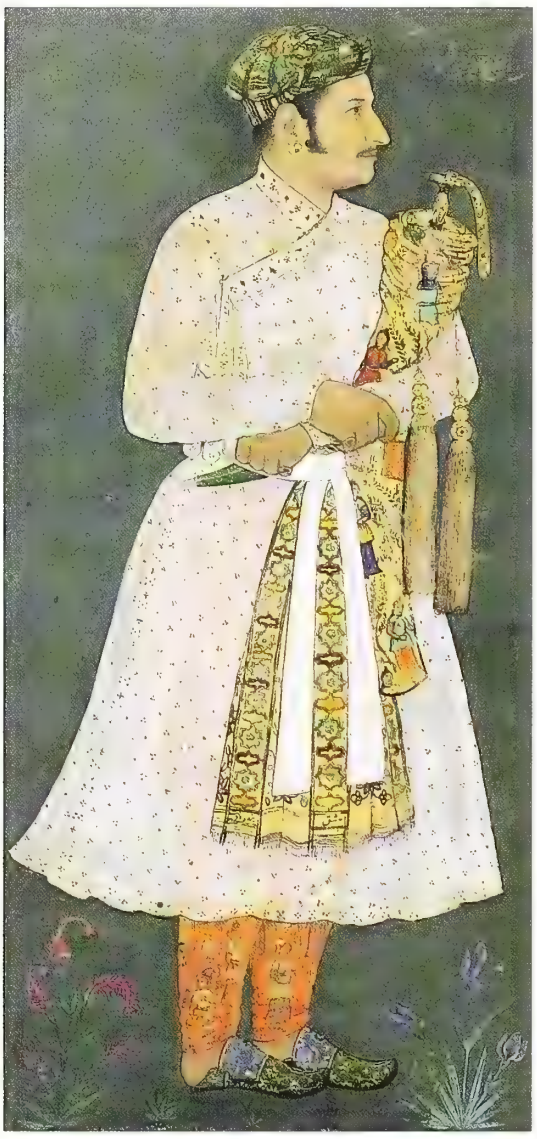
Another troop consisting of 193 officers and forty-six ahadis was dispatched after Parvez for the Deccan campaign, and fifty horses were entrusted to one of the servants of the court to take to Parvez.

On Friday the thirteenth [November 30], a conceit occurred to me, and I composed the following ghazal:

> What am I to do now that your arrow of grief has penetrated my heart? Before the evil eye arrived one comes after the other. / You strut drunk, and the whole world is intoxicated by you. I burn incense against the evil eye. / I am struck dumb at the idea of traversing the road of union, and I cry out in the hope that no one knows. / I am drunk in union with the beloved and disconsolate in separation. Alas for such grief that torments me. / It is time to admit helplessness, Jahangir. Offer your head in hopes that a spark of light may come to help.

On Sunday the fifteenth [December 2], I sent fifty thousand rupees' worth of sachïq to the house of Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza's daughter, whose hand had been asked for in marriage to my son Khurram. (Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza is the son of Sultan-Husayn Mirza, the son of Bahram Mirza, the son of Shah Isma'il the Safavid.)

On the seventeenth of the month [December 4], Mubarak Khan Shirvani was



DETAIL, PORTRAIT OF INAYAT KHAN, ascribed to Dawlat. India, Mughal period, ca. 1610. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Overall page: 28.7 x 26.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.29r

promoted to the rank of 1000/300, and I gave him five thousand rupees too. Four thousand rupees were given to Hajji Bey Uzbek.

On the twenty-second [December 9], I gave a ruby and a pearl to Shahryar. A lac of rupees was given to defray expenses incurred by the troop of Oymaqs assigned to the Deccan campaign. I gave two thousand rupees to Farrukh Beg the painter, one of the peerless of the age. Four thousand rupees were sent to be expended at Baba Hasan Abdal. I entrusted one thousand rupees to Mulla Ali-Ahmad the seal-engraver and Mulla Rozbihan Shirazi to spend on the anniversary of His Holiness Shaykh Salim's death at his shrine. **[64b]** An elephant was given to Muhammad-Husayn the scribe, and one thousand rupees were given to Khwaja Abdul-Haqq Ansari. I ordered the divanis to increase Murtaza Khan's rank to 5000/5000 and give him an income-producing jagir. I ordered the nephew of Bihari Chand, the *qanungo* [magistrate] of the Agra sarkar, to muster a thousand foot soldiers from the zamindars of Agra, fix a monthly stipend for them, and take them to Parvez in the Deccan. Another five lacs of rupees were assigned to defray Parvez's expenses.

On Thursday the fourth of Shawwal [December 21], Islam Khan was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000. Abul Bey Uzbek was promoted to the rank of 1500, and Zafar Khan was promoted to the rank of 2500. Two thousand rupees were given to Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman Mirza, and a thousand rupees to. . . .[3] An order was given for drums to be given to all who held the rank of 3000 and above. Another five thousand rupees of the gold from the weighing ceremony were entrusted to Hakim Abu'l-Fath's son Abu'l-Wafa for making repairs to the bridge at Baba Hasan Abdal and the buildings there so that the work might be done well.

A Lunar Eclipse

On Monday the thirteenth [December 30], with four watches left to the day, the moon began to be eclipsed, and in the end the entire body of the moon was eclipsed. It remained eclipsed until five gharis of the night. In order to drive away the ill omen I had myself weighed against gold, silver, cloth, and grain and had various animals like elephants, horses, etc. given away as alms. The total value was fifteen thousand rupees. I ordered it distributed among the deserving and the poor.

On the twenty-fifth [January 11, 1610], I took Ram Chand Bundela's daughter into service at her father's request. I awarded an elephant to Mir Fazil, Mir Sharif's nephew who had been assigned as garrison commander of Qabula and that area. Inayatullah was awarded the title of Inayat Khan.

On Wednesday the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da [January 16], Bihari Chand was promoted to the rank of 500/300, and I gave my son Baba Khurram a *khapwa*.[4] **[65a]** Mulla Hayati had been sent to the Khankhanan to deliver verbal instructions replete with affection and kindness from me. He came back bringing a ruby and two pearls worth approximately twenty thousand rupees the Khankhanan had sent with him. Mir

3. Text has the meaningless letters THYAN MSR; Rogers and Beveridge (*Tuzuk*, 160) read "Pathan Misr," equally nonsensical.

4. *Khapwa*, an Indian dagger.

Jamaluddin Husayn, who was in Burhanpur and whom I had summoned to court, came to pay homage. Two thousand rupees were given to Shaja'at Khan Dakkani.

Khan Jahan is Sent to the Deccan

On the sixth of the month [January 21], before Parvez reached Burhanpur, a report arrived from the Khankhanan and the amirs saying that the Deccanis had assembled and were ready to fight. Since it had become obvious that still more help was needed in addition to the assignment of Parvez and the army that had gone with him, I thought I might go myself and, with divine grace, relieve my mind of this worry. Just then a letter came from Asaf Khan saying that "His Majesty's departure in this direction would cause a great increase in good fortune." A letter also came from the Adil Khan of Bijapur saying, "If a trusted courtier be appointed to come here so that I might tell him my requests to be relayed to the imperial presence, it is hoped that it would be in the interests of us all." I therefore held council with my amirs and supporters so that every one might voice whatever occurred to him. My "son" Khan Jahan said, "Inasmuch as several important amirs have been sent to conquer that realm, it is not necessary for His Majesty to go himself. If ordered to go myself and join Prince Parvez's retinue, God willing I will carry out this mission while attending him." This seemed reasonable to all and was approved. Although it hadn't occurred to me at all to be separated from him, since it was a major affair I gave in to necessity, but I ordered him to come back to me as soon as affairs there were in hand and not to stay there more than one year in any case. **[65b]**

On Tuesday the seventh of Dhu'l-Qa'da [January 22], at the hour chosen for his departure, I awarded him a royal gold-brocaded robe of honor, a royal horse with a jeweled saddle, a jeweled girth sword, and a royal elephant. He was also awarded a tümän tugh. I also gave my loyal servant Fidai Khan a robe of honor, a horse, and help for expenses and promoted him to the rank of 1000/400. I assigned him to accompany Khan Jahan so that he could be sent if it became necessary to send someone to the Adil Khan as requested. I also gave Lanku Pandit, who had come with offerings from the Adil Khan during Arsh-Ashyani's reign, permission to accompany Khan Jahan, and I awarded him a horse, a robe of honor, and gold.

Some of the amirs and soldiers who had been assigned to accompany Abdullah Khan on the expedition against the damn Rana—like Raja Bir Singh Deo, Shaja'at Khan, Raja Bikramajit, et al.—were assigned four or five thousand cavalrymen to assist my "son" Khan Jahan. I sent Mu'tamad Khan on a mission to act as escort to those men and get them to Khan Jahan in Ujjain. I also sent with him six or seven thousand cavalry of the men of the gate,[5] like Yusuf Khan Barha, Hajji Bey Uzbek, and Salamullah Arab (a nephew of the Mubarak Arab who controlled the provinces of Hawiza, Dizful, and that territory), and other intimates and office-holders. When they were given leave to depart, I awarded each of them an increase in rank, a robe of honor, and cash for expenses. I made Muhammad Beg the bakhshi of the expedition and ordered ten lacs of rupees for them to take along. I gave Parvez a royal horse, and I gave the Khankhanan and the other amirs and servants who were assigned to that souba robes of honor and sent them off.

5 By "men of the gate" he means nobles who were in service at the imperial gate.

After all this was completed, I left the city to hunt and gave Mir Ali-Akbar one thousand rupees. Since it was the [planting] season, although I had already assigned a sergeant-at-arms with a troop of ahadis to protect the crops, lest damage be done to

the ryots' crops by the passage of the soldiers, **[66a]** I ordered several men to inspect the trampling stage by stage and give the ryots cash in compensation for the damage done to their crops.

I gave two thousand rupees to the Khankhanan's daughter, Danyal's wife, one thousand rupees to Abdul-Rahim "the Donkey"[6] to defray expenses, and one thousand rupees to Qabaja Dakkani.

6. This is the Abdul-Rahim who was sewed up in a donkey's skin (page 58).

On the twelfth [January 27], Abdullah Khan's brother Khanjar Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/500, and his other brother Bahadur Khan was promoted to the rank of 600/300.

On this day two antelopes with antlers and one doe were hunted.

On the thirteenth [January 28], I sent a royal horse to Khan Jahan. I appointed Mirza Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman to the rank of 1000/500, and, giving him five thousand rupees to defray expenses, I gave him leave to go to the Deccan and join Khan Jahan. On this day two buck antelopes and three does were hunted.

On Wednesday the 1[5]th [January 30], a nilgai and a chikara antelope were shot with a musket.

On the seventeenth [February 1], a ruby and a pearl Jahangir-Quli Khan had sent from Gujarat and an jeweled opium box Muqarrab Khan had sent from the port of Cambay were inspected.

On the twentieth of the month [February 4], a female lion and a nilgai were shot with a musket. There were two cubs with the lioness, but the jungle was so thick and there were so many trees they disappeared from view. An order was given for a search to be made, and they were caught. When I reached the station my son Khurram brought one of the lion cubs and presented it for my inspection. Two days later Mahabat Khan caught the other and brought it to me.

On the twenty-second [February 6], as I was just within range for shooting a nilgai, suddenly a groom and two palanquin bearers appeared from nowhere and the nilgai shied and ran away. I was so mad I ordered the groom killed on the spot and the bearers hamstrung, mounted on donkeys and paraded around the camp lest anyone else dare to do such a thing. Afterward I continued hunting on horseback with hawks and falcons and then came back to the station.

The next day, with Sikandar Mu'in as my scout,[7] I shot a large nilgai with a musket. I promoted him [Sikandar] to the rank of 600/500. **[66b]**

7. The name is garbled in the text. It is presumably the same as the Sikandar Mu'in on page 69.

On Friday the twenty-fourth [February 8], Safdar Khan, who had come from the souba of Bihar, attained the felicity of körünüsh. He presented an offering of a hundred mohurs as alms, a sword, and five elephants. One male elephant was accepted. This same day Yadgar Khwaja Samarqandi came from Balkh to pay homage. He presented a dervish cloak and several horses, in addition to other rarities, and was awarded a robe of honor.

On Wednesday the sixth [of Dhu'l-Hijja, February 20], Mu'izzulmulk, who had been transferred from the post of bakhshi to the campaign against the damn Rana, paid homage even though he was ill and in a terrible state.

On the fourteenth of the month [February 28], I pardoned the faults of Abdul-Rahim "the Donkey," even though they were terrible crimes, and promoted him to the rank of *yüzbashï* [centurion] and twenty cavalry, ordering him to go to Kashmir and, together with [the bakhshi of] that place, hold a review of the troops of Qilich Khan and the other jagirdars and Oymaqs, both those who were attached and those who were unattached as liege men, and bring an actual list to court. Qutbuddin Khan's son Kishwar Khan came from the Rohtas fortress and obtained the felicity of making obeisance and körünüsh.

The Fifth Regnal Year: March 10, 1610–March 9, 1611

The Fifth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

On Sunday the twenty-fourth [of Dhu'l-Hijja 1018, March 10, 1610], after the elapse of two watches and three gharis, the sun entered the constellation of Aries, its house of nobility. At this felicitous hour a new year's celebration was held a the station of Nag Thal, a village in the pargana of Bari, and in accordance with my exalted father's custom I mounted the throne.

The morning of that day, which was new year's day and corresponded to the first of the month of Farvardin of the fifth year of my accession, I held general audience at which all servants and amirs of the court attained the felicity of performing körünüsh and taslim in congratulations. The offerings of several amirs were submitted for inspection. Khan A'zam presented a pearl worth four thousand rupees. Miran Sadr-i-Jahan offered for my inspection twenty-eight hunting birds—hawks and falcons—along with other rarities. Mahabat Khan presented a small chest of European manufacture, the sides of which were sheets of crystal and mother-of-pearl. Anything that was put into the chest could be seen from the outside as well as though there were nothing there. Kishwar Khan presented twenty-two elephants, male and female. And so on, every one of the court servants [**67a**] presented the rarities and offerings they had. Fathullah Sharbatchi's son Nasrullah was assigned to take charge of the offerings. I gave Sarang Deo, who had been assigned to carry orders to the imperial forces in the Deccan, special mementos for Parvez and each of the amirs. I gave Ghazi Khan Badakhshi's son Shaykh Husamuddin, who had chosen the dervish path and retirement, one thousand rupees and a fur shawl.

The second day of Nawroz I mounted to hunt lions. Three, two males and a female, were taken. I gave bonuses to the ahadis who had shown bravery by advancing against the lions and increased their monthly salaries.

On the twenty-sixth of the month [March 12], I occupied myself for most of the day hunting nilgais. Since the weather had turned hot, and the appropriate hour for entering Agra was near, I set off for Rupbas, where I spent another few days hunting antelope.

On Saturday the first of Muharram 1019 [March 16], Rup Khawass, who had built up Rupbas, presented for my inspection the offering he had gotten together. The things I liked were accepted, and the rest was given back to him.

During these days Bayazid Mangli and his brothers, who had come from the souba of Bengal, attained the felicity of making körünüsh. Sayyid Qasim Barha's son Sayyid Adam had also come from Ahmadabad in Gujarat to attain the same honor and make a

presentation of an elephant. The post of garrison commander of the souba of Multan was given to Abul Bey Uzbek in succession to Taj Khan.

On Monday the third [March 18], camp was made in Mandakar Garden near the city. [**67b**] The next morning was the hour fixed for entering the city. After the elapse of one watch and two gharis, I mounted and rode to the beginning of the outskirts. When the outline of the city could be seen, I got on an elephant so the people could see me from near and far and scattered coins on both sides of the road. I safely entered the royal palace after the second watch at the hour the astronomers had ascertained. According to the established custom of Nawroz I had ordered the palace to be decorated and everyone to be standing in the heavenly court. After I had inspected the decorations, Khwaja Jahan presented to my view the offering he had arranged. Whatever gems, textiles, and other goods I found pleasing I accepted, and I gave the rest back.

I had ordered the overseers of the hunt to make a list of the total number of animals hunted from the day I left until the date I entered the city. They reported that during the period of fifty-six days 1,362 animals and birds had been taken: lion, 7; nilgai, male and female, 70; black antelope, 51; other animals such as does, black-tail antelope, etc., 82; black crane, peafowl, Brahmini duck, and other birds, 129; fish, 1,023.

On Friday the seventh [March 22], Muqarrab Khan came from the port of Cambay and Surat to pay homage. He brought gems, jeweled utensils, containers, gold and silver vessels of European manufacture, and other unusual rarities. [**68a**] He had also brought so many Abyssinian slaves, Arabian horses, and every other sort of thing he could think of that his presents were offered for my inspection for a period of two and a half months, and most of them were pleasing.

On this day Safdar Khan, who had been promoted to the rank of 1000/500, was given an increase of 500/200, awarded a banner, and given leave to depart for his former jagir. Kishwar Khan and Faridun Barlas were also given banners. A must elephant was given to Afzal Khan's son Bishotan to take to his father. As I did every year, I awarded Khwaja Husayn, a descendant of Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti, fifteen hundred rupees. The khankhanan had presented a volume of *Joseph and Zulaykha* calligraphed by Mulla Mir Ali,[1] illustrated and illuminated, in an extremely ornate gold binding, and worth one thousand mohurs. It was brought by his agent Ma'sum and offered for my inspection.

Until the day of culmination, which is the end of the Nawroz celebrations, every day several offerings from the amirs and courtiers were inspected. What I liked of the precious objects presented by each person I accepted, but I gave the rest back.

On Thursday the thirteenth [March 28], corresponding to the nineteenth of Farvardin, the day of culmination and a day of happiness for the sun, I ordered a celebration held and all sorts of intoxicants brought. I ordered that all the amirs and others could partake of whatever they liked. Most chose wine, although a few took *mufarrih* and some ate as many opiates as they wanted.[2] It was a splendid party.

A throne of silver, inlaid and painted in a novel manner, which Jahangir-Quli Khan had sent as a gift from Gujarat, was shown to me. Maha Singh was awarded a banner.

When I first acceded to the throne [**68b**] I had repeatedly ordered that henceforth no one was to make, buy, or sell eunuchs, and anyone who committed this act would be considered a criminal. Around this time Afzal Khan sent from the souba of Bihar several such miscreants who had been engaged in this horrible traffic. I ordered the wretches held in perpetual imprisonment.

1. The story of Joseph and Zulaykha, Potiphar's wife, was versified by Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Jami (d. 1492). The calligrapher Mir Ali Husayni Haravi was one of the most famous calligraphers of the Timurid period, and his works were avidly collected by later generations.

2. *Mufarrih* is a mild narcotic concoction.

❁ *Death by Ecstasy*

On the night of Wednesday the twelfth a strange thing happened. A group of singers were singing in my presence, and Sayyid Shah was dancing to their music. The following line by Amir Khusraw was the refrain: "Every nation has its own path to religion and direction for prayer. We have made our qibla straight in the direction of one with his cap awry."

I inquired what the real meaning of the line was. Mulla Ali the seal engraver, one of the peerless of the age in his craft, was my disciple and servant of old, and I had studied with his father when I was small. He stepped forward and said, "I have heard from my father that one day Shaykh Nizam Awliya had a cap on the side of his head and was watching some Hindus doing their devotions from atop a roof next to the bank of the Jumna. Just then Amir Khusraw appeared, and when the shaykh noticed him he said, 'Do you see these people?' And then he said the first hemistich, 'Every nation has its own path to religion and direction for prayer.' Without pausing for reflection, Amir Khusraw addressed the shaykh in all respect and recited the second hemistich: 'We have made our qibla straight in the direction of one with his cap awry.'"

When the mulla reached this point, having recited the end of the second hemistich about the "one with his cap awry," he was overcome and fell unconscious. I was so frightened by his falling that I went to him. Most thought he had suffered an epileptic fit. The physicians who were in attendance rushed in confusion to diagnose his illness, take his pulse, and bring medicine. Their confused efforts did no good: the moment he fell he had given his soul over to the creator of souls. Since his body was still warm, they thought perhaps there might be some trace of life left in him, but after a while it became apparent that it was too late to do anything. He was gone. He was taken dead from the assembly and carried to his house. Such a death had not been seen until now. I sent his sons money for his shroud and burial. The next morning he was carried to Delhi and buried in the tomb of his ancestors.

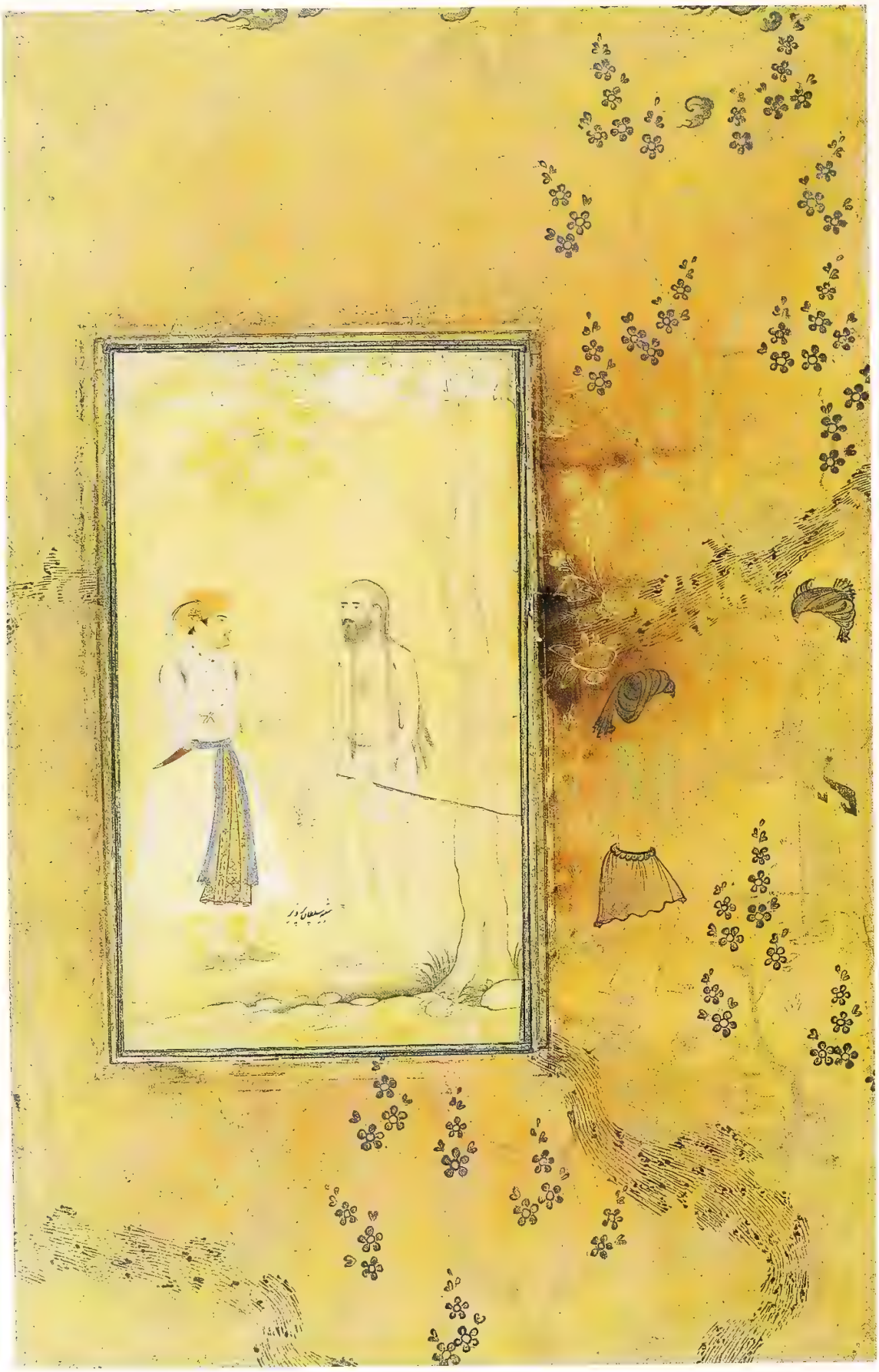
❁

On Friday the twenty-first [April 5], Kishwar Khan, who had previously been promoted to the rank of 1500, was raised to the rank of 2000/2000. He was awarded a Persian horse from the royal stable, a robe of honor, and a royal elephant named Bakht Jit, assigned to the post of garrison commander of the territory of Oudh, ordered to chastise the rebels in that area, and given leave to depart. Bayazid Mangli was awarded a robe of honor and a horse and ordered to accompany Kishwar Khan with his brothers. I turned over an elephant from the royal stable named Alam-Guman to Habibullah for Raja Man Singh. A royal horse was sent to Bengal for Keshav Das Maru. An elephant was given to Arab Khan, the jagirdar of Jalalabad.

Recently Iftikhar Khan had sent a rare elephant from Bengal. Since I liked it I had it put in the royal stable.

Ahmad Beg Khan, who had been assigned as commander of the Bangash expedition, was given an increase in rank, along with his sons, for good service. His own rank was 2000/500, [**69b**] and 500 more was added to his zat.

I gave Sarbarah Khan's son Habib a jewel-studded golden throne for Parvez and a turban ornament with rubies and pearls worth twenty-one thousand rupees to take to Burhanpur for Khan Jahan.



SULTAN PARVEZ WITH AN ASCETIC. India, Mughal period, ca. 1610. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 15 x 8.6 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F29.3

During these days it was learned that Qamar Khan's son Kawkab had struck up an acquaintance with a *sanyasi* [ascetic], and little by little the sanyasi's teaching, which reeked of infidelity and heresy, stuck in the ignoramus's mind. He had also drawn Naqib Khan's son Abdul-Latif and Sharif, his cousins, into this error. When it was found out, after being frightened only a little they revealed certain things about themselves, the mention of which would be disgusting. Considering it imperative to punish them, after having them flogged I ordered life imprisonment for Kawkab and Sharif, and I ordered Abdul-Latif whipped a hundred lashes in my presence. This special punishment was in order to maintain the religious law lest any other ignoramuses be enticed into similar actions.

On Monday the twenty-fourth [April 8], Mu'azzam Khan was given leave to depart for Delhi to chastise the rebels and troublemakers in that area. Shaja'at Khan Dakkani was given two thousand rupees. I gave Shaykh Husayn Darman leave to depart to take the orders and gifts to the amirs in Bengal. I promoted Islam Khan to the rank of 5000/5000 with a robe of honor for outstanding services. Kishwar Khan was also given a royal robe of honor, and I gave Raja Kalyan [**70a**] a Persian horse. I also gave either robes of honor or horses to the rest of the amirs. Faridun Barlas, who had been promoted to the rank of 1500/1300, was increased to 2000/[1]500.

On the eve of Monday the first of Safar [April 15], due to the negligence of the servants, a huge fire broke out in Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan's house. By the time it was discovered and put out, many things had been burned. In order to console the khwaja I gave him forty thousand rupees to cover the losses he had incurred.

I awarded a banner to Sayf Khan Barha, whom I had taken up and patronized. I increased Mu'izzulmulk's previous rank of 1000/225 by 200/75. He had been assigned as divan to Kabul, and I gave him leave to depart.

The next day I gave Khan Jahan a *phul-katara* [ornamental dagger] set with valuable gems and had it sent to Burhanpur.

A Widow's Complaint of Muqarrab Khan

A widow lodged a complaint against Muqarrab Khan, saying, "He abducted my daughter in the port of Cambay. After he had held her in his house for a while, when I inquired about my daughter he said that she had died of natural causes." I ordered this affair investigated.

After an exhaustive inquiry I had one of Muqarrab Khan's liege men, who was the perpetrator of this outrage, executed. I also decreased Muqarrab Khan's rank by half and gave the injured woman an emolument and travel expenses.

Since a conjunction of Mars and Saturn, the two inauspicious planets, had occurred on Sunday the seventh [April 21], I ordered gold, silver, other metals, and all sorts of grains to be given in alms to the poor and needy and distributed throughout most of the realm.

On Monday the eighth [April 22], Shaykh Husayn Sirhindi and Shaykh Mustafa, who were well known for being dervishes who practiced spiritual poverty, were summoned and an assembly was held. [**70b**] Little by little the gathering got really heated up with dancing and ecstasy. It was quite enjoyable. After it was over I gave each of them money and dismissed them.

As Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan had made repeated requests for provisions for Kandahar and the salaries for the musketeers stationed in the fortress, I ordered two lacs of rupees sent to Kandahar from the Lahore treasury.

Insurgence in Patna

On the nineteenth of Urdibihisht of the fifth year of my reign, corresponding to the four[teen]th of Safar [April 28], a strange thing happened in Patna, the gubernatorial seat of the souba of Bihar. As Afzal Khan, the governor of the souba, was on his way to Gorakhpur, which had recently been made his jagir, and which is sixty kos from Patna, he turned over the fortress and city to Shaykh Benarasi, Ghiyas Zaynkhani the divan of the souba, and a group of officers. Thinking that there weren't any enemies around, he did not make adequate arrangements for guarding the fortress and city. By chance around then a previously unknown, seditious troublemaker named Qutb, from the people of Uchh, entered the province of Ujjainiya, which is in the Patna vicinity. In the guise of a dervish, he struck up an acquaintance with the people there, who are well-known troublemakers, and represented himself as being Khusraw, saying, "I have escaped from prison and have managed to get here. If you accompany me and help me, when I am successful my realm will revolve around you."

With these words, which wouldn't hoodwink a fool, he got the idiots to join him and persuaded them that he was Khusraw. He even showed them the area around his eyes that had been scarred at some time or other and traces of which could still be seen, saying, "In prison they tied metal cups over my eyes, and these are the marks." **[71a]** By such deceptive means horsemen and foot soldiers gathered around him. Having learned that Afzal Khan was not in Patna, he seized the opportunity and led an assault. Two or three hours had elapsed on Sunday when he got himself into the city and, paying no attention to anything else, made straight for the fortress. Shaykh Benarasi, who was in the fortress, was informed and got himself in confusion to the gate, but the enemy, who was coming at a gallop, did not give him a chance to close the gate. Together with Ghiyas, Shaykh Benarasi got himself to the river bank through a back door, and, obtaining a boat, they set out to find Afzal Khan. The miscreants entered the fortress without a care and took over Afzal Khan's supplies and the imperial treasury. Other opportunistic wretches who were in the city and environs also joined him.

The news reached Afzal Khan in Gorakhpur, and Shaykh Benarasi and Ghiyas also arrived by river. Letters then came from the city saying, "This wretch who calls himself Khusraw is not really Khusraw."

Putting his trust in divine grace and in our good fortune, Afzal Khan set out immediately against the insurgents. Within five days he had made it to the outskirts of Patna. When the news of his arrival reached the bastard perpetrator and his miscreants, he turned the fortress over to one of his men, arrayed his horsemen and foot soldiers, and went out four kos from the city for an encounter. Battle took place on the banks of the Punpun, and after only a bit of skirmish the unity of the unfortunates was broken and they were scattered. In utter confusion the wretch got back into the fortress with a few of his men, and Afzal Khan hot on his heels. Afzal Khan didn't give them a chance to get the gate closed. In total disarray Qutb ran into Afzal Khan's quarters, fortified them, and remained there for three watches, fighting. He put approximately thirty men out of the fight with wounds, but after that his comrades were dispatched to hell, and he himself, reduced to helplessness, came out to seek quarter with Afzal Khan. In order to quell the disturbance, Afzal Khan had him executed that very day **[71b]** and had a few of his comrades who had been taken alive put in chains. I was kept constantly up to date on the news.

I summoned to Agra Shaykh Benarasi, Ghiyas Zaynkhani, and the other officers who had failed to guard the city and fortress and ordered them all to have their heads and beards shaved, be dressed in women's head coverings, mounted on donkeys, and paraded around the city and marketplace to serve as a warning to others.

At this time letters were constantly pouring in from Parvez, the amirs assigned to the Deccan, and our supporters there. They all said that the Adil Khan of Bijapur had begged and pleaded for Mir Jamaluddin Husayn Injü, in whose word and deed all the rulers of the Deccan had absolute trust, to be sent to him so that he could meet with the assembled group and reassure them, make arrangements that would be approved by the Adil Khan, who had chosen the path of support and servitude, and drive fear from their minds and give them hopes of the emperor's kindly disposal toward them. In order to grant the request, I gave the above-mentioned mir leave on the sixteenth of the month [April 30] and awarded him ten thousand rupees as a bonus.

I increased Qasim Khan's rank, which was 1000/500, by 500/500 so that he would reinforce his brother Islam Khan in Bengal.

Also during these day I assigned Raja Man Singh's grandson Maha Singh to chastise and punish Bikramajit, the zamindar of Bandhu[3] who had stepped outside the circle of obedience. Maha Singh was not only to deal with the rebels there but also to collect the taxes on the raja's jagir estates that were in the vicinity.

On the twentieth[4] of the month [May 4], I gave an elephant to Shaja'at Khan Dakkani.

As the governor of Jalalabad had reported on the decrepitude of the fortress there, I ordered what was needed for repairs to the fortress taken from the Lahore treasury.

Iftikhar Khan had performed outstanding services in Bengal, **[72a]** so in accordance with the governor's request I added 500 to his rank, which was 1500.

On the twenty-eighth [May 12], I received a letter from Abdullah Khan Firoz-Jang commending several warriors who had accompanied him to deal with the damn Rana. Since he had given the greatest commendation to Ghaznin Khan Jalauri, I increased his former rank of 1500/300 by 500/400. I likewise increased the ranks of each of them.

On Wednesday the fourth of the month of Mihr [September 15], Dawlat Khan, who had been sent to Allahabad to bring the black stone throne, came to pay homage, bringing the throne safe and sound. It is truly a marvelous slab of stone, extremely black and shiny. Many believe it is a kind of touchstone. It is four cubits less half a foot long and two and a half cubits and one *tasu* wide. It is about three *tasu*s thick. I ordered expert stone carvers to carve appropriate lines of poetry around the edge, and they affixed legs of the same type of shiny stone. I usually sit on that throne.[5]

Abdul-Subhan had been imprisoned for certain crimes. Since his brother, Khan Alam, stood as guarantor for him, I released him, gave him a rank of 1000/400, assigned him as garrison commander of the souba of Allahabad, and gave him the jagir of Islam Khan's brother Qasim Khan. I sent Tarbiyat Khan as garrison commander of the Alwar sarkar.

On the twelfth of the same month [September 23], I received a letter from Khan Jahan saying that the Khankhanan had set out for court as ordered, accompanied by Mahabat Khan. Mir Jamaluddin Husayn, who had been assigned to go from court to Bijapur, had set out from Burhanpur for Bijapur escorted by the Adil Khan's agents.

3. Reading "Bandhu" for the text's "Mandhu,:" per Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans. Rogers.

4. Reading *bistum* (twentieth) for the text's obviously erroneous *bashtum* (eighth).

5. The black marble throne is still in situ in the fortress at Agra. A photograph is shown in Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 103

On the twenty-first of the same month [October 2], I made Murtaza Khan governor of the souba of the Punjab, which is among the greatest provinces of the realm, and gave him a royal shawl. [**72b**] I assigned Taj Khan, who had been in the souba of Multan, as governor of Kabul and increased his previous rank of 3000/1500 by 500 suwar.

At Abdullah Khan Firoz-Jang's request Rana Shankar's son was given a promotion.

Mahabat Khan had been sent to Burhanpur to investigate how the amirs assigned to the Deccan were getting along and to bring the Khankhanan. When he reached the vicinity of Agra he left the Khankhanan several stages outside the city and came in advance to attain the felicity of making körünüsh and kissing the imperial threshold. Several days later, on the second of Aban [October 13], the Khankhanan arrived to pay homage. Since most of my well-wishers had reported tales about him that were true or not according to their own lights, I was ill-disposed toward him and did not show him the attention and favor I always had shown before and which I had always seen my exalted father show him. I was justified in acting thus because prior to this he had entrusted to me a written agreement stipulating he would serve in the Deccan for a designated time, and then he had set out with other amirs to join Sultan Parvez on the expedition. After he arrived in Burhanpur, he disregarded the season, and at a time when movement was not appropriate, Sultan Parvez had led his forces to Balaghat without proper forage and other necessities. Little by little, through the commanders' inattention, lack of cohesion, and conflicting bad advice, it got to the point that grain became extremely scarce and a maund of bread could not be had for any price. With the soldiers in such devastation and deprivation, nothing could be accomplished. Horses, camels, and other animals were lost. In view of the situation a truce was struck with the wretched enemy, and Sultan Parvez pulled his army back to Burhanpur.

As the whole business had not turned out well, all our supporters considered the confusion and turmoil to be the fault of the Khankhanan's uncooperativeness and incompetence. And they sent reports to this effect to court. Although all this was not to be believed absolutely, still it made a bad impression on my mind until Khan Jahan's report arrived saying that the confusion had all occurred because of the Khankhanan's lack of cooperation. "Either turn the mission over to him," Khan Jahan wrote, "or summon him to court and assign the mission to this protégé of yours. [**73a**] Give me thirty thousand outstanding cavalrymen as auxiliaries, and within two years I will liberate the entire imperial province that has been taken by the enemy, gain control of the Kandahar fortress[6] and other strongholds in the area for the servants of the court, and annex Bijapur to the realm. If I do not carry out this mission within the stipulated time, let me be deprived of the felicity of körünüsh and of showing my face at court."

6. This is the Kandahar fortress in the Deccan, sixty miles north of Bidar.

Since the relations between the Khankhanan and the commanders had come to this, I didn't consider it productive for him to remain there, so I turned the command over to Khan Jahan and summoned the Khankhanan to court. This is the reason for my inattentiveness to him. My degree of favor or disfavor will be shown in accordance with what comes to light later.

I promoted Sayyid Ali Barha, a proven warrior, by 500/200 over his previous rank of 1000/500. I promoted the Khankhanan's son Darab to the rank of 1000/1000 and gave him the sarkar of Ghazipur as a jagir.

Prior to this I had affianced the daughter of Muzaffar-Husayn, the son of Sultan-Husayn Mirza Safavi, the governor of Kandahar,[7] to my son Sultan Khurram. On this day, the seventeenth of Aban [October 28], when the banquet was held, I went to Baba Khurram's house and stayed the night there.

7. This is the town and fortress of Kandahar now in southeastern Afghanistan.

I gave most of the amirs robes of honor, and several prisoners in the Gwalior fortress, particularly Hajji Mirak, were released. The lac of rupees Islam Khan had collected from the parganas of the royal demesne I gave him as a bonus because he was at the head of an army and on service. I gave a bit of gold and silver and some of every sort of grain to trusted men to distribute among the poor of Agra. This same day I received a letter from Khan Jahan saying that he had obtained leave for the Khankhanan's son Iraj from the prince and had sent him to court as ordered. Regarding what had been ordered concerning Abu'l-Fath Bijapuri, since he was good man, and sending him at present would cause consternation among the other Deccan commanders to whom promises had been made, he had therefore retained him.

An order had been sent saying that "since we have summoned Rai Kala's son Keshav Das, [**73b**] who is in Parvez's service, do not be negligent in sending him. Like it or not, you will dispatch him." When this was made known to Parvez, he immediately gave him leave and said, "You will report these few words from my mouth that since I am ready to give my life in service to my lord, what do I care whether Keshav Das is here or not that I should hesitate to send him? However, when His Majesty summons my chief servants for any reason, it causes demoralization and depression in others, and when it becomes known in the vicinity it is attributed to their lord's disfavor. However, His Majesty's order will be obeyed."

From the time the fortress of Ahmadnagar came under the control of the imperials through my late brother Danyal's efforts until the present, the guardianship of that area had been the responsibility of Khwaja Beg Mirza Safavi, a relative of the late Shah Tahmasp. After the damn Deccanis increased their hostilities, they laid siege to the fortress. No effort was spared in defending it until the Khankhanan and the amirs and commanders gathered in Burhanpur set out under Parvez to deal with the wretches. Due to conflicting opinions, the amirs' disunity, and incompetence with regard to forage and grain, an enormous army that should have been capable of achieving great things was led down bad roads and into mountains and difficult defiles, and within a few days they were broken and in disarray. When things got to this point, and the scarcity of grain became so great that they would have given their souls in exchange for a loaf of bread, there was nothing they could do but pull back without having achieved their goal. The defenders of the fortress, who had been waiting for the army to reinforce them, lost all hope when they heard the news and wanted to abandon the stronghold. When Khwaja Beg Mirza was informed of the situation, he tried to encourage his men, but try as he might it was to no avail. In the end he struck a truce and left the fortress with his men, headed for Burhanpur. On the eighth [November 17], he paid homage to the prince. Since it was clear from the reports on him that he had committed no fault in valor or loyalty, I ordered his rank of 5000/5000 maintained and a jagir given him as salary. [**74a**]

On the ninth [November 18], a report came from some of the amirs in the Deccan saying that Mir Jamaluddin Husayn had arrived in Bijapur on the twenty-second of Sha'ban [October 30]. The Adil Khan had sent his deputy out twenty kos, and the Adil Khan had come out three kos himself, to meet the mir and escort him to his own quarters.

Since I had an uncontrollable yen to go hunting, I set out at an auspicious hour the astronomers had chosen on the eve of Thursday the fifteenth of Ramadan [November 21], corresponding to the 1[2]th of Azar of the fifth regnal year, after the elapse of one watch and six gharis. The first stop was made in the Dahra Garden next to the city. At this station I gave Mir Ali-Akbar two thousand rupees and a cashmere shawl that

belonged to me and gave him leave to depart for the city. Lest the grain and crops be trampled by the men, I ordered that everybody other than the necessary men and my personal servants should remain in the city. I made Khwaja Jahan responsible for protecting the city and gave him leave to depart.

On the fourteenth [November 23], I gave Sa'dullah Khan an elephant.

On the eighteenth, corresponding to the twenty-first of Ramadan [November 27], forty-four elephants Qasim Khan's son Hashim Khan had brought from Orissa, the other side of Bengal, were shown to me. One was very fine and pleasing, so I made it my personal elephant.

A Solar Eclipse

On the twenty-third [December 2], a solar eclipse occurred. To repel the inauspiciousness I had myself weighed against gold and silver. It came to one thousand eight hundred tolas of gold and four thousand nine hundred rupees. I had it, along with all sorts of grains and animals like elephants, horses, and cows, distributed to the deserving and the destitute in Agra and other cities in the vicinity.

Khan A'zam is Sent to Reinforce the Deccan Campaign

The expeditionary force under Parvez's command and led by the Khankhanan and several other high office-holders like Raja Man Singh, Khan Jahan, Asaf Khan, Amiru'l-Umara, and other officers and commanders of every sort and variety who were assigned to conquer the Deccan had had to pull back halfway there and return to Burhanpur. All our trustworthy, honest servants who reported the events had sent reports to court saying that although there were many reasons and causes for the expedition's failure, the main reason was disunity among the amirs and in particular the Khankhanan's uncooperativeness. It therefore occurred to me that Khan A'zam would have to be sent with a fresh force **[74b]** to make up for some of the untoward events caused by the amirs' disunity. On the eleventh of Dhu'l-Qa'da [January 15, 1611], the mission was turned over to him, and an order was given to the divanis to make arrangements to get him moving quickly.

To accompany him I assigned Khan Alam, Faridun Khan Barlas, Husayn Khan Tukriya's son Yusuf Khan, Ali Khan Niyazi, Baz Bahadur Qalmaq, and other officers with nearly ten thousand cavalry. It was decided that over and above the ahadis who had already been assigned to the mission, two thousand ahadis more would be sent, making twelve thousand in all. I also attached a treasury of three lacs of rupees and several elephants and gave them leave to depart. I gave Khan A'zam a sumptuous robe of honor, a jeweled girth sword, a horse with a gem-studded saddle, a royal elephant and five lacs of rupees to defray expenses, which I ordered the chief divanis to recover from his jagir estates. The amirs assigned were given robes of honor, horses, and bonuses. I increased Mahabat Khan's rank, which was 4000/3000, by 500 suwar and ordered him to escort Khan A'zam and the army to Burhanpur, make an inquiry into the failure of the prior expedition, and deliver to the amirs there the order transferring the command to Khan A'zam. After making sure that all were under his command and seeing to the provisioning of the forces, he was to escort the Khankhanan back to court.

On Sunday the fourth of Shawwal [December 10], near the end of the day, while engaged in a cheetah hunt, I decided that on this day, i.e. Sundays, as well as on Thursdays, animals would not be killed and that I would not partake of their flesh. Sundays were singled out because of the veneration my exalted father had for that day, on which he did not eat meat and the killing of animals was forbidden. The reason was

that Sunday was the day of his blessed birth. He used to say, "It would be better that on this day animals be safe from harm inflicted by those with the natures of butchers." Thursday was chosen because it was the day of my accession to the throne, so I ordered that on that day animals were not to be killed. While hunting I do not shoot prey on that day, although hunting with cheetahs is allowed.

A Lion Mauls Anup Rai

Anup Rai, one of my intimate servants, had led a troop accompanying me on the hunt [**75a**] a bit forward of me when he came to a tree on which were sitting a couple of kites. When he spied the kites he shot them with a bow and a few arrows and proceeded. By chance, he saw a half-devoured cow in the vicinity of the tree, and immediately thereafter a large, powerful lion emerged from some nearby bushes and started forward. Although there were no more than two gharis of daylight remaining, since he knew my avidity for hunting lions, he and several of those with him surrounded the lion and sent a messenger to tell me. As soon as I got the news I set out at a gallop. Baba Khurram, Ram Das, I'timad Rai, Hayat Khan, and one or two others were with me. As soon as I arrived I saw the lion sitting in the shade of a tree. I wanted to shoot while on horseback, but I realized that the horse was exhausted, so I got off, set up the gun, and fired. Since I was on a rise and the lion was in a depression, I didn't know whether it had been hit or not. I took another shot. I thought this one had hit the mark, but the lion leapt up and charged. A falconer with a falcon on his arm happened to be standing right in the lion's path. It mauled him and returned to where it was before. I had just placed another musket on the tripod and taken aim. Anup Rai was standing holding the tripod, and he had a sword in his girth and a wooden staff in his hand. Baba Khurram was standing a short distance to the left, and Ram Das and the others were behind him. Kamal Qaravul had filled the musket and handed it to me. Just as I was about to fire, the lion set out roaring in our direction and attacked. I fired the musket, and the ball passed right by its mouth and teeth. The sound of the musket startled it. A group of servants who had charged could not withstand its attack. They all collided against one another, and in the rush I was knocked back one or two paces. I know for certain that two or three of them stepped on my chest getting over me. I got up with the help of I'timad Rai and Kamal Beg Qaravul.



KHURRAM SLAYS THE LION ATTACKING ANUP RAI, attributed to Abu'l-Hasan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1610. Ink, color, and gold on paper. 17.9 x 18.5 cm. Private collection

Now the lion was headed for the men who were to the left. Anup Rai let go of the tripod and went for the lion, which turned around on him as nimbly as it had attacked, [**75b**] but he faced the lion and, grabbing with both hands the staff he was holding,

struck it hard on the head. The lion opened its mouth and got both of Anup Rai's hands in its mouth. Then it bit so hard that its teeth went straight through both of his hands, but the staff he was holding and the several rings he had on his fingers helped keep him from losing his hands. Knocked down by the lion, Anup Rai fell on his back between the lion's paws so that his head and face were directly opposite the lion's chest. In the meantime Baba Khurram and Ram Das had come to help Anup Rai. The prince struck the lion on its waist with his sword, and Ram Das got in two sword blows. The one that fell on the lion's shoulder really cut in. Hayat Khan struck it on the head with the club he was holding. Anup Rai managed to pry his hands out of the lion's mouth and hit it several times on the head. Then, rolling on his side, he got himself erect. As he was pulling his hands out of the lion's mouth, since the lion's teeth had gone all the way through, his hands were a bit torn, and the lion's claws had scraped his shoulder. While he was getting up the lion also reared and scratched his chest with its claw. His wounds hurt him for a few days. On the downward slope it looked as though two wrestlers had grappled with each other and rolled down. In the place I was standing the ground was perfectly level.

Anup Rai said, "God gave me the sense to take the lion in the other direction on purpose. Otherwise, I don't remember anything."

Now the lion left Anup Rai and headed off. In his dazed state Anup Rai chased after it, brandishing his sword, and struck it on the head. When the lion turned its head around, he struck it again in the face, cutting both its eyes. The flesh of the eyelids, which had been severed by the sword, hung down over its eyes. Just then, as it was time for lamps to be lit, a lamp holder named Salih stumbled onto the scene. By chance, he bumped into the lion. With one swipe of its paw the lion sent him flying. He fell to the earth dead. Other men arrived and finished off the lion.

For having performed such a service, and because his valor was witnessed, after he recovered from his wounds and came to pay homage, I gave Anup Rai the title of Ani Rai Singhdalan. In the Hindi language the commander of a troop is called *ani rai*, [76a] and *singhdalan* means lion-crusher. I also gave him a royal sword and increased his rank a bit.

I gave Khan A'zam's son Khurram, who had been assigned as governor of Junagadh province, the title of Kamil Khan.

On Sunday the third of Dhu'l-Qa'da [January 7, 1611], I went fishing. I caught 766 fish that were distributed among the amirs, intimates, and others in attendance.

I only eat fish with scales, but not because Shiites think that fish without scales are *haram* [forbidden]. The reason for my aversion is because I have heard from old men—and experience has proven it true—that fish without scales eat carrion whereas fish with scales do not. Therefore eating fish without scales is repugnant to my nature. Shiites don't know why they don't eat fish without scales or why it is haram.

One of the tame lions that accompany me on hunts took down five nilgais weighing forty-two Hindustani maunds.

I had previously summoned Naziri of Nishapur, an expert in the art of poetry who lived as a trader in Gujarat. At this time he came to pay homage. He presented an ode he had composed in imitation of Anvari's ode that begins: "What youth and beauty is this the world has regained?"[8] I gave him a reward of one thousand rupees, a horse, and a robe of honor.

8. Anvari, *Divan*, 9.

I had also summoned Hakim Amid of Gujrat, whom Murtaza Khan had recommended highly. He came and paid homage. His good nature and guilelessness were better than his skill as a physician. He remained in the retinue for a while. When it was

learned that he was the only physician in Gujrat and I realized that he too was desirous of being dismissed, I gave him one thousand rupees and several shawls for him and his sons, assigned him a whole village as a emolument, and gave him leave to return happy to his homeland.

Husayn Khan Tukriya's son Yusuf came from his jagir to pay homage.

Thursday the tenth of Dhu'l-Hijja [February 13] was the Feast of the Sacrifice. Since it is forbidden to kill animals on the two days mentioned above, I ordered the sacrificial animals slaughtered on Friday. I slaughtered three sheep with my own hands and then mounted for a hunt. Six gharis of the night had elapsed when I returned. On this day a nilgai was hunted that weighed nine maunds and thirty-five seers. Since the story of this nilgai is not a little strange, it is recorded here.



WOUNDED BUCK, attributed to Payag. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 14.7 x 15.1 cm. Private collection

Over the last two years, every time I have come to this station to hunt I have shot this nilgai. Since the wounds have never been serious it has never fallen and always run away. This time too I spied it on the hunting ground, and the scouts recognized it as the one that got away wounded last year. Today I hit it three times—totally without effect. I set off and pursued it for three kos. No matter what I did I couldn't catch it. Finally I made a vow that if this nilgai could be caught I would have its flesh cooked and fed to the poor for the repose of His Holiness Khwaja Mu'inuddin's spirit and that I would give a mohur and a rupee for the sake of my exalted father. No sooner had I made this vow than the nilgai stopped running. I ran to it and ordered it slaughtered immediately. Taking it back to camp, I carried out my vow exactly as I had said. The nilgai's flesh was cooked, and I had the mohur and rupee spent on halva and sweets. Then the poor and hungry were gathered, and all was distributed in my presence.

Two or three days later I caught sight of another nilgai. I chased it as hard as I could, hoping it would stop somewhere so that it could be shot. It absolutely would not come into range. I chased it with my gun over my shoulder until it was nearly evening. As the sun set I despaired of shooting it. All at once I said, [76b] "Khwaja, this nilgai is dedicated to you." No sooner had I spoken than it stopped. I loaded my gun, shot, and hit it. I ordered this one too, like the other, cooked and fed to the poor.

On Sunday the nineteenth of Dhu'l-Hijja [February 22], I went fishing again. On this day approximately 330 fish were caught.

On Wednesday the twenty-eighth of the month [March 3], camp was made in Rupbas. Since this is one of my main hunting grounds and there is a standing order that no one else is to hunt in the area, there are innumerable antelopes in the fields. Even if they come into inhabited places they are safe from any and all harm. I spent two days hunting there and bagged a lot of antelope with musket and cheetah.

Since the hour for the return to town was near, we proceeded two stages and stopped on the eve of Saturday the second of Muharram 1020 [March 7, 1611] in Abdul-Razzaq Ma'muri's garden, which is near—actually adjacent to—the city. This evening most of the courtiers, like Khwaja Jahan, Dawlat Khan, and the group that had remained in town, came to pay homage. Iraj, whom I had summoned from the Deccan, also attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold.

On Sunday we stayed in the above-mentioned garden. On this day Abdul-Razzaq presented his offerings for inspection. Since it was the last of the hunting days a report on the extent of the hunt and the number of animals killed was ordered. The hunt had lasted from the ninth of Azar until the twenty-ninth of Isfandarmudh of the fifth regnal year, a period of three months and twenty days. The bag was as follows: lion, 12; deer, 1; chikara antelope, 44; hog-deer, 1; antelope fawn, 2; black antelope, 63; doe antelope, 31; fox, 4; *kurada* deer,[9] 8; *patal* (?), 1; bear, 5; hyena, 3; hare, 6; nilgai, 108; fish, 1,096; eagle, 1; bustard, 1; peafowl, 5; Indian crane,[10] 1; heron, 5; quail, 5; Brahmini duck, 1; crane, 5. Total, 1,414.

On Saturday the twenty-ninth of Isfandarmudh, corresponding to the fourth of Muharram [March 9], I mounted an elephant and set out for the city. From Abdul-Razzaq's garden to the fortress palace, a distance of one kos and twenty *tanab*s,[11] I scattered fifteen hundred rupees. I entered the palace at the hour that had been determined. The court, as usual, had been hung with textiles for the Nawroz celebration. During the hunt Khwaja Jahan had been ordered to construct a building in the palace that would be worthy for me to sit in, and he had completed such a fine structure within three months. He had produced a splendid achievement, and the painters had also done themselves proud. I went straight to the paradisiacal structure, the dust of the road still on me, to have a look. I really, really liked it and praised Khwaja Jahan to the skies. He presented for my inspection the offering he had arranged right there in the building. I was pleased by some of it and gave the rest back to him.

9. *Kurada* may be the Hindi *korwala* (spotted).

10. Reading the meaningless *WSK* of the text as *DHYK* (*dhek*), the Indian crane.

11. The *tanab* is taken to be approximately 40 meters (Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 63).

The Sixth Regnal Year: March 10, 1611–March 8, 1612

The Sixth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

Two gharis and forty *pal*s had elapsed of Monday when the sun transited into its house of culmination, Aries.[1] On this day, the first of Farvardin, corresponding to the sixth of Muharram 1020 [March 11, 1611], a Nawroz celebration was held and I mounted the throne in good fortune. The amirs and other courtiers attained the felicity of körünüsh and offered salutations and congratulations. The gifts presented by the likes of Miran Sadr-i-Jahan, Abdullah Khan Firoz-Jang, and Jahangir-Quli Khan were shown to me.

On the eighth of Muharram [March 13], Raja Kalyan's offering he had sent from Bengal was shown.

On Thursday the ninth [March 14], Shaja'at Khan and some other officers who had been summoned from the Deccan arrived to pay homage. A jewel-studded dagger was given to Razzaqverdi Uzbek.

During these days Murtaza Khan's Nawroz offering was shown me. He had arranged a lot of every sort and type of goods. I looked at them all, took what I liked of the precious gems, fine textiles, [77a] elephants, and horses, and gave the rest back. A jeweled dagger was given to Abu'l-Fath Dakkani, and three thousand rupees were given to Mir Abdullah. I gave a Persian horse to Muqim Khan.

I had summoned Shaja'at Khan from the Deccan intending to send him to Islam Khan in Bengal, or actually to take his place. I increased his rank, which was 1500/1000, by 500/500 and dispatched him to service in that souba.

Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan offered for my inspection two rubies, a pearl, and ten rings. I gave the Khankhanan's son Iraj a jewel-studded girth dagger. I increased Khurram's rank of 8000/5000 by 2000 more zat. I gave Khwaja Jahan a 500/200 increase in his rank, which had been 1500/1000.

1. The *pal* is the sixtieth part of a ghari, or 24 seconds.

Yadgar-Ali, Ambassador of the Ruler of Iran, Pays Homage

On the twenty-fourth of Muharram [March 29], which was the eighteenth of Farvardin and day of culmination, Yadgar-Ali Sultan, the ambassador of Shah Abbas of Iran who had come to offer condolences on the death of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani and to congratulate me on my accession, attained the felicity of paying homage. He presented for my inspection the gifts my brother Shah Abbas had sent. There were fine horses, textiles, and suitable rarities of every description.[2] After he presented his offerings I gave him, on this same day, a sumptuous robe of honor and thirty thousand rupees (which would be one thousand tumans in the reckoning of Persia). He also presented letters offering condolences on the occasion of my exalted father's death. Since in the letter of

2. The dispatch of Yadgar-Ali Sultan Talish, a former governor of Baghdad, by Shah Abbas is recorded in Iskandar Beg's

congratulations the shah expressed great affection and had not missed a jot or tittle in maintaining etiquette and amity, it would be well to enter it here verbatim.

Copy of Shah Abbas's Letter

As long as effulgences from the clouds of divine grace and drops from the cumulus of godly largesse bestow verdure upon the gardens of innovation and invention, may the garden of sultanate and world rule and the meadow of glory and magnificence of His August Majesty—as lofty as the celestial sphere, high as the sun, fortune monarch, grave as Saturn, renowned prince, mighty as the heavens, world-seizing realm-dominating lord, a Chosroës as splendid as Alexander, whose banner is like Dara's, he who sits upon the throne in a court of magnificence and fortune, master of the throne of the realm of fortune and awesomeness, he who causes pleasure to increase in the gardens of fortune, he who shines in splendor in the Sahib-Qiran's meadow, he who depicts world-dominating beauty, he who explains heavenly mysteries, ornament of the cheek of learning and understanding, [77b] index of the book of creation, possessor of all human perfections, mirror of divine manifestations, he who adds to the highest ambitions, he who increases the felicity of a lucky star, sun of the orb of might, shadow of the Creator's clemency, mighty as Jamshed, commander of the stars, whose court is the firmament, possessor of the felicitous conjunction, whose crown is the sun, asylum of the world—be always and ever verdant from rivulets of divine grace and wellsprings of unending favor, and may his blessed arena be kept safe from the blight of drought from the evil eye. The actuality of our longing and love and the extent of our friendship and affection are beyond writing. 'The pen has not a tongue with which to express the secret of love.' Although physical distance prevents reaching the desired goal, nonetheless the object of my lofty ambition has a spiritual relationship and an inner proximity. Praise God that through essential unity this petitioner at the divine court and that sapling of the dynasty of magnificence and glory have realized this and not allowed mere spatial distance and physical farness to prevent mental proximity or spiritual union. Our faces are turned toward agreement, and therefore the dust of vexation has not clouded the mirror of the sun-like mind but rather reflected the beauty of that manifestation of perfection. The soul's olfactory sense, constantly perfumed by breezes of friendship and love and by ambergris-scented zephyrs of affection and concord, polishes away the verdigris from the beloved's mind through spiritual intimacy and eternal union.

I sit with my image of you, and my heart reposes. / This is a union that is not followed by the grief of separation.

Praise God, the sapling of the yearning of true friends has borne the hoped-for fruit, and the goal that has been hidden behind the veil of destiny for years and the revelation of which has been pleaded and begged for at the divine court, has come forth in the most beautiful manner from the seclusion of the unseen realm and cast a reflection of beauty into the courtyard of hopes of those in expectation, and the throne of the eternal sultanate has taken into its embrace that splendid light of the imperial assembly and unfurled the world-conquering banner of the caliphate and rule and opened the heaven-scraping parasol of justice and world rule over the heads of all worldlings. [78a] It is hoped that the ever-vigilant granter of wishes will make the felicitous accession of that one of auspicious ascendant, of regal good fortune, who adorns the crown and throne, blessed, lucky, joyful, and felicitous, and may the paraphernalia of world rule and the things that furnish splendor and success be ever on the increase. Amen.

Alamara-yi Abbasi, 2.782f. "Among the gifts that were sent were fifty fine Arabian, Georgian, and Bayati horses gathered from the royal herds. It is beyond doubt that there could be even one such in the possession of any monarch. They had gold-spun and velvet saddles and appropriate appurtenances. Also sent were three long-haired black pelts brought from Russia and puchased at eighty to ninety tumans each because such long-haired black foxes are extremely rare. Also sent were one thousand five hundred pieces of precious fabrics, velvets, gold- and silver-shot textiles, beautiful gold and silver brocades, European and Chinese silk brocades and velvets, as well as goods and textiles from Yazd and Kashan, and all sorts of gifts and presents worthy of the rank of both giver and recipient that would take to long to ennumerate." Sir Thomas Roe, King James I's ambassador to Jahangir, recorded in detail the gifts presented by a Persian envoy on October 19, 1616 (an embassy not recorded in Jahangir's memoirs): "He brought for Presentes 3 tymes 9 horses of Persia and Arabia, this beeing a Ceremonius Number among them, 9 mules very fayre and lardg, 7 Camells laden with veluett, two Sutes of Europe Arras (which I suppose was Venetian hanginges of veluett with gould, and not Arras), two Chestes of Persian Cloth of gould, 8 Carpettes of silke, 2 Rubyes ballast, 21 Cammelles of wyne of the Grape, 14 Camelles of distilld sweet waters, 7 of rose waters, 7 daggers sett with stones, 5 swordes sett with stones, 7 Venetian looking glasses, but these so faire, so rich that I was ashamed of the relation" (Roe, *Embassy*, 296f.).

In order to renew between this sincere friend and that symbol of justice the path of amity and concord that was maintained by our ancestors, it would have been incumbent, when the happy news of that inheritor of the Kürägänid [Timurid] throne and the Sahib-Qiranid crown reached this realm, for one of our intimates to be assigned to proceed in all haste to offer congratulations. However, since the Azerbaijan affair and the conquest of the province of Shirvan intervened,[3] until our mind was at ease concerning the affairs of the above-mentioned regions, it was not possible to have recourse to our capital. Of necessity, a delay occurred in this most important affair. Although external manners and customs have not so much importance in the minds of the lords of learning and insight, nonetheless the external observance of them carries enormous weight with the short-sighted, whose gazes are fixed solely upon externals. Consequently, during these felicitous days, with the setting forth of our servants, the affairs of the province that had slipped from our hands were accomplished as our friends would wish. With our minds totally at ease in that regard, we have descended in Isfahan, the seat of the sultanate. The perfectly loyal amir, in whom we have the utmost confidence, Kamaluddin Yadgar-Ali, whose fathers and forefathers have been among the loyal elite servitors and pure Sufis of this family for generations, has been dispatched to your exalted court. After attaining the felicity of performing körünüsh and taslim, and having the honor to kiss the carpet of splendor, and discharging the obligations of offering condolence and congratulations, he will receive permission to depart and return in order to convey to this loyal well-wisher the happy news of the well-being and health of your angelic nature.

It is hoped that the garden of hereditary and acquired love and affection, which is made exceedingly verdant by the flowing of rivers of correspondence, will not cease to grow and thrive, and that by sending emissaries and epistles, [**78b**] which are spiritual meetings, he will put in motion the chain of amity and eliminate the scent of enmity, and that, by making spiritual connections come into agreement with physical harmony, we will be satisfied with the outcome of our mutual affairs. May God the Almighty always grant the support of the unseen realm to that scion of the family of splendor and might, that offspring of the dynasty of power and fortune.

3. Shah Abbas alludes to the Safavid campaign in Azerbaijan and the reconquest of Shirvan in 1607–8

Down to here has been a copy of my brother Shah Abbas's letter.



People called my brothers Sultan-Murad and Danyal, both of whom died during my exalted father's lifetime, by various names. I ordered that henceforth one should be referred to as Prince Maghfur and the other as Prince Marhum.[4]

I promoted I'timaduddawla and Abdul-Razzaq Ma'muri, both of whom held the rank of 1500, to the rank of 1800. I increased the rank of Islam Khan's brother Qasim Khan by 250 suwar. I gave the Khankhanan's eldest son, Iraj, a worthy and talented khanazad, the title of Shahnawaz Khan. I gave Sa'id Khan's son Sa'dullah the title of Nawazish Khan.

4. Both *maghfur* and *marhum* mean "the late."

Adjustments to Coinage

I had recently increased weights and measures a bit, adding a quarter to the mohur and rupee.[5] Now it was reported that in commercial transactions it would be easier for people if the mohur and rupee were as they had been before. Since in all things the comfort and welfare of the people are my object, I ordered that as of this date, the eleventh

5. See above, page 27.

of Urdibihisht of the sixth year of the reign [April 20], mohurs and rupees would be struck in all the mints of the realm as they had been formerly.

Villainous Ahdad Attacks Kabul

Prior to this, on Sunday [the second] of Safar 1020 [April 6], the villain Ahdad, having heard that Kabul was without an effective commander—Khan Dawran was in Nangarhar, and in Kabul there was only Mu'izzulmulk with a few of his liege men and a few of Khan Dawran's—took advantage of the opportunity and got himself to Kabul undetected with his horsemen and foot soldiers. Mu'izzulmulk acted as valiantly as his strength and situation would allow, and the Kabulis and inhabitants of the city, particularly the Farmuli clan, barricaded the lanes and fortified their houses. **[79a]** Afghans came from all around into the streets and markets with several cannons. The people, firing arrows and muskets at the wretches from the roofs of their houses, killed a large number. Baraki, one of the miserable wretch's chief commanders, was killed. After this, fearing that people would gather from all around and block their exit, they lost their nerve and withdrew, quivering in fright. Nearly eighty of the dogs went to hell, but two hundred of them allowed their horses to be captured and escaped on foot. [Nadi-Ali] Maydani, who was in Logar, got himself there by the end of the day and pursued them a short distance. As the distance between them was too great, and his his troop had not engaged in the slightest action, he turned back.

For the fact that he had come so quickly, and for the outstanding valor displayed by Mu'izzulmulk, both were promoted in rank. Nadi-Ali, who held the rank of 1000, was promoted to 1500; and Mu'izzulmulk, who held the rank of 1500, was promoted to 1800.

When it was learned that Khan Dawran and the Kabulis spent their days in their quarters, and since it had taken so long to deal with the villain Ahdad, it occurred to me that since the Khankhanan was standing idle at the gate, he and his sons should be assigned to this task. Around the time I had this idea, Qilich Khan arrived, having previously been summoned from the Punjab. From his demeanor it was obvious that he was indignant that the mission to deal with Ahdad had been assigned to the Khankhanan.When he explicitly undertook to carry out the mission, it was decided that the governorship of the Punjab would go to Murtaza Khan, and the Khankhanan would remain at home. Qilich Khan was promoted to the rank of 6000/5000 and undertook the Kabul mission to eliminate Ahdad and the robbers of Kohistan. For the Khankhanan I ordered a jagir given as salary in the souba of Agra in the sarkars of Kannauj and Kalpi so that he could chastise and extirpate the rebels and insurgents of that area. As they were given leave to depart, they were each given royal robes of honor, elephants, and horses.

During these same days I promoted I'timaduddawla to the rank of 2000/500 for his loyalty and long service, and I gave him a bonus of five thousand rupees.

On the twelfth of Tir, the twenty-first of Rabi' II [June 23], Mahabat Khan arrived back in Agra and paid homage. I had sent him to make arrangements for the Deccan expeditionary force and to advise the amirs to act in unity and concord. **[79b]**

From Islam Khan's report it was clear that Ghiyas Khan had performed well in the souba of Bengal. I therefore increased his zat rank of 2000 by 500. I also increased the rank of Raja Kalyan, who had been assigned to the same souba, by 500/300, making a total of 1500/800. I made Hashim Khan, who was in Orissa, governor of Kashmir in absentia and sent his uncle Khwajagi Muhammad-Husayn to Kashmir to keep an eye

on things until he arrived. During my exalted father's reign [Hashim Khan's] father, Qasim Khan, had taken Kashmir.

Chïn-Qilich, Qilich Khan's eldest son, came from Kabul and paid homage. Since he combined the relationship of a khanazad with a good natural disposition, he was given the title of Chïn-Qilich Khan. At his father's request I increased his rank by 500/300 with the provision that he undertake service in Tirah.

On the fourteenth of Amurdad [July 26], because of his long service, great loyalty, and expertise, I appointed I'timaduddawla to the exalted post of vizier of the realm.

Also during these days I gave Yadgar-Ali, the ambassador of the ruler of Iran, a gem-studded girth dagger.

Since Abdullah Khan, who had been assigned as commander of the expedition against the damn Rana, had promised to enter the Deccan from Gujarat, I made him governor of Gujarat and assigned Raja Baso in his place as commander of the expedition with an increase in rank of 500 suwar. In place of Gujarat I gave Khan A'zam the souba of Malwa and sent four lacs of rupees for provisions for the expeditionary forces that had been assigned to accompany Abdullah Khan to enter the Deccan via Nasik Trimbak.

Safdar Khan and his brothers came from the souba of Bihar and paid homage.

A Tour de Force of Carving

One of the employees who worked in the imperial seal-making workshop made a tour de force and presented it for my inspection. Until today I had never seen or heard of such a thing. Since it is so extremely strange, it will be described in detail. [**80a**] Four scenes had been carved of ivory [and mounted] on a hazelnut shell. The first scene was of wrestlers. There were two men wrestling with each other, one standing holding a spear, another with a large rock in his hand, and another sitting with his hands on the ground with a club, bow, and vessel in front of him.

The second scene was a platform with a canopy overhead and a prince sitting on the platform, one leg crossed over the other, and the bolster behind his back was visible. Five servants were standing around and in front of him, and the branch of a tree was shading the platform.

The third scene was a tightrope walking performance. A pole was standing with three ropes tied to it, and there was a tightrope walker on top holding his right leg over his head with his left hand. A goat trainer had a goat on top of a piece of wood, and another was beating a drum that hung around his neck. Another man was standing with his hands in the air watching the tightrope walker. Five more people were standing. One of the five had a stick in his hand.

The fourth scene was a tree, at the base of which a likeness of Jesus was shown with another person with his head at Jesus's feet. An old man was in conversation with him. Four others were standing.[6]

For having made such a tour de force I gave him a bonus and an increase in salary.

On the twentieth of Shahrivar [August 31], Mirza Sultan, whom I had summoned from the Deccan, came to pay homage. Safdar Khan was given an increase in rank and assigned to reinforce the expedition against the damn Rana. Since Abdullah Khan Firoz-Jang had wanted to enter the Deccan via Nasik Trimbak, it occurred to me to assign him Ram Das Kachhwaha, one of my exalted father's loyal servants, to keep an eye on him and not let him make any untimely or hasty displays of bravado. For this service I showed Ram Das special favor, [**80b**] gave him the title of raja, which he had

6. Through his contact with and appreciation of European art, Jahangir would have been familiar with Christian iconography. Both Jesus and Mary enjoy venerable status in Islam

never dreamed of, and awarded him the privilege of drums. I also awarded him the fortress of Ranthambhor, a well-known stronghold in Hindustan, gave him a sumptuous robe of honor, elephant, and horse, and dismissed him.

I assigned Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, who had been transferred from his post as chief divan, to the office of the souba of the Deccan on account of his having spent a long period of time in that area in my late brother's service.

I awarded I'timaduddawla's son Abu'l-Hasan the title of I'tiqad Khan. I gave Mu'azzam Khan's sons suitable ranks and sent them to Islam Khan in Bengal. Raja Kalyan was posted as commander of Orissa at Islam Khan's recommendation, and his rank was increased by 200/200. I gave Shaja'at Khan Dakkani four thousand rupees.

On the eighth of Aban [ca. October 20], Mirza Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman came from the Deccan to pay homage.

Around this time, many Uzbek amirs and soldiers—like Husayn Bey, Pahlavan Baba, Nawras Bey Darman, Bayram, and others—took refuge at our court because of the disturbances and chaos that had broken out in Transoxiana. Every one of them was given a robe of honor, horse, cash, rank, and a jagir.

On the second of Azar [November 12], Hashim Khan came from Bengal to attain the felicity of paying homage and kissing the imperial threshold.

With Rup Khawass and Shaykh Anbiya, I sent to Ahmadabad in Gujarat the five lacs of rupees that were assigned to defray expenses incurred by the Deccan expeditionary force under Abdullah Khan's command.

On the first of Day [December 11], I headed out to hunt in the village of Samugarh, one of my main hunting grounds. Twenty-two antelopes were bagged. I hunted sixteen of them myself, and Khurram got the other six. After staying there two days and two nights, I returned to town safe and sound on Sunday.

One night the following line occurred to me: "As long as the sun's light is in the sky, may its reflection not be far from the shah's parasol." I ordered the lamp holders and storytellers to begin with this line when they made salaams, **[81a]** or invoked blessings upon the Prophet, or related stories, and the custom has become widespread.

On Saturday the third of Day [December 13], a letter came from Khan A'zam saying that the Adil Khan of Bijapur regretted his former shortcomings and was now in a state of obedience.

On the fourteenth of Day, corresponding to the last day of Shawwal [December 24], Hashim Khan was given leave to depart for Kashmir. I gave Yadgar-Ali, the ambassador of Iran, a royal cloak. I gave I'tiqad Khan a personal sword of mine named Sherandam [lion-bodied]. I awarded Khan A'zam's son Shadman the title of Shad Khan, assigned him a rank of 1700/500, and awarded him the privilege of a banner. Abdullah Khan Firoz-Jang's brother Sardar Khan and Arslan Bey Uzbek, to whom the guardianship of Sivistan had been assigned, were also awarded banners.

I ordered the skins of the antelopes I had hunted myself made into prayer rugs and kept in the Hall of Public and Private Audience for people to pray on. As a special mark of respect, I ordered that the chief justice and the *cadi*, around whom the affairs of the religious law revolved, should not kiss the ground because it looks like prostration in prayer.

On Thursday the twenty-second of Day [December 30], I went hunting again in Samugarh. Since there were many antelopes congregated in the vicinity, this time I gave Khwaja Jahan permission to arrange a qamargha hunt, to drive the antelopes from all directions, and to hold them in a vast place around which *sarapardas* and *gulalbaras* had been erected.[7] An area of land a kos and a half was enclosed in a *sarapardа*. When

7. *Sarapardas* and *gulalbaras* are cloth enclosures or barriers that act as temporary corrals into which animals are herded.

the news came that the hunting ground was ready and lots of game had been captured, I set out. On Friday a hunt was held, and every day until the next Thursday I entered the qamargha with the women of the harem and hunted as much as I wanted. A few were captured alive, and some were shot with gun and bullet and killed. On Sunday and Thursday, on which days I do not shoot animals, they were caught in traps. During these seven days 917 antelopes, male and female, were hunted. Of the 641 bucks and does that were captured alive, 404 were sent to Fatehpur to be turned loose on the polo field. I ordered another 84 to have silver rings put in their noses and be released on the same ground. [**81b**] The 276 antelopes that were killed by gun or by cheetah were divided daily among the begams and servants of the harem, the amirs, and the courtiers. When I was thoroughly sick of hunting, I ordered the amirs to go into the hunting ground and take what remained. I myself set off safe and sound for town.



Wine Cup. India, Mughal period, A.H. 1021 (1612–13). Hardstone. Ht. 7.3; diam. 12.2 cm. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Helen M. Danforth Fund. 84.163

On the first of Bahman [January 10], corresponding to the seventeenth of Dhu'l-Qa'da, I ordered ghulurkhanas made in the large cities of the realm, like Ahmadabad, Allahabad, Lahore, Agra, Delhi, etc. Thirty locations were noted down. Of these, six locations already had such places running. Now an order was given for another twenty-four to be opened.

On the fourth of Bahman [January 13], I increased Raja Bir Singh Deo's zat rank by 1000. He already held the rank of 4000/2000. I also gave him a jeweled sword. Another personal sword named Shahbachcha was given to Shahnawaz Khan.

On the sixteenth of Isfandarmudh [February 24], Mirza Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman was assigned to the expedition against the damn Rana, and a sword was sent with him for Raja Baso.

Promulgation of the Jahangirid Regulations

Since it had been repeatedly heard that the amirs of the frontier were engaging in practices that did not pertain to them and were not observing the Törä and its strictures, I ordered the bakhshis to issue decrees for the amirs of the frontier telling them to engage no longer in such practices, which are reserved exclusively for the monarch. First was that they may not sit in jharokas. They may not force amirs or commanders to stand watch or salute. They may not have elephant fights. They may not have people blinded as punishment. They may not cut off ears or noses.[8] They may not force

8. This was also a stipulation in the original Twelve Decrees, page 26.

anyone to become Muslim.[9] They may not give their liege men titles. They may not order imperial servants to make körünüsh or taslim. They may not force singers to serve duty watch, as is customary at court. They may not have drums sounded when they go out. If they give a horse or an elephant to someone, be he an imperial retainer or one of their own liege men, they may not place the reins or goad on their backs and force them to bow. When they go riding they may not make imperial retainers walk on foot in front of them. If they write anything to anyone, they may not place a seal on it. These regulations, which have become known as the Jahangirid Regulations, are now in effect. [82a]

9. The wording here, *taklif-i musalmani*, is ambiguous. Particularly since it comes directly after the ordinance against mutilation, it may refer to circumcision rather than forced conversion.

The Seventh Regnal Year: March 9, 1612–March 9, 1613

The Seventh Nawroz after the Royal Accession

On the first of Farvardin of the seventh regnal year, Tuesday the sixteenth of Muharram 1021 [March 9, 1612], an assembly for Nawroz and an enjoyable celebration were held in Agra.

After the elapse of four gharis of the eve of Thursday, the third of the month [of Safar, March 26], which was the hour the astrologers had chosen, I mounted the throne. As was customary every year, I had ordered the court decorated for this celebration on the day of culmination.

Khusraw Bey Uzbek, who was known among the Uzbeks as Khusraw Qoruqchï,[1] had recently come to pay homage. Since he was a man of importance in Transoxiana, I showed him favor and gave him a sumptuous robe of honor. I gave Yadgar-Ali, the ambassador of the ruler of Iran, fifteen thousand rupees for expenses.

Around this same time the offering Afzal Khan had sent from Bihar was presented for inspection. There were thirty elephants, eighteen *ghunt* ponies,[2] some Bengal textiles, sandalwood, musk bags, aloeswood, and all sorts of other things. Khan Dawran's offering was also displayed. There were forty-five horses, two camels, Chinese porcelain, ermine pelts, and other rarities he had gathered in Kabul and vicinity and sent. The amirs of the gate had gone to a lot of trouble for their offerings. As usual every year, every day of the holiday the offering of one of the courtiers was presented. I inspected it all in detail, took what I liked, and gave the rest back.

On the thirteenth of Farvardin, corresponding to the twenty-ninth of Muharram [March 22], a report came from Islam Khan saying that thanks to divine grace and imperial fortune Bengal had been cleared of Usman the Afghan's mischief. Before this encounter is recorded, a few lines about Bengal will be given.

A Description of Bengal

Bengal is a land of vast extent in the second clime. It extends lengthwise from the port of Chittagong to Gadhi, a distance of 450 kos, and in breadth from the mountains of the north to the end of the Madaran sarkar, a distance of 220 kos.[3] The total [revenue] is approximately sixty crores of dams.[4] The former rulers always kept at the ready twenty thousand cavalry, a lac of foot soldiers, a thousand elephants, and four or five thousand warships.

From the time of Sher Khan and his son Salim Khan, this province was under their and the Afghans' control. When the throne of Hindustan was graced by my exalted father, [**82b**] he assigned invincible legions to that land and made the conquest of it his foremost concern for a long time until it was wrested from Daud Kara[ra]ni,[5] the

1. In Chaghatay Turkish *qoruqchï* means a guardian of a hunting preserve or meadow reserved for use of a khan

2. *Ghunt* ponies, known in British India as "goonts," were hill ponies characterized as "strong but clumsy" (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 387a).

3. In Abu'l-Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari* , 1:387 this information is given as follows: "This souba is in the second clime. Its length from the port of Chittagong to Gadhi is 400 kos; its breadth from north of the mountain range to the end of the Madaran sarkar is 200. When the land of Orissa was added to

this souba, it increased forty-three kos in length and twenty-three in breadth." The *Jahangirnama* has *ghry* for the name that appears in the *Ain* 1:396 as *GDHY* (Gadhi) in the Lakhnauti sarkar.

4. Sixty crores is six hundred million. This amount would be fifteen million rupees.

5. Daud Kararani, ruled 1572–76.

last of the rulers, through the efforts of the supporters of the conquering empire. The ill-starred Daud Kararani was killed in battle with the Khankhanan, and his army was dispersed and driven from the field.

From that date until now, the province has been under the control of the servants of the court. Finally the few remaining Afghans who were left in pockets and outlying areas of the region and had seized control of remote places were mostly reduced to nothing little by little, and the regions over which they had taken control came into the hands of imperials. When the rule and reign came by divine grace to this petitioner at God's court, during my first year I summoned to court Raja Man Singh, who was the governor there, and sent in his stead Qutbuddin Khan, who had the unparalleled honor to be my *kükältash*. No sooner had he entered the province than he was martyred by an insurgent assigned there. The assassin, who had not thought of the consequences, was punished for his action and killed.

Since he was nearby, I promoted Jahangir-Quli Khan, the governor and jagirdar of the province of Bihar, to the rank of 5000/5000 and ordered him to go to Bengal and take control of the province. I sent an order to Islam Khan, who was in Agra, to go to Bihar and consider that province his jagir. Jahangir-Quli Khan had not been governor long when he fell seriously ill on account of the bad climate. Gradually his illness became worse, and he wasted away and eventually died. When I learned of his illness and death in Lahore, I issued a decree to Islam Khan to turn the souba of Bihar over to Afzal Khan and go to Bengal as soon as possible. On the assignment of this task to him, most of the courtiers had much to say about his youth and lack of experience. Nonetheless, since his naturally good disposition and innate talent had been noticed by my unfailing eye, I chose him for this task. As it turned out, he has administered the area better than any other servant of the court has ever done since the time it entered the empire. [**83a**]

Shaja'at Khan Defeats the Afghan Rebel Usman

One of Islam Khan's outstanding achievements was dealing with the damn Usman the Afghan. Battles were repeatedly fought during His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's lifetime, but it was never possible to repel him. While Islam Khan was settled in Dacca and making it his foremost concern to deal with the zamindars of that region, it occurred to him that he should dispatch a troop against the damn Usman and his province. If he chose to submit in obedience, what could be better? If not, they would give the rebels their due and annihilate them. Since at that time Shaja'at Khan was attached to Islam Khan, it fell to his lot to command the mission. A few others like Kishwar Khan, Iftikhar Khan, Sayyid Adam Barha, Muqarrab Khan's nephew Shaykh Acchha, Mu'tamad Khan, Mu'azzam Khan's sons, Ihtimam Khan, et al. were assigned to accompany him. He also sent along a contingent of his own men. At an hour so auspicious that Jupiter could have derived luck from it,[6] he sent this troop off with Mir Murad's son Mir Qasim as bakhshi and reporter. He also sent some zamindars along as guides. Thus the victory-slated troops set forth.

6. Jupiter is the *sa'd-i akbar*, the most auspicious of the planets in astrological terms.

When they reached the vicinity of Usman's fortress and land, several experienced emissaries were sent to advise him to submit and lead him from the road of rebellion and insurgence back onto the right path. However, inasmuch as overbearing pride had stuck in his brain, and his mind was filled with the desire, among others, to take terri-

tory, he paid no attention to their words and got ready for battle. The site selected for the battle was a nullah that was completely muddy and marshy.

On Sunday the ninth of Muharram [March 2], the hour for battle was chosen, and the troops were assigned to take their stations and get ready for battle. Usman, however, had not decided to do battle on that day, and when he heard that the imperial soldiers were ready there was nothing he could do but mount, go to the edge of the nullah, and array his cavalry and infantry opposite the imperial forces. When the battle was in full fray and every troop advanced against its opposite number, on the first charge the ignorant numskull drove his war elephant forward to attack the vanguard's center. After a lot of skirmishing Sayyid Adam and Shaykh Acchha of the vanguard were killed. The commander of the right flank, Iftikhar Khan, fought without remiss, but he too lost his life. The troop under his command retaliated to such a degree that they were all cut to ribbons. The left flank under Kishwar Khan also fought valiantly and sacrificed themselves. [**83b**]

Although many of the hapless Usman's men were killed and wounded, he sized up his foe with experience and understanding and realized that the commanders of the vanguard, right flank, and left flank had been killed. Only the center was left. Taking no account of his own killed and wounded, he charged the center, but here Shaja'at Khan's son, brothers, and relatives and others blocked their way and tore into them with claws and teeth, like lions and tigers. When some had been killed, those who were left alive had received mortal wounds. Now he drove his premier war elephant, named Bakhta, against Shaja'at Khan. Shaja'at Khan drew his spear and threw it at the elephant. What does a charging elephant care for a spear? He then drew his sword and struck blow after blow. That too had little effect. Then he drew a jamdhar dagger and stabbed it twice. That did not cause the elephant to pull back either, and it ran right over Shaja'at Khan and his horse. As soon as he was separated from his horse he shouted "Jahangir Shah!" and leapt up. His groom, holding a sword with both hands, struck the elephant on the legs. When the elephant fell to its knees, Shaja'at Khan and the groom pulled the driver down from the elephant. Then, on foot, he struck the elephant's trunk and forehead so hard with the dagger he was holding that the animal bellowed in pain. Since it had so many wounds, it went to its own troop and fell.

Shaja'at Khan's horse got up unharmed, but as he was remounting, the foe drove another elephant at his standard bearer and ran over both the standard bearer and his horse. With that, Shaja'at Khan gave a manly cry to warn the standard bearer, saying, "Be brave! I'm alive." At this critical moment all the imperial servants who were at the foot of the standard drew their arrows, daggers, and swords and attacked the elephant. Shaja'at Khan got himself there and shouted for the standard bearer to rise. He found another horse for the standard bearer and got him mounted, and the bearer raised the standard and resumed his place. During the fray a musket ball hit the damn Usman in the forehead. For all the search that was made it was never learned who had fired the shot. As soon as he was shot he retired from the fray, realizing that he would not survive the wound, although despite such a fatal wound, he continued to urge his men to fight for two and a half watches, and the battle was pitched.

After that, the enemy fled from the field, pursued by the imperials, who forced them into the place they had camped, but they kept the imperials at bay with arrows and guns and would not let them into their camp. [**84a**] When Usman's brother Wali, his son Mamrez, and his other relatives and followers learned of Usman's wound, they

said to themselves, "No recovery from this wound is possible. If we go to our fortress in such defeat and disarray, not one person will be left alive. It would be best for us to remain here where we are camped tonight. Under the cover of darkness we'll find a way to get to the fortress."

When two watches of the night had passed, Usman went to hell. During the third watch they picked up his lifeless body, left their tents and supplies where they had camped, and set out for their stronghold. The scouts of the imperial army learned of this and informed Shaja'at Khan. On Monday morning the imperials gathered and thought it best to go in pursuit and not allow the hapless foe to catch their breath. However, because the soldiers were exhausted, the dead had to be shrouded and buried, and the wounded tended to, they hesitated whether to go forward or whether to camp. Just then Mu'azzam Khan's son Abdul-Salam arrived with a troop of court servants consisting of three hundred cavalrymen and four hundred artillerymen. When this fresh force arrived it was immediately decided to go in pursuit.

When the news reached Wali, who became the rebel leader after Usman, that Shaja'at Khan was on his way with the imperial army reinforced by fresh troops, he saw that his only chance to save himself lay in turning back and surrendering to Shaja'at Khan. In the end he sent a message saying, "The person who caused the rebellion and insurgence is gone. We who are left are good Muslims. If you give your word, we will come to see you, surrender to the court, and give our elephants as offerings." Shaja'at Khan and Mu'taqid Khan, who had arrived on the day of the battle, had performed outstandingly, and our other supporters gave their word in accordance with the exigencies of the time and in the best interest of the state and sent encouraging word to the rebels. The next day Wali [**84b**] and Usman's sons, brothers, and relatives all came to see Shaja'at Khan and our other servants, presenting forty-nine elephants as an offering. After performing this service Shaja'at Khan stationed several servants of the court in Udhar and that area, which had been under the rebel's control, and took Wali and the Afghans on Monday the sixth of Safar [March 29] to Jahangirnagar, where they joined Islam Khan.

When the joyful news reached me in Agra, I prostrated myself in thanksgiving, recognizing that the repulsion of such an enemy was due solely to divine grace. In return for such good action Islam Khan was promoted to the rank of 6000. I awarded Shaja'at Khan the title of Rustam-i-Zaman[7] and increased his rank by 1000/1000. Each of our other servants was given an increase in rank according to the actions they had performed, and they were shown other favors.

7. "The Rustam of the Age," a reference to Rustam, the champion warrior and hero of Firdawsi's *Shahnama*

When the news first came of Usman's being killed it was thought to be false. To determine whether it was true or not, I took an augury from the divan of Khwaja Hafiz of Shiraz. The following ghazal came out:

> I make a sea of my eyes and cast patience into the desert, and in this labor I lose my heart in the sea. / I have been hit by heaven's arrow. Give me wine so that, dead drunk, I can tie a knot in Gemini's quiver strap.[8]

8. Hafiz, *Divan*, 182f, lines 1 and 3.

Since this line was extremely appropriate to the situation, I took it as portentous. After a while the news came that Usman had been hit by destiny's—or God's—arrow since no matter how hard they searched they couldn't locate the person who had fired the shot. This episode has been recorded because of its marvelousness.

Muqarrab Khan Brings Rarities from Goa

On the sixteenth of Farvardin [March 25], Muqarrab Khan, one of the most important and long-serving Jahangirid servants, who had been promoted to the rank of 3000/2000, arrived from the port of Cambay to pay homage. I had ordered him to go to the port of Goa on several items of business and see the vice-rei, the governor of Goa, and to purchase any rarities he could get hold of there for the royal treasury. As ordered, he went to Goa with all preparedness and stayed there a while. Without consideration for cost, he paid any price the Franks asked for whatever rarities he could locate. When he returned from there to court, he presented the rarities he had brought for my inspection several times. He had every sort of thing and object. He had brought several very strange and unusual animals I had not seen before. No one even knew what their names were. Although His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur] wrote in his memoirs of the shapes and forms of some animals,[9] apparently he did not order the artists to depict them. **[85a]** Since these animals looked so extremely strange to me, I both wrote of them and ordered the artists to draw their likenesses in the *Jahangirnama* so that the astonishment one has at hearing of them would increase by seeing them.



North American Turkey, by Mansur. India, Mughal period, ca. 1612. Opaque watercolor on paper. 22.5 x 15.5. cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum. IM 135–1921

One of the animals was larger in body than a peahen and significantly smaller than a peacock. Sometimes when it displays itself during mating it spreads its tail and its other feathers like a peacock and dances. Its beak and legs are like a rooster's. Its head, neck, and wattle constantly change color. When it is mating they are as red as can be—you'd think it had all been set with coral. After a while these same places become white and look like cotton. Sometimes they look turquoise. It keeps changing color like a chameleon. The piece of flesh it has on its head resembles a cock's comb. The strange part about it is that when it is mating, the piece of flesh hangs down a span from its head like an elephant's trunk, but then when it pulls it up it stands erect a distance of two fingers like a rhinoceros' horn. The area around its eyes is always turquoise-colored and never changes. Its feathers appear to be of different colors, unlike a peacock's feathers.

He also brought a simian of a strange and curious shape. Its hands, feet, ears, and head are exactly like a monkey's, but its face resembles a fox's. The color of its eyes is like a hawk's, but its eyes are larger than a hawk's. It is an ordinary cubit from its head to the base of its tail, shorter than a monkey but longer than a fox. Its fur is like the wool of a sheep, and it is gray. From its earlobe to its chin is a wine-colored red. Its tail

9. For Babur's description of the animals of Hindustan, see *Baburnama*, folios 274b–282b.

is longer than half a cubit and three fingers. Unlike other monkeys this one's tail hangs down like a cat's. Sometimes it makes a noise like the cry of an antelope fawn. All in all it was extremely strange. **[85b]**

Until now, breeding the wild bird called *tazarv* [pheasant] in captivity had never been heard of. During my exalted father's time much effort was expended to produce an egg, but it never happened. I ordered several males and females kept together, and little by little they produced eggs. I then ordered the eggs to be placed under chickens. Within two years sixty or seventy chicks had been hatched, and fifty or sixty or them grew to maturity. Everyone who heard of it was absolutely amazed and related the fact that my brother [Shah Abbas] in Persia had taken great pains, but absolutely no eggs were produced and therefore no chicks resulted.

During these days I increased Mahabat Khan's former rank of 4000/1500 by 1000/500. I'timaduddawla's rank was increased to a total of 4000/3000. Maha Singh's rank was also increased by 500/500, giving him a rank of 3000/2000. I increased I'timad Khan's rank by 500/200 to 1000/300.

Around this time Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan came from the Deccan to pay homage. Dawlat Khan, who had been assigned as garrison commander of Allahabad and the Jaunpur sarkar, came to pay homage. His rank of 1000 was increased by 500.

On the day of culmination, the nineteenth of Farvardin [March 28], I promoted Sultan Khurram from the rank of 10,000 to 12,000. I gave I'tibar Khan, who had been promoted to the rank of 3000/1000, the rank of 4000. I added 500/500 to Muqarrab Khan's rank of 2000/1000. I increased Khwaja Jahan's rank of 2000/1200 by 500. Since it was the time of Nawroz, most of my courtiers were given promotions.

On this same day Dulip came from the Deccan to pay homage. Since his father, Raja Rai Singh, had died, I gave him the title of rai and had him clad in a robe of honor. [Raja Rai Singh] had another son named Suraj Singh. Although Dulip was his ticka-marked son,[10] he wanted Suraj Singh to be his successor because of the love he bore Suraj Singh's mother. While the circumstances of Raja Rai Singh's death were being related, Suraj Singh, in consequence of his lack of wisdom and youthful age, said to me, "My father made me his successor and gave me the ticka." This remark did not please me. I said, "Your father may have given you the ticka, but we give it to Dulip to distinguish him." Then, with my own hand, I drew the ticka on him and gave him his father's jagir and land.

10. The ticka (*tika*) is the mark on the forehead received on ceremonial occasions. A ruler's "ticka-marked" son is the heir apparent.

An ink pot and pen were given to I'timaduddawla.

Lakhmi Chand, the Raja of Kumaun, is one of the major rajas of the hill country. His father, Raja Raudr, had come during His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's time. When the father came he asked that Raja Todar Mal's son come and take him to pay homage. Because of this request the raja's son had been given the mission to bring him. Lakhmi Chand also requested that I'timaduddawla's son come and escort him to pay homage. I sent Shapur to bring him. He brought and displayed rarities from the hill country—superb ghunt ponies, hunting birds like falcons and hawks, peacocks, musk bags, musk-deer skins with the musk bags attached, swords of the sort called *khanda* in their language, and all sorts of things. Among the rajas of the hill country this one is well known for having a lot of gold. They say there is a gold mine in his territory.

I dispatched Khwaja Jahan, who is an expert at such things, to construct an edifice in the palace at Lahore.

Since things had not gone well in the Deccan because of the commanders' disunity and Khan A'zam's carelessness, and since Abdullah Khan had suffered defeat, I had summoned Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan to give me a report on these affairs. After much investigation and inquiry it became apparent that Abdullah Khan's defeat had occurred partially because of his own pride, recklessness, and stubbornness and partially because of the amirs' disunity and insubordination.

In summary, it had been decided that Abdullah Khan would set out from Nasik Trimbak with the Gujarat army and amirs who had been assigned to him. This force had important commanders and experienced amirs [**86b**] like Raja Ram Das, Khan Alam, Sayf Khan, Alimardan Bahadur, Zafar Khan, and others, and the number of the soldiers was between ten and fourteen thousand. From the other side, Raja Man Singh, Khan Jahan, Amiru'l-Umara, and many commanders were supposed to set out from Berar. The two divisions would keep abreast of each other's movements until they caught the enemy in a pincers on the agreed-upon date. Had they followed this procedure and been united, and had selfish interests not intervened, it is most probable that God would have granted them victory.

When Abdullah Khan passed the ghats and entered the enemy's territory, he didn't bother to send out messengers and get information on the other division so that he could pace his movement with theirs, as had been agreed, in order to encircle the enemy on the designated day. Instead, relying upon his own power and strength, he decided it would be better if he gained the victory all by himself. He was obsessed by this thought, and no matter how much Ram Das tried to get him to proceed slowly, it did no good. The enemy, who kept an eye on his every movement, sent a large troop of commanders and Bargis [Marathas] to attack him. By day they engaged in skirmishes with him, and by night they threw every type of rocket and explosive they had at him. By the time the foe was nigh he had received no news of the other division. As he approached Daulatabad, where the Deccanis had assembled, the black-faced Ambar elevated to the throne a child he thought had some kinship to the Nizamulmulkid dynasty. Then, in order that the people would accept his command, he took the child by the hand and made himself the leader and commander. He kept sending more and more men, and the foe kept getting more and more numerous until they attacked and made things difficult for Abdullah Khan by hurling rockets and other types of explosives.

In the end our supporters saw that since no reinforcement had come from the other division and the Deccanis were headed for them, it would be prudent to withdraw for the present and make another plan. With everyone in agreement, [**87a**] they set out before sunup. All the way as far as the frontier of their own territory the Deccanis followed them, engaging in action with every troop they encountered. During these days several brave, zealous warriors saw action. Alimardan Bahadur made a heroic showing but received a fatal wound. Captured alive by the enemy, he showed his comrades what real loyalty and self-sacrifice were. Zulfaqar Beg also performed valiantly, but a rocket hit him in the foot, and two days later he passed away.

When they entered the territory of Raja Bharjiu, an ally of ours, the enemy turned back. Abdullah Khan set out for Gujarat. It is said that if he had proceeded with reins drawn and let the other division catch up with him, things would have turned out well for the imperials. As soon as the news of Abdullah Khan's retreat reached the

commanders of the force that had set out from Berar, they did not think it wise to stop but turned back and rejoined Parvez's camp in Adilabad in the vicinity of Burhanpur.

When I received these reports in Agra, I was very upset and wanted to go myself and pull out by the roots these slave boys who were acting like lords. In no way would the amirs and advisers agree to this. Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan said, "No one else understands the affairs of that area the way the Khankhanan does. He should be sent to get the disorganized campaign back into shape. Let him make a temporary truce to give himself time to get the campaign back on track." Other advisers were in agreement with this, and all voted to send the Khankhanan and to have Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan accompany him. The divanis made arrangements to this effect, and he was dismissed on Sunday the seventeenth of Urdibihisht of my seventh year [April 26]. Shahnawaz Khan, Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, Razzaq[verdi] Uzbek, and several others slated to go were also given leave to depart on this date. The Khankhanan was promoted to the rank of 6000/6000. Shahnawaz Khan was given the rank of 3000/3000. Darab Khan was given an increase of 500/300, **[87b]** giving him a total rank of 2000/1500. I gave Khordad's son Rahmandad a suitable rank. I awarded the Khankhanan a splendid robe of honor, a jeweled dagger, a personal elephant with accoutrements, and Persian horses. Robes of honor and horses were also given to his sons and companions.

During this month Mu'izzulmulk and his sons came from Kabul and attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold. Shyam Singh and Rai Mukund Bhadauriya, who had been assigned to the Bangash campaign, were promoted at Qilich Khan's request. Shyam Singh was at 1500, and 500 was added to his rank. Rai Mukund also received a promotion in rank.

The Death of Asaf Khan

For a long time reports had been coming of Asaf Khan's illness. Sometimes it was in remission, but then it would return. Finally he died in Burhanpur at the age of sixty-three. His understanding and ability were superb, although his nature was dominated by stinginess and foolishness. He also composed poetry. He wrote and dedicated to me a [version of the story of] Khusraw and Shirin,[11] which I called the *Nurnama*. During my exalted father's time he attained the rank of amir and vizier. Even though he did several foolish acts when I was a prince, and most of the men, Khusraw in particular, were of the opinion that after my accession to the throne my displeasure would be made known, contrary to what he and others thought, I showed him favor and promoted him to the rank of 5000/5000. After a short while he became autonomous vizier, and overall there was no shortcoming in my patronage of him.

11. Khusraw and Shirin are the principal characters in a well-known Persian romantic story, the most famous version of which is by Nizami of Ganja (1141–1209) and is one part of his *Khamsa*, a quintet of narrative poems.

After his death I gave his sons ranks and patronized them. In the end it became known that his loyalty was not what it should have been, and he always harbored a fear of me because of his former displeasing actions. They say that he not only knew of the plot against me in Kabul but actually encouraged the miscreants. However, I do not believe that in the face of all the patronage and favor I showed him he could have engaged in such treacherous disloyalty.

The Death of Mirza Ghazi Tarkhan

After a short span of time, on the twenty-fifth of this month of Urdibihisht [May 4], the news of Mirza Ghazi Khan's death arrived. The mirza was a scion of the rulers of Thatta and a Tarkhan by birth. During my exalted father's time his father, Mirza Jani,

chose to submit and pledge allegiance. [88a] Escorted by the Khankhanan, who had been assigned to conquer his province, he attained the felicity of paying homage in Lahore. By imperial favor he was allowed to retain his province, although he chose to remain in attendance and send his men to take care of Thatta. He remained in the retinue as long as he lived and died in Burhanpur.

His son, Mirza Ghazi, who was in Thatta, was given the governorship of that land by Arsh-Ashyani's decree, and Sa'id Khan, who was in Bhakkar, was ordered to win him over and bring him to court. The khan sent messengers to advise him to submit, and in the end he brought him to Agra to kiss my exalted father's threshold. He was in Agra when His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani passed away and I assumed the throne. After I had pursued Khusraw to Lahore I received word that the amirs on the Khurasan frontier had amassed forces and attacked Kandahar.[12] Shah Beg Khan, the governor, was being besieged and awaiting reinforcements. Of necessity a force under the leadership of Mirza Ghazi and other amirs and commanders was assigned to reinforce Kandahar.

12. Reading Kandahar for the text's obviously erroneous "Samarkand."

When the troop reached the vicinity of Kandahar, the Khurasan army realized that they did not have the strength to make a stand and withdrew. Mirza Ghazi entered Kandahar, turned the territory and fortress over to Sardar Khan, who had been assigned as governor, and Shah Beg Khan went to his own jagir. Mirza Ghazi set out for Lahore via Bhakkar. Sardar Khan was not in Kandahar long before he died, and the province again needed a governor with some authority. This time I annexed Kandahar to Thatta and gave it to Mirza Ghazi. From that date until his death he performed the duties of protector and guard. His conduct with travelers was excellent. When Mirza Ghazi died it was necessary to send a commander to Kandahar. I assigned Abul Bey Uzbek, who was in Multan and that area, to this task. I promoted him to the rank of 1500/1000, gave him the title of Bahadur Khan, and awarded him the privilege of a banner.

The governorship of Delhi and protection of that province was assigned to Muqarrab Khan. I awarded Rup Khawass the title [88b] of Khawass Khan, promoted him to the rank of 1000/500, and gave him the post of garrison commander of Kannauj sarkar.

Since I had affianced Khurram to I'timaduddawla's son I'tiqad Khan's daughter,[13] and the wedding celebrations were being held, on Thursday the eighteenth of Khurdad [May 28] I went to Khurram's house and spent a day and a night there. He presented offerings for my inspection, arranged favors for the begams, his mother and stepmothers, and the harem servants, and gave robes to the amirs.

13. This is Shahjahan's wife Arjumand Banu, later entitled Mumtaz Mahal, for whom the Taj Mahal was built.

I sent Abdul-Razzaq, a bakhshi at the gate, to take charge of the province of Thatta until a commander with authority could win over the soldiers and ryots and get the province in order. He was given a promotion in rank, an elephant, and a personal shawl and dismissed. I made Mu'izzulmulk bakhshi in his place.

Khwaja Jahan, who had been sent to Lahore to supervise construction, came back at the end of the month and paid homage. I had summoned Mirza Isa Tarkhan, a relative of Mirza Ghazi's who had been assigned to the Deccan, to send him on an errand to Thatta. He too came on this date. Since he was worthy of being patronized, I gave him the rank of 1000/500.

Because a congestion of blood had started to dominate my constitution, on Wednesday, upon the advice of physicians, I had about a seer of blood let from my left arm. Since I had a great feeling of lightness, it occurred to me that if blood-letting were

to be called a "lightening," it would be much better. At present this is the expression used. I awarded a jewel-studded khapwa to Muqarrab Khan, who had done the bleeding.

Kishan Das, the overseer of the elephant department and stable who had held the two offices since His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's time and who had been hoping for a long, long time to be made a raja, was awarded the title of raja and given a rank of 1000.

I summoned at his own request Mirza Sultan-Husayn Safavi's son Mirza Rustam, who was assigned to the Deccan campaign. [**89a**] He arrived on Saturday the ninth of Tir [June 19] with his sons to pay homage and presented a ruby and forty-six pearls.

Taj Khan the governor of Bhakkar, an old amir of this empire, was given an increase in rank of 500/500.

The Death of Shaja'at Khan

The tale of Shaja'at Khan's death is strange. After he had performed such outstanding service, Islam Khan had dismissed him to command Orissa. One night along the way he was riding in a chaukhandi on a female elephant and had a young eunuch behind him. As he was leaving his camp an enraged elephant that had been tied by the road, startled by the sound of the horses' hooves and the movement of the riders, was trying to break its chains and causing an uproar.

When the eunuch heard the cries and shouts, he roused Shaja'at Khan, who was either asleep or passed out drunk, and said in terror, "A mad elephant is loose and headed this way." As soon as he heard this Shaja'at Khan became confused and threw himself down impatiently from the elephant. When he landed he stubbed his toe against a rock and broke the skin. He died two or three days later of this wound. I was astonished to hear such a piece of news. How could a valiant man throw himself down in such a state of confusion over a mere cry that reached his ears or from hearing the words of a boy? It is truly amazing!

The news of this incident reached me on the nineteenth of the month of Tir [June 29]. I consoled his sons with favors and ranks. If this hadn't happened to him, since he had performed outstanding services, he would have enjoyed great favor. "One cannot vie with destiny."

Islam Khan had sent 160 elephants from Bengal. Around this time they passed before my view and entered the imperial elephant stable.

Raja Lakhmi Chand, the raja of Kumaun, [**89b**] asked for permission to withdraw. Since his father had been given a hundred horses in His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's time, I gave him the same. I also gave him an elephant. While he was here I had given him a robe of honor and a jewel-studded dagger. His brothers were also given robes of honor and horses. I awarded him his territory as before, and he returned happy and glad to his place.

Amiru'l-Umara happened to recite this line of poetry: "Leave us alone, O Messiah, for we have been killed by love. Your restoring one life is equivalent to a hundred murders." Since I have a poetic nature, occasionally, voluntarily and involuntarily, a hemistich or line of poetry pops into my head. I composed this line: "Do not turn your cheek from me, for I am not without you for a moment. Your breaking one heart is equivalent to a hundred murders." After this was recited, everyone present who had a poetic nature composed a line in the same mode. Mulla Ali-Ahmad, who

has been introduced previously, came up with a pretty good line: "O *muhtasib*, fear the weeping of the old man of the Magi: your breaking one vat is equivalent to a hundred murders."

Abu'l-Fath Dakkani, one of the Adil Khan's important amirs, had pledged his allegiance two years previously and become a supporter of the empire. On the tenth of Amurdad [July 21], he came to pay homage. He was awarded a sword and a robe of honor. Several days later I also gave him a personal horse.

Khwajagi Muhammad-Husayn had gone to Kashmir in his nephew's place. Since his mind was at ease concerning the affairs there, he arrived around this time and paid homage.

Inasmuch as it was necessary to send a commander to govern Thatta, it occurred to me to send Mirza Rustam. I increased his rank, which was 5000/1500 to 5000/5000, awarded him the governorship of Thatta on the twenty-sixth of Jumada II [August 14], corresponding to the second of Shahrivar, gave him a personal elephant, a horse with a jewel-studded saddle, a jewel-studded sword, [**90a**] and a sumptuous robe of honor, and dismissed him. I also awarded his sons and the sons of his brother Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza promotions, elephants, and robes of honor and sent them along with him.

I assigned Rai Dulip to reinforce Mirza Rustam because he could get a good troop together, his land and residence being near there. I increased his rank of 2000/1000 by 500/500 and awarded him an elephant.

Abu'l-Fath Dakkani had received a jagir in the sarkar of Manikpur and that area. I dismissed him to tend to the affairs of his jagir and to protect and guard the area.

Khusraw Bey Uzbek, who had been assigned as garrison commander to the sarkar of Mewat and whose rank was 800/300, was now given the rank of 1000/500 and awarded a horse.

When I reviewed Muqarrab Khan's past service, it occurred to me that a hope should not be left hanging in his heart. Although I had given him a high rank and good jagirs, he hoped for a banner and drums. He was awarded these too.

Khwaja Beg Mirza's adopted son Salih was a very courageous and valiant young man. I encouraged him by giving him the title of Khanjar Khan.

Solar Weighing Ceremony

On Thursday the twenty-second of Shahrivar, corresponding to the seventeenth of Rajab 1021 [September 3], the solar weighing ceremony was held in Marya-muzzamani's quarters. Having myself weighed like this is a Hindu custom. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, who was kindness and generosity itself, approved of this custom and had himself weighed twice a year, once by the solar year and once by the lunar year, against all sorts of metals, gold, silver, etc., and mostly against valuable goods. The total, which amounted to a lac of rupees, was distributed to the poor and needy. I too maintain this custom, having myself weighed in the same manner and giving the goods to the poor.

Since Mu'taqid Khan, the divan of Bengal, had been relieved of his duty, he brought before the imperial gaze Usman's son and brothers and some of his servants. They had been sent to court with him by Islam Khan. Each of the Afghans was turned over to an important courtier to guard. [**90b**] Mu'taqid Khan then offered for my inspection the offering he had assembled of twenty-five elephants, two rubies, a jewel-studded phul-katara, reliable eunuchs, Bengal textiles, etc.

Sultan Khwaja's son Mirmiran, who had been assigned to the Deccan campaign,

had been summoned and attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold. He offered a ruby.

Since there had been bad blood and heated exchanges between Qilich Khan, the commander of the Bangash expedition and commandant of Kabul, and the amirs of that souba who had been assigned to his command—Khan Dawran in particular—I sent Khwaja Jahan to discover with whom the incompatibility lay.

On the eleventh of the month of Mihr [September 23], Mu'taqid Khan was promoted to the high office of bakhshi and given the rank of 2000/300.

Muqarrab Khan was given another small promotion in rank, making 2000/2000 in all.

At the Khankhanan's request, Faridun Khan Barlas was promoted to the rank of 2500/2000.

Rai Manohar was promoted to the rank of 1000/800. Raja Bir Singh Deo was promoted to the rank of 4000/200. I awarded Bharat, the nephew of Ram Chand Bundela, the title of raja after Ram Chand's death. Zafar Khan came as summoned from the souba of Gujarat on the twenty-eighth of Aban [November 9], offering a ruby and three pearls.

On the sixth of Azar, corresponding to the third of Shawwal [November 17], I received news from Burhanpur that Amiru'l-Umara had died on Sunday the twenty-seventh of Aban [November 8] in the pargana of Thanesar. **[91a]** After the onset of the illness that struck him in Lahore, he rarely had full command of his senses, and his memory was severely damaged. He was very loyal. What a pity he left no son worthy of patronage.

Chïn-Qilich Khan came from his father in Peshawar and paid homage on the twentieth of Azar [December 1]. He presented a hundred mohurs and a hundred rupees in fulfillment of a vow and had his offering of a horse, textiles, and other goods he had brought displayed for my inspection.

I awarded Zafar Khan, a major *khanazad* and *kokazad*,[14] the governorship of Bihar and increased his rank by 500/500, making 3000/2000 in all. He and his brothers were given robes of honor and horses and dismissed. He had always wished for an independent command in order to show his mettle. I also wanted to test him, so I made this service a touchstone to try him.

14. For *khanazad* and *kokazad*, see the glosssary.

Since it was the season for tours and hunts, on Tuesday the second of Dhu'l-Qa'da [December 15], corresponding to the fourth of Day, I left Agra for a hunt and stopped in Dahra Garden, where I remained for four days.

The Death of Salima-Sultan Begam

On the tenth of the month [December 21], the news of the death of Salima-Sultan Begam, who had been ill in town, was heard. Her mother was Gulrukh Begam, the daughter of His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur], and her father was Nuruddin Muhammad, a scion of the Naqshbandi khwajas. She possessed all good qualities. Among women the combination of such talent and capability is rare, and His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun] affianced this niece of his in love and kindness to Bayram Khan. The marriage took place after his death, at the beginning of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign. After the khan was killed, my exalted father married her himself.

She died at the age of sixty-three. That very day we decamped from the Dahra Garden, and I sent I'timaduddawla to see to the transportation of her body. **[91b]** I ordered her laid to rest in an edifice the begam had constructed herself in Mandakar Garden.

On the seventeenth of Day [December 28], Mirza Ali Beg Akbarshahi came from the Deccan to pay homage.

On the twenty-first [January 1, 1613], Khwaja Jahan, who had been dispatched to Kabul, returned and paid homage. It had taken him three months and eleven days to go and come. He brought eleven mohurs and eleven rupees he had vowed. On the same day Raja Ram Das also came from the Deccan to pay homage. He presented 101 mohurs. Winter robes of honor were sent to the amirs in the Deccan.

Since the port of Surat was Qilich Khan's jagir, he requested that Chīn-Qilich Khan be given leave to go there and protect the area. On the twenty-seventh of Day [January 7], he was awarded a robe of honor, the title of khan, and a banner and given leave to depart. I sent Raja Ram Das to advise the amirs in Kabul and to deal with the incompatibility between them and Qilich Khan. He was given a horse, a robe of honor, and thirty thousand rupees to defray expenses.

On the sixth of Bahman [January 16], camp was made in the pargana of Bari. Here the news was received of the death of Khwajagi Muhammad-Husayn, a longtime servant of the empire. His elder brother, Muhammad-Qasim Khan, had been shown enormous favor during my exalted father's time, and Khwajagi Muhammad-Husayn had been given posts of trust, like taster and others. He left no son. He was beardless and didn't have a single hair on his cheeks or lip. When he spoke he squealed a lot and was looked upon as a eunuch.

On the fifteenth of the month [January 25], Shahnawaz Khan, whom the Khankhanan had sent from Burhanpur on business, came to pay homage. He presented a vow of a hundred mohurs and a hundred rupees. Since affairs in the Deccan had not gone smoothly owing to Abdullah Khan's impetuousness and the amirs' disunity, the Deccanis had made overtures of peace to our amirs and supporters there. The Adil Khan had chosen to support us and made a request, saying, "If the affair of the Deccanis is turned over to me, I will arrange it so that some places [**92a**] that have left the empire's control will be returned." In view of the exigencies of the time, our well-wishers reported this as a recommendation, and the Khankhanan undertook to take charge of affairs there.

Khan A'zam, who was always desirous of fighting the damn Rana, requested this service in order to acquire merit. An order was given for him to go to Malwa, his jagir, and proceed on the mission from there.

Abul Bey Uzbek's rank was increased by 1000/500, making 4000/3500 in all.

The hunt lasted for two months and twenty days. During this time I went out hunting every day. Since there were only five or six days left before Nawroz, I returned safe and sound and stopped on the twenty-fourth of Isfandarmudh [March 5] in Dahra Garden. On the same day Muqarrab Khan and the group of officers that had remained in town came to pay homage. Muqarrab Khan presented a jewel-studded flask, a Frankish hat, and a jewel-studded sparrow. I remained in the garden for three days.

On the twenty-seventh [March 8], I entered the city. During the period of the hunt 223 antelopes et cetera, 95 nilgais, 2 boars, 36 herons et cetera, and 1407 fish were caught.

The Eighth Regnal Year: March 10, 1613–March 10, 1614

The Eighth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

On the twenty-eighth of Muharram 1022 [March 10, 1613], corresponding to the first of Farvardin of the [eighth] year of my reign, after the elapse of three and a half gharis, the sun transited from Pisces into Aries, its house of joy and victory. That morning was Nawroz, and a splendidly decorated celebration assembly was held, like every year. Toward the end of the day I mounted the throne, and the amirs and notables of the empire and intimates of court offered congratulations.

During these happy days I used to come out to the Hall of Public and Private Audience to listen to petitioners' requests and have the courtiers' offerings displayed for view.

Abul Bey, the governor of Kandahar, had sent an offering of Persian horses and hunting dogs. They were shown to me. **[92b]**

On the ninth of the month [March 18], Afzal Khan came from Bihar to pay homage. He offered a vow of a hundred mohurs and a hundred rupees and brought in an elephant for my inspection.

On the twelfth [March 21], I'timaduddawla's offering was displayed. The gems, textiles, and other rarities I liked were accepted. Of Afzal Khan's offering of elephants another ten were seen on this day.

On the thirteenth [March 22], Tarbiyat Khan's offering was viewed.

Mu'taqid Khan had bought a house in Agra, and he had been there only a few days when one catastrophe after another struck. We have heard that good and bad luck depend upon four things: wife, slave, house, and horse. There is a traditional method for determining the good or bad luck of a house—indeed, they say it is infallible. Dig the earth out of a small hole, and then pour the earth back into the hole. If it comes out level, it is indifferent and the house cannot be called lucky or unlucky. If it comes out less, it is a portent of bad luck; and if it comes out more, it is lucky.

On the fourteenth [March 23], I'tibar Khan's offering was displayed. What was acceptable was taken. I'tibar Khan's rank of 1300 was increased to 2000/500. I increased Tarbiyat Khan's rank by 500/50, making it 2000/850.

Islam Khan's son Hoshang, who had been in Bengal with his father, came on this day and paid homage. He brought some Mugg people,[1] whose territory is adjacent to Pegu and Arakan and in whose hands those territories are at this time. An inquiry was made into their religion and habits. In summary, they are a bunch of animals that look like human beings. They eat every part of every kind of sea and land animal. In their religion nothing is forbidden, and they eat with anyone. They take to wife their own

1. "Mugg, n.p. Beng. *Magh*. It is impossible to deviate without deterioration from Wilson's definition of this obscure name: 'A name commonly applied to the natives of Arakan, particularly those bordering on Bengal, or residing near the sea; the people of Chittagong.'" Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 594.

sister if she has a different mother. Their faces resemble the Qara Qalmaqs,[2] but their language is Tibetan and doesn't resemble Turkish at all. [There is] a single mountain range, [**93a**] one end of which is adjacent to Kashgar and the other end of which is at Pegu. They have no real religion or cult that could properly be called a religion at all. They are remote from the Muslim religion and know nothing of Hinduism.

Two or three days before the culmination, my son Khurram asked me to come to his house for a viewing of his Nawroz offering. I accepted his invitation and stayed a day and a night in my son's house. He displayed his offerings, and what I liked was taken. I gave the rest back.

The next day Murtaza Khan displayed his offering. He had assembled things of every sort. Every day until the culmination the offering of one or more of the amirs was displayed.

On Monday the nineteenth of Farvardin [March 28], an assembly for the culmination was held. On that auspicious day I sat on the throne of state, and an order was given for all sorts of intoxicants like wine and other things to be brought so that everyone could partake of whatever he wanted. Many partook of wine. Mahabat Khan's offering was presented on this day. I gave Yadgar-Ali, the ambassador of the ruler of Iran, a thousand-tola mohur called a *kawkab-i-tali'* [ascendant star].[3] The assembly was splendid. After I arose I ordered the paraphernalia of celebration taken away.

Muqarrab Khan's offering had not been arranged during the days of Nawroz. He had assembled fine rarities and valuables of every sort. Among them were twelve Arabian horses he had brought by ship and a jewel-studded saddle of European manufacture. Nawazish Khan's rank was increased by 500 suwar, making it 2000/2000 in all. An elephant named Mahant Badan that Islam Khan had sent from Bengal was displayed and made a royal elephant.

On the third of Urdibihisht [April 12], Abdullah Khan's brother Khwaja Yadgar came from Gujarat and paid homage. He paid a vow of a hundred Jahangiri mohurs. Since it was necessary to send an autonomous bakhshi to the army of Bangash and that area, I selected Mu'taqid Khan for this post, promoted him by 300/50 to [2]500/350, [**93b**] and gave him permission to depart. It was decided that he would set out soon.

I had given Muhammad-Husayn Khan Chelebi, who was very knowledgeable in buying gems and locating precious objects, some money and sent him to Istanbul via Persia to purchase fine rarities and valuables for the royal estate. With this itinerary it was necessary for him to pay homage to the ruler of Iran. I had given him a letter and a memento to take to him. In summary, he saw my brother Shah Abbas in the vicinity of Mashhad. The shah inquired of him, "What things are you ordered to purchase for his estate?" When he insisted, the *chelebi* showed him the list he had. Among the items on the list were good turquoise and bitumen from the mines of Isfahan. The shah said, "These two things can't be bought, but I will send them to him." He chose Uwaysi Topchi, one of his personal attendants, and he turned over to him six bags of turquoise, which contained approximately thirty seers of [turquoise] ore, along with fourteen tolas of bitumen, and four Persian horses, one of which was piebald. He also wrote a letter replete with expressions of unending love and friendship and apologized profusely for the inferiority of the ore and the small amount of bitumen. The ore appeared very [inferior]. No matter how hard the gem carvers and setters tried, they couldn't find a stone worthy of being made into a ring. Probably these days turquoise ore is not mined as it was during the late Shah Tahmasp's time. All this he mentioned in his letter.

I had heard many tales of the efficacy of bitumen, but when it was tried, it didn't have any. I don't know whether the physicians exaggerate its effect or whether its

2. The Qara Qalmaqs, or Karakalpaks, at present occupy an autonomous region in central Uzbekistan.

3. Above (page 27) Jahangir defines the *kawkab-i-tali'* as a 100-tola silver coin. A 1000-tola coin would be 12 kilograms, or over $26\frac{1}{2}$ pounds. Another presentation medallion weighing 8 kilograms, or $17\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, is described on page 180.

efficacy was diminished because it was old. In any case, according to the method prescribed by physicians, I had a chicken's leg broken and then had it fed more than they had said to. I also had some rubbed on the break and kept on it for three days, although it had been said that from morning to evening was sufficient. After it was examined, there was no trace of any effect. [**94a**] The break was just as it had been before.

On a separate sheet of paper [Shah Abbas] had written a recommendation of Salamullah Arab. That very moment I increased his rank, allotment, and jagir.

I sent Abdullah Khan a personal elephant with trappings, and another elephant was given to Qilich Khan. I ordered that payment should be made on 2000 suwar of Abdullah's total rank at the rate of *duaspa-seaspa*. Since previously an increase of 500/300 had been made to the rank of his brother Sardar Khan when he was assigned to Junagadh, and then the post had been assigned to Kamil Khan, I ordered the increase to be made permanent. I gave Sarafraz Khan an increase of 100 suwar to his rank of 1500/500.

Lunar Weighing Ceremony

On the Thursday the twenty-eighth of Urdibihisht, corresponding to the twenty-sixth of Rabi' I 1022 [May 6], the lunar weighing ceremony was held in Maryamuzzamani's quarters. I ordered some of the gold from the weighing distributed among the women and the needy who had gathered in my mother's quarters.

On this day Murtaza Khan was given a promotion of 1000, making his rank 6000/5000. Mirza Jani's slave Khusraw Beg came from Thatta with Abdul-Razzaq Ma'muri to pay homage. Abdullah Khan's brother Sardar Khan obtained leave to go to Ahmadabad in Gujarat.

An Afghan had brought two goats from the Carnatic that had bezoar stones. I had always heard that any animal with bezoar stones was very thin and miserable; however, these goats were quite fat and fit. I ordered one of them, the female, killed. Four bezoar stones were located, which was very astonishing.

Normally leopards do not mate outside of their natural habitat. My exalted father assembled a thousand leopards for a time in hopes that they would mate, but it didn't happen. Many times male and female leopards were allowed to roam in gardens with their collars off. This didn't work either. Around this time a male leopard broke its collar, attacked a female, and coupled. Two and a half months later three cubs were born that grew to maturity. [**94b**] Since this was very strange, it has been recorded and was taken as a good omen.

However much leopards do not mate, it is even more true for lions. For lions to mate in captivity has never been heard of. During the felicitous reign of this petitioner at the divine court wildness has been eliminated from the nature of wild beasts to such an extent that lions have become tame and roam in packs among people, without restraints or chains, and they neither harm them nor run away. By chance, a female lion became pregnant. After three months she gave birth to three cubs. We had never heard of a jungle lion mating after being taken captive. It had been heard from physicians that lion's milk is extremely beneficial for the brightness of the eye. However much we tried to get some milk to appear in her breasts, we couldn't. It occurs to me that since it is an animal of an irascible nature, either milk is produced in the breasts of mothers out of the affection they have for their children when the cubs drink and suck, or else when its breasts are squeezed to produce milk, its irascibility increases and its breasts dry up.

Toward the end of Urdibihisht, Khwaja Abdul-Aziz's brother Khwaja Qasim, one of the Naqshbandi khwajas, came from Transoxiana and paid homage. Several days later twelve thousand rupees were given to him as a sign of favor.

Since Khwaja Jahan had made a melon patch in the vicinity of town, after the elapse of two watches on Thursday the tenth of Khurdad [May 20], I got in a boat and went by river to see the melon patch. The women of the harem came along too. There were two or three gharis of daylight left when we arrived, and I spent the evening in the melon patch. Such an incredible wind and *jhakkar* [squall] came up that the tents and enclosures were blown down. I got back on the boat and spent the rest of the night there. I spent part of Thursday night touring the melon patch and then returned to town.

For a long time Afzal Khan had been afflicted with boils and strange lesions. He died on the tenth of Khurdad [May 20].

Raja Jagman had failed in his service in the Deccan. I relieved him of his jagir and homeland and gave it to Mahabat Khan. **[95a]**

Shaykh Pir has freed himself of all worldly attachments, but for the particular love and loyalty he bears me he has chosen to serve and accompany me. Prior to now he had begun to build a mosque in the pargana of Meerut, which is his homeland. Recently the fact happened to be mentioned. Because I discovered that he was bent upon completing the charitable building, I gave him four thousand rupees to take himself and spend. I also gave him a personal shawl to defray expenses and dismissed him.

Redecoration of the Hall of Public and Private Audience

Two wooden railings are in the Hall of Public and Private Audience. The amirs, emissaries, and people of standing are inside the first railing. No one may enter this circle without expressed order.

Inside the second railing, a larger space than the first, all persons are admitted—holders of inferior rank, ahadis, and persons who can be called liege men. Liege men of amirs[4] and all other persons who come into the audience hall stand outside this railing.

Since there was no difference between the first and second railings, it occurred to me that the first railing should be covered in silver. I ordered it and the staircase that leads from it to the balcony of the jharoka, as well as the two lions on either side of the seat in the jharoka, which skilled craftsmen had carved of wood, covered in silver. After completion it was reported that 125 Hindustani maunds of silver, which is equivalent to 880 Persian maunds, had been used. It had truly acquired a different splendor and look.

On the third of Tir [June 13], Muzaffar Khan came from Thatta and paid homage. He brought twelve mohurs in fulfillment of a vow. He displayed for my view a jewel-encrusted copy of the Koran and two jewel-studded flowers as an offering.

On the fourth of the month [June 14], Safdar Khan came from Bihar and paid homage. He brought a hundred mohurs in fulfillment of a vow.

After Muzaffar Khan had been in attendance for a few days I promoted him 500 zat and awarded him a banner. I also gave him a personal shawl and gave him leave to go to Thatta.

Elephants Bitten by a Mad Dog

I knew that any animal bitten by a mad dog would certainly die, but until now it wasn't known to be true of elephants. One night during my reign, however, a mad dog got

4. Reading *nokaran-i umara* (liege men of amirs) for the text's *nokaran u umara* (liege men and amirs).

into the area in which one of my personal elephants, Kachhi by name, was tied and bit the leg of the female elephant that was my elephant's companion. [**95b**] The female immediately roared, and the elephant keeper came running and drove the dog away into a thorn brake in the vicinity. A little later it came back out, went to my elephant, and bit it on the leg. The elephant stepped on the dog and killed it. One cloudy day a month and five days later, a clap of thunder hit the female's ear while it was grazing. All at once it bellowed, its limbs began to tremble, and it threw itself on the ground. It got up again, but it drooled for seven days until suddenly it bellowed in distress. No treatment the elephant keepers tried did any good. On the seventh day it fell down dead.

One month after the female elephant's death they were taking the male to the fields by the river bank, and it was cloudy and thundering again. In a rage the elephant began trembling and sat down on the ground. The keepers brought it home, showing every sort of kindness and concern, but after the same period of time and in the same way the female had died this one died too. Such an occurrence was astonishing. It is truly amazing that an animal with a body so large and big could be affected so by a wound inflicted by an animal so small.

Since the Khankhanan had repeatedly requested that his son Shahnawaz Khan be given leave to depart court, on the fourth of Amurdad [July 15] I gave him a horse and robe of honor and gave him leave to go to the Deccan.

For outstanding performance I promoted Ya'qub Badakhshi, whose rank was 700/50, to the rank of 1500/1000 and awarded him the title of khan. I also gave him the privilege of a banner.

The Castes of India

There are four major castes in India. Each has its own particular customs and ways, and each has its own special day. First is the caste of the Brahmin, which means one who makes the unqualifiable deity known. Their duties consist of six things: to acquire knowledge, to teach others, to worship fire, to guide the people to worship, to give something to the needy, and to receive gifts. [**96a**] This caste has a specific day, which is the end of the month of Savan, the second month after the rainy season. They consider this day holy, and on it their devotees go to the banks of rivers and reservoirs, recite incantations, and blow on ropes and threads. The next day, which is the beginning of the new year,[5] they tie the threads around the hands of rajas and elders as votives and consider them good omens. They call these threads *rakhi*, which means maintenance. This day occurs during the month of Tir, when the sun is in Cancer.

5. This is incorrect and probably a slip of the pen on Jahangir's part. He says correctly below that Holi marks the end of the year.

The second caste is the Chhatri, which is also known as Khattri. The Chhatri caste's purpose is to protect the oppressed from the aggression of oppressors. The customs of this caste consist of three things: first, to study but not to teach others; second, to worship fire but not to proselytize others; third, to give to the needy but not to take anything themselves, no matter how needy they may be. This caste's day is Bijae Dasmi. On this day it is considered lucky among them to ride and lead armies against an enemy. Ram Chand, whom they worship as a god, overcame his enemy on this day. They consider it an important day, and on it they caparison their elephants and horses and do their worship. This day falls in the month of Shahrivar, when the sun is in Virgo. They give bonuses to the keepers of horses and elephants.

The third caste is the Baish. This caste serves the two already mentioned. Agriculture, buying and selling, making profit, and taking interest are their jobs. This caste also has a special day, which is called Divali. This day falls in the month of Mihr, when the sun is in Libra, the twenty-eighth of the lunar month. On the eve of this day they

light lamps, and friends and relatives gather in each other's houses and gamble with great gusto. Since this caste's livelihood is from profit and interest, they consider carrying accounts forward and opening new accounts on this day a good omen.

The fourth caste is the Shudra, the lowest of the Hindu castes. They serve everyone and take no part in any of the things that pertain to the other castes. [96b] Their day is Holi, which in their belief is the last day of the year. This day falls in the month of Isfandarmudh, when the sun is in Pisces. On the eve of this day they light fires in all the lanes and streets. When it is daylight they spray powder on each other's heads and faces for one watch and create an amazing uproar. After that, they wash themselves, put their clothes on, and go out to gardens and fields. Since it is an established custom among the Hindus to burn their dead, the lighting of fires on the last night of the year is a metaphor for burning the old year as though it were a corpse.

Celebration of Rakhi

During my exalted father's time the Hindu amirs and other groups celebrated Rakhi by tying on his blessed arms rubies, pearls, and flowers studded with precious gems strung on threads. The custom went on for several years. When the extravagance went beyond all bounds, it became displeasing to him and he forbade it, [although] as a good omen the Brahmins continued to tie these strings and silk threads because it was their custom. This year I have followed his good example and ordered that the Hindu amirs and notables of this caste should [not] tie rakhis around my arm. On the day of Rakhi, which was the ninth of Amurdad [July 20], once again the spectacle was held, and the castes could no longer be prevented from a fanatical observance. I agreed to it for the [next] year and ordered that, according to ancient custom, the Brahmins could tie strings and silken threads.



JAHANGIR HELPED TO BED BY LADIES, attributed to Govardhan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor on paper. 24 x 15 cm. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. 7A.4

His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's *urs* happened to fall on this day.[6] The *urs* is a custom observed in Hindustan. Every year on the anniversary of the death of a beloved, food, sweets, and various aromatics are arranged according to one's station and ability, and the learned, pious, and others gather. Sometimes the assembly lasts a week. On this

6. It was the anniversary of Akbar's death by the lunar calendar, the thirteenth of Jumada II, which fell on the twenty-first of July that year

day I sent Baba Khurram to my father's blessed tomb to hold the assembly. Two thousand rupees were given to trusted servants to distribute to the poor and needy.



On the fifteenth of Amurdad [July 26], Islam Khan's offering was displayed for view. He had sent sixty-eight elephants, four horses from that territory known as *tankis*,[7] [97a] fifty eunuchs, and five hundred valuable percaulas from Sonargaon.[8]

A standing rule had been made that events that took place in all soubas, particularly those on the frontiers, should be reported, and to this end reporters were assigned from court. This is an example my exalted father set, and I follow it. It has been seen to have major benefits and affords another source of information on the affairs of the world and those in it. If all the benefits were to be written, it would drag on too long.

Around this time the reporter in Lahore had written that at the end of the month of Tir ten men were on their way from the city to Amnabad, twelve kos away. The weather was very hot, and they took shelter in the shade of a tree. Just then a wind and a squall arose, and when it blew on the men they all fell to trembling, and nine of them gave up the ghost under the tree. One was left alive, but he was ill for a long time, although he finally recovered after much suffering. The animals that were nesting in the tree had all fallen dead. In the vicinity the air became so destructive that the wild beasts came into the fields and threw themselves down, rolled on the crops, and died. Many animals died.

On Thursday the twenty-first of Amurdad [August 1], I took an augury with my rosary beads and got in a boat to go hunting in Samugarh, one of my favorite hunting grounds.

On the third of Shahrivar [August 14], Khan Alam arrived here and paid homage. I had summoned him from the Deccan in order to send him to Persia and have him escort the ambassador of the ruler of Iran. He offered a hundred mohurs in fulfillment of a vow.

Samugarh was in Mahabat Khan's jagir, and he had constructed a delightful and very ornate rest house on the bank of the river. I liked it a lot. He offered an elephant and a ring with an emerald stone. I made the elephant one of my personal elephants.

I was thus occupied until the sixth of Shahrivar [August 17]. During these few days forty-seven male and female antelopes and other animals were hunted.

During these days Dilawar Khan offered a ruby. It was accepted. [97b] I sent a personal sword to Islam Khan. Hasan-Ali Türkmän's rank of 1000/700 was increased by 500/100.

Solar Weighing Ceremony

Toward the end of Thursday the twentieth of the month [August 31], the solar weighing ceremony was held in Maryamuzzamani's quarters, and, as usual, I had myself weighed against precious metals and other things. This year I was forty-four solar years old.

Around this time Yadgar-Ali, the ambassador of the ruler of Iran, and Khan Alam, who had been assigned to escort him hence, were given leave to depart. Yadgar-Ali was given a horse with a jewel-studded saddle, a jewel-studded girth sword, a gold-brocaded charqab, a jewel-studded aigrette with ornamental feathers, and thirty thousand rupees in cash, for a total worth forty thousand rupees. I gave Khan Alam a jewel-studded khapwa with a phul-katara and a pendant of pearls.[9]

7. Islam Khan was then governor of Bengal, which must be "that territory."

8. Percaula: "H. *parkálá* 'a spark, a piece of glass.' These were probably some kind of spangled robe, set with pieces of glass, as some of the modern phoolkaris are" (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 708) The correct reading and meaning of the last word is questionable: *sunargami*, "from Sonargaon," would fit the context since Islam Khan was in Bengal.

9. Khan Alam's entry into Qazwin is noticed by Iskandar Beg (*Alamara-yi Abbasi*, 2:939) as follows: "On the day that Khan Alam entered Qazwin, the writer of this book had remained in the

On the twenty-second of the month [September 2], I mounted an elephant to go to my exalted father's blessed tomb at Bihishtabad. Along the way I scattered five thousand rupees in small coins. I gave Khwaja Jahan another five thousand rupees to distribute to the poor. Having performed the evening prayer, I got in a boat to return to town. Since I'timaduddawla's quarters were on the banks of the Jumna, I got off there and spent the night at his house. I remained there until the end of the next day. Having accepted what pleased me of his offering, I set out for the palace.

I'tiqad Khan's quarters are also on the banks of the Jumna. At his request I and the people of the harem stopped there and inspected his quarters, which he had recently built. It was truly a nice, enjoyable place. I liked it very much. He had arranged a suitable offering of various textiles, gems, and other valuables. It was all paraded past my view, and I liked most of it. Around evening I entered the royal palace.

Departure for Ajmer

As the astrologers and astronomers had chosen tonight as the hour for departure for Ajmer, I left Agra in good fortune and auspiciousness after seven gharis of the night, on the second of Sha'ban [September 7], corresponding to the twenty-fourth of Shahrivar. I had two things in mind on this trip. One was to make a visit to the blessed shrine of Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti, [**98a**] from the blessedness of whose holy spirit great miracles have been granted to this exalted dynasty. It had not been possible to visit his tomb since my accession. Second was to deal with the damn Rana Amar Singh, one of the major landholders and rajas of Hindustan, whose chieftainship and command, and that of his fathers and forefathers, are accepted by all the rajas and rais of this land.

Rana Amar Singh

Great fortune and leadership have long been in the family. They ruled for a long time in the east, the Purab, and in those days they were known by the title of raja. After that, they went to the Deccan and took over most of those provinces, and instead of raja they made the epithet Rup part of their names. After that, they entered the hill country of Mewat, and little by little they took control of the strongholds of Chitor. From that date until today, which is the eighth year of my reign, it will have been 1,471 years. Twenty-six of this line, the length of whose reigns is 1,010 years, have held the title Rawal. From Rawal, who was the first person to become known as a rai, to Rana Amar Singh, who is rana today, twenty-six individuals have been chieftains and commanders over a period of 461 years. Over this long period they have bowed in submission to no sultan of the land of India, and most of the time they have been in a state of insubordination and insurgence. For example, during His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur]'s reign Rana Sanga assembled all the rajas, rais, and zamindars of this province and fought a battle in the vicinity of Bayana with a hundred eighty thousand horsemen and several lacs of foot soldiers. With God's assistance, and with good luck, the invincible forces of Islam overcame the infidels, and a devastating defeat was dealt to the rana. The details of this battle are recorded in standard histories, particularly in the memoirs composed by His Majesty Firdaws-Makani.[10]

My exalted father—may his blessed tomb be the locus of infinite grace—made great efforts to deal with these insubordinates [**98b**] and several times assigned expeditions against them. In the twelfth year of his reign he set out to conquer the fortress of Chitor, which is one of the strongest fortifications in the world, and to overthrow

city and witnessed his elaborate elegance. It has been heard from men who have seen much of the world that from the beginning of this dynasty until now no ambassador from India or Anatolia has ever come to Iran with so much pomp and circumstance. . . . At the time that Khan Alam first set foot on Iranian territory he was accompanied by up to a thousand grand imperial servants. He had his own personal retinue, aside from his servants' servants and menials, of whom two hundred were falconers and huntsmen, and some of these he sent back from Herat. On the day he arrived in Qazwin he had seven or eight hundred imperial servants, his own retainers, his retainers' retainers and servants, and animal keepers. There were ten huge elephants furnished with golden platforms and seats and other various paraphernalia, and all sorts of animals—tigers, panthers, Indian antelope and deer, leopards, rhinoceros, birds that could speak, and water buffalo that drew palanquins and carts."

10. See Babur, *Baburnama*, folio 316a



PORTRAIT OF MU'INUDDIN CHISHTI, by Bichitr. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 21.8 x 13 cm. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. 7A.14



JAHANGIR HOLDING A GLOBE, by Bichitr. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 20.5 x 12.7 cm. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. 7A.5

the realm of the Rana. After holding the fortress under siege for four months and ten days and battling with all his strength, he took the fortress from Rana Amar Singh's father's people, razed it, and withdrew. Every time the imperial forces forced him into a corner and were either about to capture him or destroy him and drive him into exile, something happened to prevent it. Finally, toward the end of his reign, at one and the same hour of the same day my father both set out himself to conquer the Deccan and dispatched me against the Rana with a huge army and important commanders. As it happened, for reasons that would take too long to tell, neither plan succeeded.

Then it came my time to rule. Because I had left this affair half done, the first expedition I sent to this realm after my accession to the throne was one [to the Deccan,] of which I made my son Parvez commander. To this task I assigned the grandees of state who were present at the foot of the throne, sent along with them a full war chest and a well-stocked arsenal, and saw them off.

Everything depends on timing—just then the affair of the wretched Khusraw took place. There was nothing for me to do but go to the Punjab in pursuit of him, and the heart of the realm and the capital Agra were left undefended. Of necessity I wrote to Parvez and some of the amirs to return and guard Agra and vicinity. In short, this time the expedition against the Rana did not happen as it should have. Once my mind was at ease concerning Khusraw and the imperial banners were again back in Agra, imperial forces were assigned to the command of Mahabat Khan, Abdullah Khan, and others. From that time until the imperial banners set forth for Ajmer, the Rana's country has been trampled under the feet of my victorious forces, but still the affair has not been settled satisfactorily. It occurs to me that since I don't have anything to do in Agra, I am certain it will never succeed unless I go myself. [**99a**]

I left the Agra fortress at the usual hour and went to Dahra Garden. The next day was the festival of Dasehra, and as usual horses and elephants were caparisoned and paraded past my view.

Since his stepmothers and sisters repeatedly told me that Khusraw was sorry and repentant for what he had done, my paternal affection was stirred and I summoned him and ordered him to come for körünüsh every day. We stayed in the above-mentioned garden for eight days.

On the twenty-eighth [September 11], news was received that Raja Ram Das, who was accompanying the governor in Bangash and the Kabul vicinity, had died.

On the first of Mihr [September 12], we decamped from the garden, and I gave Khwaja Jahan leave to depart to guard Agra and keep watch on the treasuries and administration. He was given an elephant and a personal cloak.

On the second of Mihr [September 13], news was received that Raja Baso had died at the outpost of Shahabad, which is on the border of the damn Rana's country.

On the tenth of the month [September 21], we stopped in Rupbas, which is now called Amnabad. The area was formerly Rup Khawass's jagir, but then I gave it to Mahabat Khan's son Amanullah and ordered it to be called after him.

On the eleventh [September 22] we remained there. Since it is a favorite hunting ground, I went out hunting every day, bagging during these few days 158 antelopes, male and female, and other animals.

On the twenty-fifth of the month [October 6], I ordered a decampment from Amnabad, and on the thirty-first, corresponding to the eighth of Ramadan [October 12], Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, whom I had summoned from Burhanpur, came and paid

homage. He presented fifty mohurs, a few jeweled utensils, and an elephant, which I made a personal elephant.

On the second of Aban, corresponding to the tenth of Ramadan [October 14], news arrived that Qilich Khan, one of the old servants of the state, had passed away at the age of eighty. He had served in Peshawar fighting the benighted Afghans, and his rank was 6000/5000.

Murtaza Khan Dakkani was without equal in the art of *pulthabazi*,[11] which the Deccanis call *ekangi* [**99b**] and the Moghuls call *shamsherbazi* [sword play]. I practiced this exercise with him for a while. I now gave him the title of Warzish Khan.

I had made it a rule that at night the needy and the poor should be brought before my gaze so that I could consider the circumstances of each one and give them land, cash, and clothing. One of them told me that the name Jahangir was numerically equivalent to *Allahu akbar*.[12] I took this as a good omen and gave the man who had discovered it land, a horse, and a robe of honor.

The hour for entering Ajmer had been determined for Monday the fifth of Shawwal [November 8], corresponding to the twenty-sixth of Aban. That morning I set out. When the walls and buildings of the exalted khwaja's shrine came into view, I went about a kos on foot and assigned my escorts to give money to the poor and needy as they proceeded. When four gharis of the day had passed I entered the town, and at the fifth ghari I received the honor of visiting the blessed tomb. After performing a visitation I set out for the royal palace, and the next day I ordered everyone present at the shrine, young and old, citizen and traveler, to pass before my view so that I could make them happy with abundant gifts according to their merits.

On the seventh of Azar [November 18], I went out to tour and hunt at Pushkar Tank, one of the Hindus' major holy places. They say things about its virtues that no sound mind would accept. It is located three kos from Ajmer. I set out for there and hunted water fowl at the tank for two or three days. Then I returned to Ajmer. All around the edges of the tank can be seen ancient and new temples, which the Hindus call *dewhra*. Rana Shankar, the uncle of the damn Rana and a great amir in our state, built one of them so elaborately that it is said he spent a lac of rupees on it. I went to see it. There I saw something made of carved black stone. From the neck up it had the shape of a pig's head, [**100a**] while the rest resembled a man's body. It is the Hindus' vain belief that once upon a time for some reason known only to the Omniscient, He appeared in this form. They therefore revere and worship this form. I ordered the hideous thing smashed and thrown into the tank.

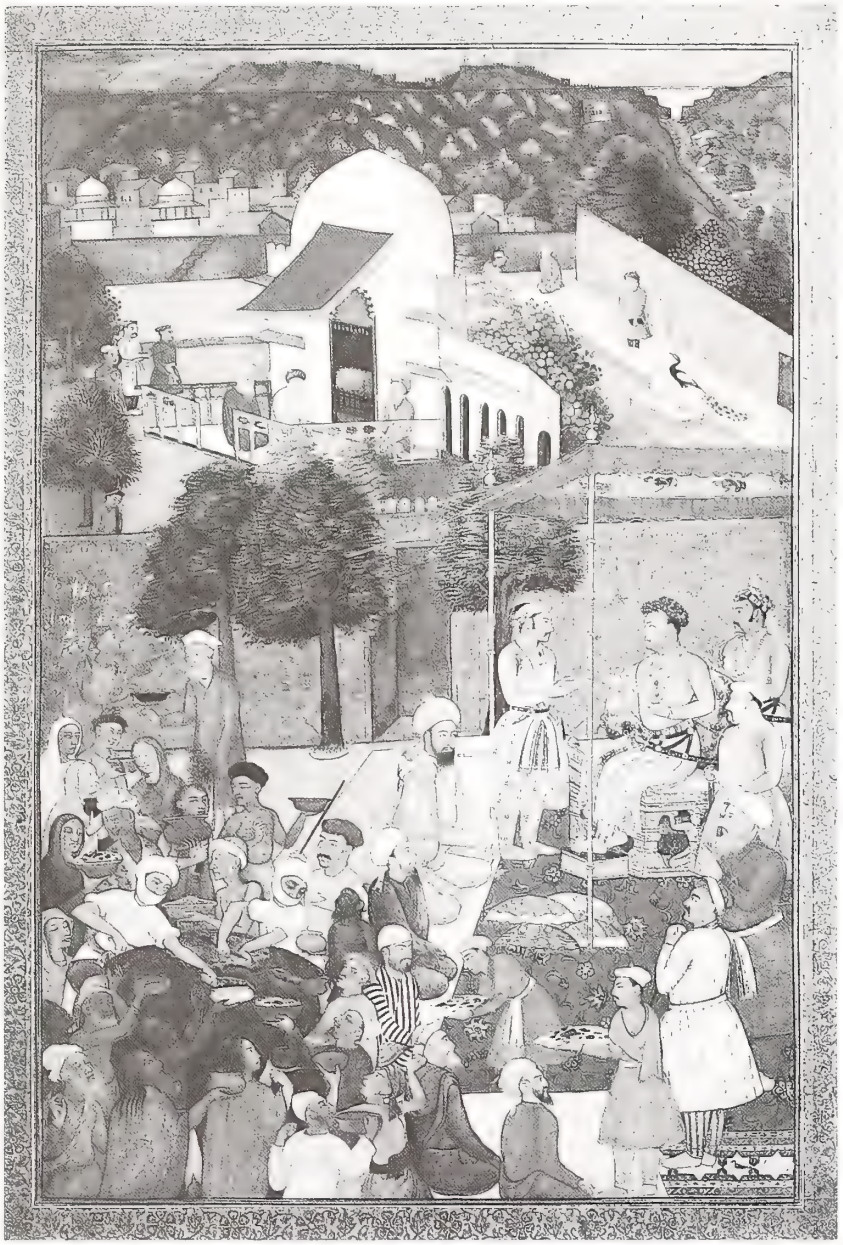
After inspecting the building, I saw on the summit of the mountain a white dome, to which people flock from all directions. I asked what it was. They said there was a yogi there, and the simpletons who go to see him are given a handful of flour. They put it in their mouths and make the sound of an animal they have injured at some time so that by means of that act they can wash away the sin. I ordered this place destroyed, the yogi driven away, and the idol that was in the dome smashed.

They also believe that the tank is bottomless. After experimentation it became apparent that in no place was it more than twelve ells deep. The perimeter was also measured and found to be nearly a kos and a half.

On the sixteenth of Azar [November 27], news was received that the scouts had surrounded a lioness. I set out immediately. As soon as I arrived I shot it and returned. Several days later a nilgai was hunted, and I ordered it skinned and cooked to be fed to the poor in my presence. Two hundred and some people gathered and ate the food. I gave each of them a coin with my own hand.

11. It has been suggested (Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* [trans. Rogers] 1:451, note to p. 253) that for *pultha*, which cannot be found in the dictionaries, we read *patta*, which is indeed a blade or foil used in fencing, but it is difficult to adapt such a reading to the way the word is written.

12. *Allahu akbar* (God is great) is one of the principal slogans of Islam. It is used for a variety of purposes ranging from the call to prayer to battle cries.



JAHANGIR DISPENSING FOOD AT AJMER. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620 or later. Opaque watercolor on paper. 31.5 x 20.7 cm. The Prince of Wales Museum of Western India. 29.6257

During this same month news was received that the Franks of Goa had broken their word and plundered in the vicinity of the port of Surat four foreign ships that frequented that port. They had also taken many Muslims captive and seized possession of goods and chattels that were on the ships. This was very disagreeable to me. I gave Muqarrab Khan, in whose charge the port lies, a horse, an elephant, and a robe of honor to go and make compensation in the matter, and I dismissed him on the eighteenth of Azar [November 29].

Because of outstanding services performed by Yusuf Khan and Bahadur Malik in the Deccan, I awarded them banners and had them sent.

Khurram is Sent to Mewar

It has been written that the primary aim of this trip, **[100b]** after visiting the khwaja's shrine, was to deal with the damn Rana. On that score it occurred to me to stop in Ajmer and send my lucky son Baba Khurram. It was a very good idea, and therefore, on the sixth of Day [December 16], at the hour chosen, I gave him leave to depart with prosperity and auspiciousness. I gave him a gold-brocaded coat with jewel-studded flowers surrounded by pearls, a gold-brocaded turban with pearl fringe, a gold-spun scarf with pearl beading, a personal elephant of mine named Fath Gaj with its caparison, a personal horse, a jeweled sword, and a jeweled khapwa with a phul-katara. Aside from the men who had been assigned previously to Khan A'zam's command, I assigned another twelve thousand cavalry to escort my son. I gave the commanders personal horses, elephants, and fine robes of honor, according to their stations, and gave them leave to depart. Fidai Khan was assigned the post of bakhshi to this contingent.

At the same time Safdar Khan was given the governorship of Kashmir in succession to Hashim Khan and given a horse and robe of honor.

On Wednesday the eleventh [December 21], I made Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan chief bakhshi and awarded him a robe of honor.

In Agra I had ordered a large kettle made for the khwaja's blessed shrine. Around this time it was brought. I ordered food for the poor cooked in it. The poor of Ajmer

were assembled to be fed in the royal presence. Five thousand persons attended, and all ate their fill of the food. After they had eaten I gave each of the poor a coin with my own hand and dismissed them.

Islam Khan, the governor of Bengal, received a promotion to the rank of 6000. Mu'azzam Khan's son Mukarram Khan was awarded a banner.

On the first of Isfandarmudh, corresponding to the tenth of Muharram 1023 [February 10, 1614], I went out of Ajmer to hunt nilgai. [101a]

On the ninth [February 18], I returned and camped at the Hafiz-Jamal spring, two kos from town, and spent Thursday night there. At the end of the next day I entered the city. During the eight days ten nilgais had been taken.

Since Khwaja Jahan's good service in protecting Agra with few troops was reported, his rank was increased by 500/100.

Around this same time, Abu'l-Fath Dakkani, who had come from his jagir, paid homage.

On the thir[teen]th of the month [February 22], news arrived of the death of Islam Khan on Thursday [the fifth] of Rajab 1022 [August 11]. Without any previous illness or complaint, the inevitable had struck him in one day. None of the khanazads or protégés had ever exhibited the competence he had. He governed Bengal autonomously and brought into the jurisdiction of the province areas held by jagirdars that had not previously been under imperial control. If he hadn't met his end, he would have performed superior services.

Although Khan A'zam had begged and pleaded for the prince to be appointed to the campaign, despite the prince's appointment and all the cajoling and persuasion my son the prince employed, Khan A'zam would not cooperate and continued to act in his own displeasing manner. When this was heard, I sent Ibrahim-Husayn, one of my trusted attendants, to him to relay my kind and loving words: "When you were in Burhanpur you begged me for this task. In assemblies and gatherings every time you mentioned this service, in which you considered your happiness in this world and the next, you said, 'If I am killed on this expedition, I'll be a martyr; and if I am triumphant, I'll be a ghazi.' Well, I gave it to you. All reinforcements and assistance you wanted were provided. After that, you wrote saying, 'Without the departure of the imperial banners to this area, the execution of this task will not be without difficulty.' At your advice the imperial banners were sent to Ajmer. Now that you have reasonably entreated me for the prince, and everything has been done as you advised and approved, what's wrong? It looks as though you have withdrawn from the field and have refused to cooperate. I sent Baba Khurram, from whom I have never been separated, purely because I trusted in your competence. [101b] You must be supportive and loyal and never, day or night, be negligent of my son. If you act contrary to this and step outside your authority, know that you will suffer."

Ibrahim-Husayn left and conveyed these very words to him. It did no good. He refused to back down from his folly and stubbornness. When Baba Khurram saw that the khan's presence there was only making things worse, he kept him under watch and reported that it was entirely inappropriate for him to be there and that he was spoiling things purely on account of the relationship he had to Khusraw.[13] I ordered Mahabat Khan to go bring him from Udaipur, and Muhammad-Taqi, the divan of the imperial workshops, was assigned to go to Mandasor and bring his children and household to Ajmer.

On the eleventh of the month [February 20],[14] news arrived that Rai Rai Singh's son Dulip, whose very nature was a source of rebellion and corruption, had suffered a

13. Khusraw was Khan A'zam's son-in-law. See above, page 99.

14. Reading *yazdahum* (eleventh) for the text's *panzdahum* (fifteenth)

major defeat at the hands of his younger brother, Suraj Singh, who had been appointed to attack him. Dulip was holed up in a fortress in the Hissar sarkar. Not long afterward, Hashim Khosti, the garrison commander and jagir of the vicinity, captured him and brought him to court in chains. Since he had repeatedly misbehaved, he was executed, and his death served as a good example to other miscreants. As a reward for service Rao Suraj Singh's rank was increased by 500/200.

On the fourteenth [February 23], a report came from Baba Khurram saying that the elephant Alam-Guman, of which the rana was inordinately proud, had been captured by the imperial forces along with seventeen other elephants, and soon its owner would be captured too.

The Ninth Regnal Year: March 11, 1614–March 10, 1615

The Ninth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

Two watches and one ghari had elapsed of the eve of Friday the ninth of the month of Safar in the year 1023 [March 11, 1614] when the world-illuminating sun entered the constellation of Aries, its house of splendor and culmination. The next morning, the first day of Farvardin of the ninth year [of my reign], a new year's celebration was held in the pleasant region of Ajmer. At the very hour the sun entered Aries, which is an auspicious hour, I sat on the throne of felicity and fortune. As was customary, the palace had been decorated with precious textiles and jeweled vessels.

At this auspicious time the elephant Alam-Guman, who was worthy of being a royal elephant, was paraded past my view along with the Rana's seventeen other male and female elephants my son Baba Khurram had sent, **[102a]** giving much joy and happiness to our supporters.

On the second day of Nawroz, on which riding is considered auspicious, I mounted a horse and scattered many coins.

On the third day [of Nawroz] I increased I'tiqad Khan's rank, which was 2000/500, to 3000/1000 and gave him the title of Asaf Khan, a title that two persons in this dynasty have enjoyed.[1] Diyanat Khan's rank was also increased by 500/200.

Also during these days I increased I'timaduddawla's rank to 5000/200. By request of Baba Khurram, I increased Sayf Khan's rank by 500/200, Dilawar Khan's by 500/500, and Kishan Singh's by 500. Sarafraz Khan's rank was increased by 500/600.

On Sunday the tenth [March 21], Asaf Khan's offering was placed before the royal gaze.

On the fourteenth [March 25], I'timaduddawla presented his offering. Among these two offerings were spied precious things. I took what pleased me, and the rest I gave back.

Chïn-Qilich Khan and his brothers, in-laws, and his father's legion came from Kabul and paid homage.

Ibrahim Khan, who held the rank of 700/300, was promoted to the rank of 1500/600 and assigned the grand post of bakhshi in the palace in conjunction with Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan.

On the fifteenth of the month [March 26], Mahabat Khan, who had been assigned to bring Khan A'zam and his son Abdullah, came and paid homage.

On the nineteenth [March 30], an assembly of culmination was held. On this day Mahabat Khan's offering was passed before our gaze. An elephant named Rup Sundar

1. The two previous Asaf Khans were Ghiyasuddin Ali Qazwini (d. 1581) and his nephew Mirza Qiwamuddin Ja'far Beg (d. 1612). See Shahnawaz Khan Awrangabadi, *Ma'athiru'l-umara*, 1:280–82 and 1:282–87.



PORTRAIT OF MIRZA RUSTAM, possibly by Hashim. India, Mughal period, ca. 1635. Opaque watercolor on paper. 16.7 x 9.6 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, from the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase. M.78.9.14

was sent to our son Parvez. After the day had passed, I ordered Khan A'zam turned over to Asaf Khan to be held in the fortress at Gwalior. Since the reason he was being sent to the fortress was so that he could not stir up trouble during the Rana campaign because of the connection he had to Khusraw, I ordered him held as a prisoner in the fortress, although the necessities of leisure and comfort such as food and clothing were to be made available to him.

During these days I promoted Chïn-Qilich Khan to the rank of 2500/700. [**102b**] The rank of Taj Khan, who had been assigned as governor in the province of Bhakkar, was increased by 500/500.

On the eighteenth of Urdibihisht [April 29], I forbade Khusraw to perform körünüsh for the following reason. Because of my paternal compassion and affection and because of his stepmothers' and sisters' entreaties I had ordered that he could come for körünüsh every day. Since there were never any signs of gladness or happiness in his face, and he always seemed to me to be bored and preoccupied, I ordered that he not come any more.

Mirza Sultan-Husayn Safavi's Son

During my exalted father's time Mirza Muzaffar-Husayn and Mirza Rustam, the sons of Shah Tahmasp Safavi's nephew Mirza Sultan-Husayn, held Kandahar, Zamin Dawar, and those regions.[2] Because of the proximity of Khurasan and the coming of Abdullah Khan Uzbek to that realm, they sent letters, saying, "We are incapable of holding this province. If you will send one of the servants of your court here, we will turn these regions over to him and come ourselves to pay homage." When similar requests had been made repeatedly, [my father] sent Shah Beg Khan, who is presently entitled Khan Dawran, to become governor of Kandahar, Zamin Dawar, and that area, and decrees of patronage were issued to the mirzas summoning them to court. When they arrived they were inundated with favor and assigned provinces with incomes two or three times that of Kandahar. However, they did not live up to expectations, and little by little they were dismissed from their provinces.

Muzaffar-Husayn Mirza passed away during my father's lifetime, and Mirza Rustam was sent with the Khankhanan to the Deccan, where he had a small jagir.

2. By "Kandahar, Zamin Dawar, and those regions" he means the present-day provinces of Registan, Helmand, and Dasht-i Margaw in Afghanistan.

When the throne was graced by me, I summoned him from the Deccan intending to show him favor[3] and send him to one of the frontiers. No sooner had he arrived than Mirza Ghazi Tarkhan, who held the governorship of Thatta, Kandahar, and those regions, passed away. It occurred to me to send Mirza Rustam to Thatta so that he could show his mettle there by protecting that country satisfactorily. I therefore promoted him to the rank of 5000/5000, awarded him two lacs of rupees in cash to defray expenses, and gave him leave to depart as governor of Thatta. [**103a**]

It was expected that he would perform well there, but contrary to expectation, he did nothing useful and allowed tyranny and corruption to reach a level that caused many to complain of his conduct. So many adverse reports were received about him that it became necessary to recall him. I dispatched one of the court servants to summon him and recall him to court. He was produced on the twenty-sixth of Urdibihisht [May 7]. Because his tyranny and aggression against God's creatures had been so great, an inquiry was necessary in the interests of justice. I therefore turned him over to Ani Rai Singhdalan until an investigation could be made. In the end he was given a severe chastisement, and others too were punished as examples.

The Defeat of Ahdad the Afghan

Around this same time news came of the defeat of Ahdad the Afghan. The facts are as follows. Mu'taqid Khan was camped in Pulam Guzar in the vicinity of Peshawar with imperial troops, and Khan Dawran was headed out against the monster with another troop in the Kabul area. Just then a letter came to Mu'taqid Khan from Besh Bulagh saying that Ahdad had come to Kot Tirah, twenty-five kos from Jalalabad, with a large force of horsemen and foot soldiers. He had killed some of those who had elected subservience to the empire and taken others captive, and now he was about to send his forces to Tirah and wanted to attack Jalalabad and Besh Bulagh.

As soon as this news arrived, Mu'taqid Khan set out in all haste, and when he reached Besh Bulagh he sent out spies to find out what the enemy was up to. On Wednesday morning the sixth [April 17], he received information that Ahdad was in the same place. Relying on the divine favor that surrounds this petitioner at the divine court, he divided the imperial forces into two contingents and went against the foe.

Since [Ahdad] had four or five thousand cavalrymen and foot soldiers, he had perfect confidence in himself and didn't dream that there was a force in the area other than Khan Dawran's that could tangle with him. When he learned that imperial forces were headed his way, and when traces of the army could be seen, in consternation he divided his men into four troops and went up himself to the top of a hill about a musket shot high, access to which was very difficult, and sent his men into battle. The imperial musketeers cornered the rebels, shot them, and sent a large number of them to hell. Mu'taqid Khan took his center up to the forward contingent and swept the enemy away without giving them a chance to fire more than two or three shots. Pursuing them for three or four kos, they killed nearly fifteen hundred horsemen and foot soldiers. Most of the rest were wounded, and, throwing down their weapons, they took flight.

The imperial forces spent the night on the battlefield, and the next morning they severed six hundred heads and brought them to Peshawar, where a tower of skulls was erected. Five hundred horses, innumerable sheep, and many goods and weapons were taken. [**103b**] The prisoners from Tirah were released. No one of consequence from our side was lost.

3. Reading *ri'ayat numuda* (show favor) for the text's *ri'ayat nanumuda* (not show favor), which makes no sense in the context.



Jahangir Celebrates the Festival of Abpashi, attributed to Anant. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 32.4 x 22.9 cm. Raza Library, Rampur. Album 1, folio 5a

The eve of Thursday the first of Khurdad [circa May 12] I went to Pushkar to hunt lions.[4] On Friday I shot two lions. On the same day I was told that Naqib Khan had passed away. He was a Sayfi sayyid and originally from Qazwin. The tomb of his father, Mir Abdul-Latif, is also in Ajmer. Two months before he died, his wife, for whom he had the utmost affection, had a fever for twelve days and tasted the bitter dregs of death. I ordered him buried beside his wife, who had been laid to rest in the blessed khwaja's shrine.

Since Mu'taqid Khan had performed outstandingly in the battle with Ahdad, he was granted the title of Lashkar Khan as a reward. Diyanat Khan, who had been sent to Baba Khurram in Udaipur and to deliver some orders, came back on the seventh of Khurdad [circa May 18] and gave a good report of Baba Khurram's procedures and arrangements.

Fidai Khan, a servant from my princely days who was shown various favors after the accession and made bakhshi to the expedition, bade farewell to life on the twelfth of the month [May 23].

Since Mirza Rustam was exhibiting regret and repentance for his evil deeds, I was compelled by valor to forgive his shortcomings. I summoned him toward the end of the month, put his mind at ease, had him clad in a robe of honor, and ordered him to come regularly for körünüsh and salaam.

On the eve of Sunday the eleventh of Tir [circa June 22], a female elephant from my personal stable gave birth in my presence. I had repeatedly ordered investigation made into the length of an elephant's gestation. Finally it was learned that a female was in the mother's womb for one year and six months, while a male was there for nineteen months. In contrast to human babies, which usually come from the mother's womb head first, an elephant calf usually comes out feet first. When the calf was separated from the mother, the mother kicked dust on it with her feet and began to show love and reassure it. The calf remained down for an instant, and then it got up and went for the mother's udders.

On the fourteenth [circa June 25] a rose water spraying party was held. In olden times it was called *abpashi* [water-spraying], and it was a favorite custom of the ancients.

4. For Pushkar, text has Bhakkar, a physical impossibility from Ajmer.

The Death of Raja Man Singh

On the fifth of Amurdad [circa July 15], news came of the death of Raja Man Singh. The raja was one of my exalted father's major allies. Since I had gradually sent most

servants of the court to serve in the Deccan, he too had been assigned to that campaign. After he died in service I summoned his son Mirza Bhao Singh to court. He had served me very faithfully when I was a prince, [**104a**] so although the chieftainship of the line should have gone, according to the rule customary in India, to Maha Singh, the son of the raja's eldest son, Jagat Singh, who had died during the raja's lifetime, I ignored the custom and gave Bhao Singh the title of Mirza Raja and the rank of 4000/3000. I also gave him Amber, the homeland of his fathers and forefathers.

To console Maha Singh I added 500 to his rank and awarded him the province of Garha as a favor and sent him a jewel-studded girth dagger, horse, and robe of honor.

On the eighth of Amurdad [circa July 18], I felt a change in my constitution. Little by little it turned into a fever and headache. I kept my condition hidden from most of my intimates and cohorts lest harm befall the country and subjects, and I didn't inform the doctors and physicians either. Several days passed in this manner. I made no one of the harem privy to this state other than Nurjahan Begam, the one I thought had more affection for me than any other. I avoided heavy dishes and contented myself with a small amount of light food, and every day as usual, I went out to the Hall of Public and Private Audience, the Jharoka-i-Darshan, and the Ghuslkhana.

Finally traces of weakness appeared in my face, and some of the elders became aware of it. I summoned one or two doctors who could be trusted, like Masihu'z-Zaman, Hakim Abu'l-Qasim, and Hakim Abdul-Shakur. Since the fever had not abated, I hadn't drunk any wine for two or three nights, and this increased my weakness and lassitude. One night, racked with fever, I went to the exalted khwaja's shrine and prayed to God at that blessed threshold for my health, vowing to give alms. Through His grace and generosity God bestowed upon me the mantle of health, and little by little the fever lessened, and the headache, which was extremely severe, was relieved by Hakim Abdul-Shakur's treatment.

Within twenty-two days my constitution had been restored to its original state, and the court servants—indeed, all people—gave alms in gratitude for this great gift. I didn't accept anyone's alms but ordered that everyone could give as much as he wanted to the poor in his own house.

On the tenth of Shahrivar [August 24], I received the news that Taj Khan, the governor of Thatta, had died. He was one of the old amirs of this state.

During my illness I had said to myself that if I was granted a recovery, just as inwardly I was a devotee and believer in the exalted khwaja, [**104b**] and I considered his attention to be the reason for my existence, outwardly too I would pierce my ears and join the circle of his ear-pierced devotees. On the eve of Thursday the twelfth of Shahrivar [August 26], corresponding to [the middle of] the month of Rajab, I had my ears pierced and put a lustrous pearl in each ear. When this was noticed by the court servants and intimates, both those who were in attendance and those who were on the frontiers, they all rushed off to have their ears pierced. They were given given pearls from the royal gem department as tokens of their loyalty. It gradually caught on even with the ahadis and ordinary people.

Solar Weighing Ceremony

At the end of Thursday the twenty-second of the month, corresponding to the tenth of Sha'ban [September 5], the Hall of Private Audience was decorated for the solar weighing assembly and the usual ceremonies were held.

On the same day Mirza Raja Bhao Singh was given leave to depart happily for his homeland, having promised that he wouldn't stay more than two or three months.

On the twenty-seventh of Mihr [October 11], news arrived that Faridun Khan Barlas had passed away in Udaipur. He was the last commander of the Barlas clan. Since the clan had acquired many rights and kinships with this dynasty, I took his son Mihr-Ali under my wing and promoted him to the rank of 1000/1000.

Because of the outstanding services rendered by Khan Dawran, I increased his zat rank by 1000, making 6000/5000 in all.

On the sixth of Aban [October 20], scouts brought word that three lions had been seen six kos away. I set out after performing my noon prayer and shot all three of them.

On the eighth of the month [October 22], the festival of Divali commenced. For two or three nights I ordered the courtiers to besport themselves in my presence. There were all sorts of games.

On the eighteenth of the month [November 1], the body of Sikandar Mu'in Qaravul, an old servant of mine who rendered me much service when I was a prince, **[105a]** was brought to Ajmer from Udaipur, where my son Baba Khurram was camped. I ordered the scouts and his fellows to carry his body and bury it next to Pushkar Tank.[5] He was a loyal servant.

5. Reading *Pushkar* for the text's nonsensical *shankar*.

On the twelfth of Azar [November 25], two girls Islam Khan had taken during his lifetime from the zamindar of Cooch [Behar], whose land was at the extreme end of the eastern territories, were exhibited to me along with [Islam Khan's] son and ninety-four elephants. Several of the elephants were put in the royal stable.

On the same day Islam Khan's son Hoshang came from Bengal and attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold. He offered two elephants and a hundred mohurs and a hundred rupees as a vow.

One night during Day, I dreamed that His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani was saying to me, "Baba, for my sake forgive Aziz," by whom he meant Khan A'zam. After the dream I decided to summon him from the fortress.

There is a very lovely ravine in the vicinity of Ajmer, and at the end of the ravine is a spring, the water of which collects in a long, wide pool. It is the best water in Ajmer. The ravine and spring are known as Hafiz Jamal. When I passed by, I ordered a structure worthy of the site built since the place was worthy of development. In one year it had been turned into a real place, the likes of which world travelers could not point to. A pool forty ells square had been constructed, and the water from the spring had been made to pour into the pool through a fountain that sprayed ten or twelve ells high. Next to the pool were pavilions. Likewise, on the upper terrace, where the tank and spring were, harmonious pavilions and delightful porticos and dwellings had been built—some decorated and painted by expert masters and skilled painters. Since I wanted it to have a name that would have something to do with my own name, I called it Nur Chashma.[6] In general, the only flaw it has is that this place is not located in a large city with thoroughfares so people would pass through. From the time it was completed I usually spent Thursdays and Fridays there. I ordered a chronogram composed for its completion. **[105b]** Sa'ida Gilani, the head goldsmith, composed the following very nice hemistich: "Shah Nuruddin Jahangir's palace got a chronogram."[7] I ordered the verse inscribed on stone and affixed to the top of the portico of the lower pavilion.

6. I.e. after his epithet Nuruddin. Elsewhere he calls it Chashma-i-Nur (spring of light). Nur Chashma and Chashma-i-Nur mean the same thing in Persian.

7. The chronogram *mahall-i Shah Nuruddin Jahangir* yields 1024 (1614–15).

Toward the beginning of the month of Day [circa December 12], merchants from Persia came bringing so many pomegranates from Yazd and melons from Kariz, the best melons in Khurasan, that the courtiers and amirs of the frontiers had a share, for which they were truly grateful. It was as though I had never had a melon or a pomegranate

before. Although melons from Badakhshan and pomegranates from Kabul were brought every year, they bore no comparison to these Yazd melons and Kariz pomegranates. Since my exalted father loved fruit, I greatly regretted that such fruit had not been brought to Hindustan during his lifetime so that he could have enjoyed it.

The Invention of Jahangiri Attar

I have the same regret with regard to Jahangiri attar, i.e. that his royal nose did not smell this perfume. It is an invention made during our reign by Nurjahan Begam's mother. While she was making rose water, grease formed on the utensils she was using to get the hot rose water out of the pot. Little by little she collected the grease, and when a lot of rose water had been made, there was a palpable amount of grease.

In fragrance it is of such a degree that if one drop is rubbed on the palm it will perfume a whole room and make it seem more subtly fragrant than if many rosebuds had opened at once. It cheers one up and restores the soul.

As a reward for this invention I gave the inventor a pearl necklace. Salima-Sultan Begam —God rest her soul—was present and named the oil "Jahangiri attar."

Great abnormalities can be seen in the weather in Hindustan. [**106a**] During this very season of Day [December–January], in Lahore, which is halfway between Persia and Hindustan, mulberry trees bore fruit just as sweet and juicy as during the regular season. The people enjoyed eating them for several days. This was written by the reporters.



PORTRAIT OF IBRAHIM II ADILSHAH, by Hashim. India, Mughal period. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Full page: 38.9 x 25.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.33v

Bakhtar Khan Kalawant Comes from Bijapur

Around the same time Bakhtar Khan Kalawant appeared in dervish garb. He is intimately related to the Adil Khan by virtue of having been given the Adil Khan's niece in marriage and having been the Adil Khan's star pupil in *dhurpat* singing. I summoned him, asked him about himself, and tried to make him feel at ease. During our first meeting I gave him ten thousand rupees in cash, fifty pieces of various textiles, and a pearl rosary. Then I made him Asaf Khan's guest and ordered him to watch him well.

It was never learned whether he had come without the Adil Khan's permission and leave or whether he had sent him in this guise to discover the secrets of the council and

report them to him. The prevalent opinion was that, given the relationship between them, he would not have come without the Adil Khan's permission, and proof of the truth of this was a report by Mir Jamaluddin Husayn, who was then in Bijapur on an ambassadorial mission. He had written that the Adil Khan had said, "The treatment Bakhtar Khan receives from His Majesty's servants is as much as love and affection shown to me." For this reason he was shown more attention.

As long as he was here he was given a new favor every day, and he spent his evenings in my retinue and sang the dhurpats the Adil Khan had invented, which go by the name of *nauras*.[8] The rest of his history will be recorded under the date he was given leave to depart.

8. The Persian word *nauras* means newly arrived and is often applied to fresh greenery in a spring garden; as such, the word is appropriate to a newly invented singing style.

During these days a bird was brought from the country of Zerabad [Sumatra]. The color of its body is like that of a parrot, but it is smaller. One of the characteristics of this bird is that it hooks its foot around the branch of a tree or post on which it has perched, hangs upside down, and murmurs to itself all night. When day comes it sits upright on the branch. Although they say that animals perform religious worship, [**106b**] the prevalent opinion is that this act is in its nature. It absolutely never drinks water, which acts like poison on its constitution, even though animals cannot exist without water.[9]

9. The bird is identified as the loriquet (*Coryllis vernalis*). Alvi and Rahman, *Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 83f.

Good News from the Mewar Campaign

Good news! During the month of Bahman good news began pouring in. First was the news that Rana Amar Singh had chosen to submit to the court. This came about as follows.

My lucky son Sultan Khurram made things quite difficult for the Rana by stationing many outposts, particularly in places where for several reasons, like the foulness of the water and air and the difficulty of the terrain, most people thought that it was not possible for outposts to remain. He also had the victorious forces attack in rapid succession, despite the severity of the heat and intensity of the rain, and took prisoner the women and children of most of the inhabitants of the region. Since the Rana realized that if even a little time passed in this fashion he would either be driven from his kingdom or be captured, he had no choice but to submit and pledge allegiance. Sending his uncle Subh Karan with Hari Das Jhala, both important and intelligent men in his service, to our fortunate son, he begged that if our son would plead for the forgiveness of his offenses, ease his anxiety, and obtain a royal hand print for him, he would come and pay homage to him and send his son and heir, Karan, to our court so that he might be enrolled among the servants of this court and render service like the rest of the rajas. He also begged that he be excused, because of his advanced years, from coming to court himself. Therefore our son sent these [requests] to court with his divan Mulla Shukrullah, to whom we gave the title of Afzal Khan after the completion of this mission, and Sundar Das, his steward who was awarded the title of Rai-Raian after the conclusion of this affair.

Because it is always our intention, insofar as possible, not to ruin ancient families, it was our basic purpose that since Rana Amar Singh and his fathers were overly proud of the impregnability of their mountains and dwelling and had not seen or rendered homage to even one of the padishahs of Hindustan, [**107a**] this should not continue into the days of my reign. I pardoned his shortcomings on account of my son's plea, showed him favor that would allay his fears, and issued a decree with our royal hand

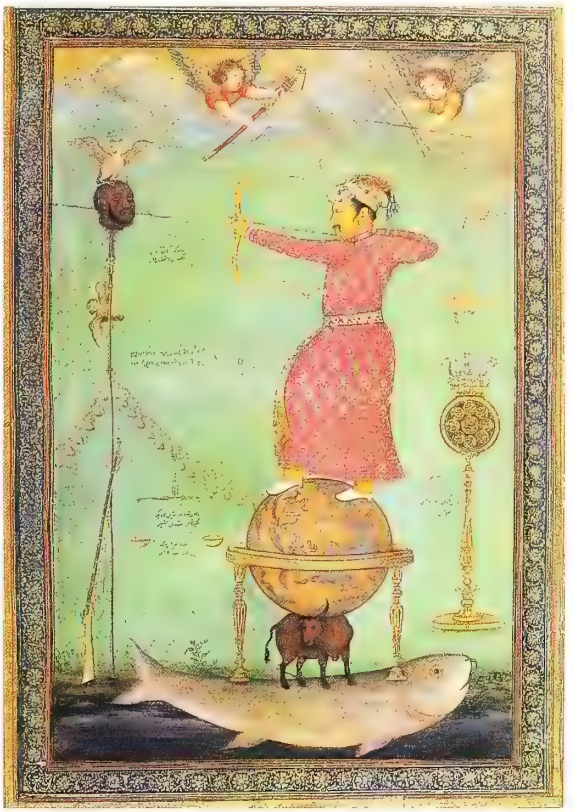
print. I also wrote a compassionate letter to my son saying that if what he proposed came to fruition, it would be reckoned a major service. My son sent these [decrees] with Mulla Shukrullah and Sundar Das to console the Rana and make him hopeful of regal favor, and they gave him the decree and royal hand print. It was decided that on Sunday the twenty-sixth he and his sons would come and pay homage to my fortunate son.

Secondly, news arrived of the death of Bahadur, a scion of the rulers of Gujarat and the mastermind behind all the sedition and trouble there. God in His graciousness rendered him nonexistent, and he went to a natural death.

Third was the news of the defeat of the vice-rei,[10] who had made great preparations for taking the fortress and port of Surat. Battle had taken place, in the vicinity of the port, between the English, who had sought refuge in the port, and the vice-rei, most of whose ships were burned up by English fire. Unable to resist, he had fled and sent a messenger to Muqarrab Khan, the governor of the Gujarat ports, and proposed a truce, saying, "We have come for peace, not war. The English have stirred up this war."

A Failed Assassination Attempt on Malik Ambar

Other news arrived that several Rajputs who had decided to strike and kill Ambar had lain in ambush during these very days and found an opportunity to get at him. One of them managed to wound him, but not fatally. The men around Ambar killed the Rajputs and got Ambar to his house. The wretch had almost been bumped off!



Jahangir Shoots Malik Ambar, copy of a work by Abu'l-Hasan. Early 19th c. Opaque watercolor on paper. Image area: 23.3 x 15 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F48.19b

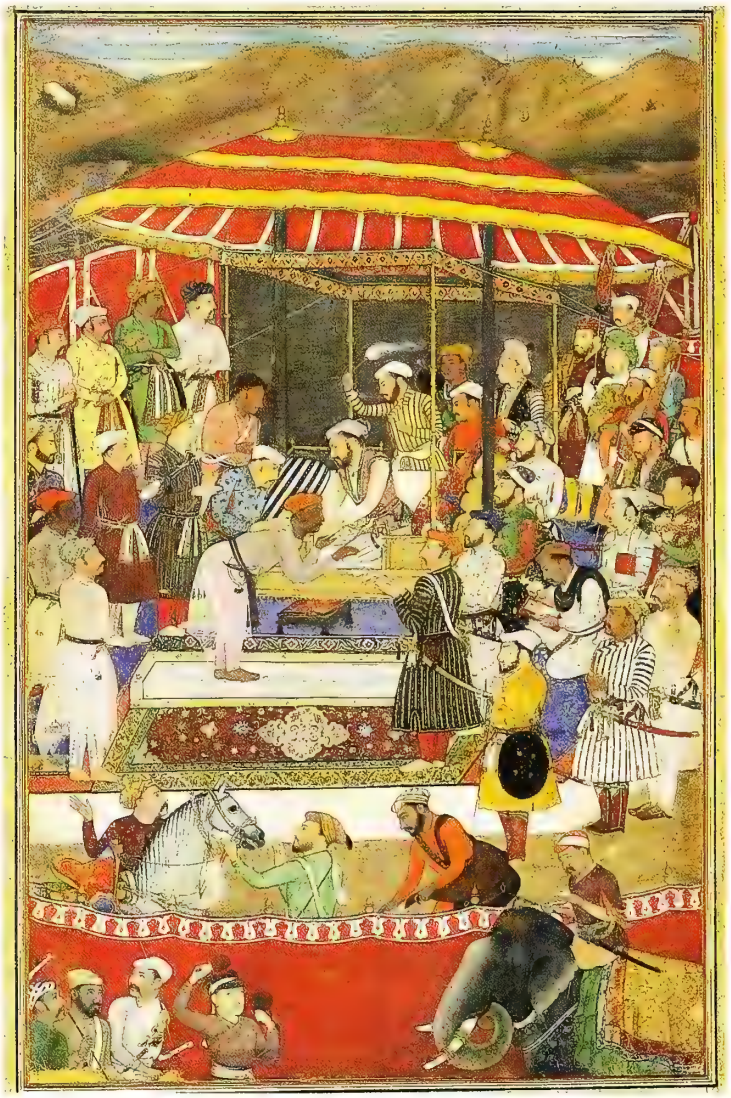
Rana Amar Singh Pays Homage to Sultan Khurram

Toward the end of this month, when I was in the outskirts of Ajmer hunting, my lucky son Sultan Khurram's attendant Muhammad Beg came and delivered the report my son had made that the Rana and his sons had come and paid homage to him. As soon as the details were ascertained from the report, I turned my face in supplication to the divine court and knelt down in thanks. I awarded Muhammad Beg a horse, an elephant, a jewel-studded dagger, and gave him the title of Zulfaqar Khan.

From the contents of the report it was learned that on Sunday the twenty-sixth of Bahman [circa February 6] the Rana rendered homage to my lucky son with the rites **[107b]** and rituals underlings perform when paying homage. He presented a famous large ruby that was in his house along with a quantity of jewel-studded implements and seven elephants, some of which were worthy of the royal stables—they were the only elephants that had not been taken—and nine horses. As a sign of favor, my son came forward, and when the Rana grasped my son's leg and asked forgiveness for his offenses, my lucky son took his head in his lap and consoled him in such a way that his distress was soothed.

He awarded him a sumptuous robe of honor, a jewel-studded sword, a horse with a jeweled saddle, and a royal elephant with silver trappings. Since the group he had with him numbered no more than a hundred who were entitled to cloaks, he gave them one hundred twenty cloaks, fifty horses, and twelve jewel-studded khapwas.

10. The word in the text, *WRZY*, should be emended to *WZRY* and read as *vizray* for *vice-rei*, the Portuguese for viceroy. The first two viceroys of Portuguese India were Francisco de Almeida (1505–9) and Alphonso d'Albuquerque (1509–15). The defeat of the Portuguese by the English is undoubtedly a reference to ongoing hostilities between the two nations. In 1612 Thomas Best had anchored off the mouth of the Tapi River at Surat and defeated a Portuguese fleet. In 1614 the Portuguese were again defeated by four English vessels under the command of Nicholas Dowton.



THE SUBMISSION OF RANA AMAR SINGH OF MEWAR TO PRINCE KHURRAM, by Nanha. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor on paper. 19.8 x 31 cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum. IS 185–1984

Because it is the custom of zamindars not to bring their heirs with them when they pay homage to rulers, this one also maintained that custom and did not bring Karan, his ticka-marked son. Inasmuch as the hour for my felicitous son's departure from there was at the end of that very day, he gave the Rana leave to go and bring Karan to him. After he left, Karan came and paid homage. He too was awarded a sumptuous robe of honor, a jewel-studded sword, a horse with a jeweled saddle, and a royal elephant. That very day he took Karan into his retinue and set out for court.

❁

On the third of Isfandarmudh [circa February 12], I returned from hunting in Ajmer. From the seventeenth of Bahman until that date, during which time I was hunting, a female lion with three cubs and thirteen nilgais were bagged.

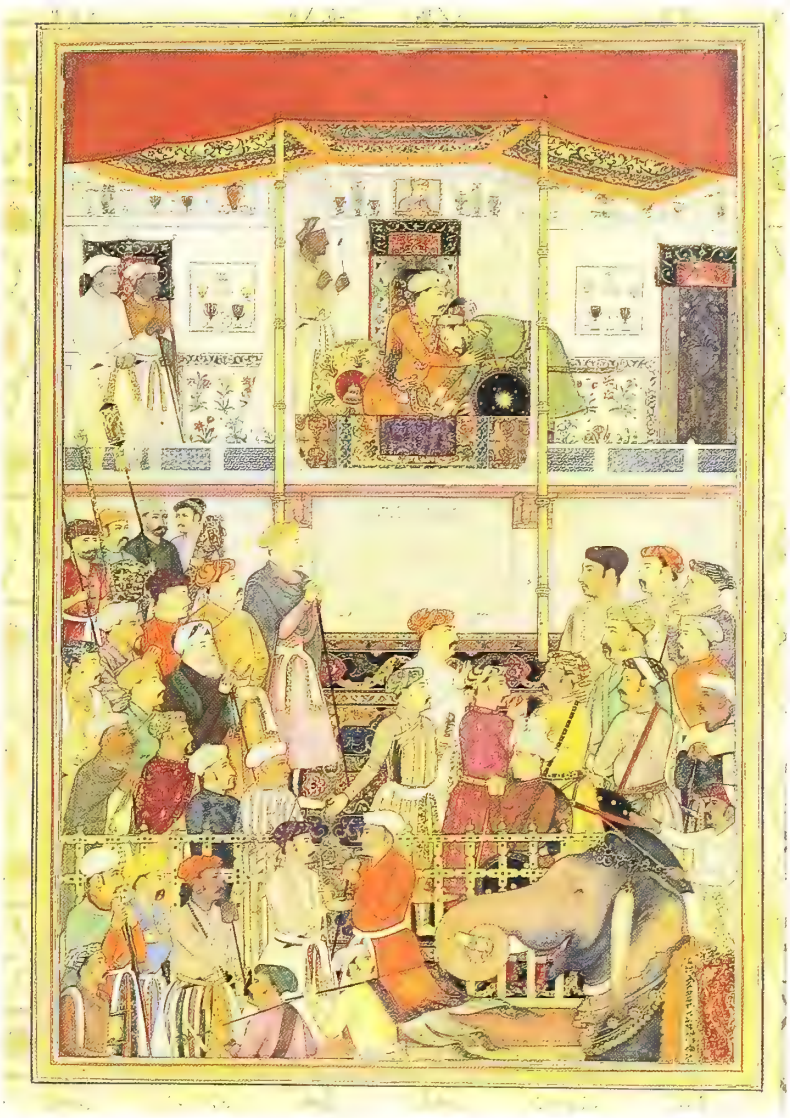
❁ *Sultan Khurram Returns from the Mewar Campaign, and Kunwar Karan Singh is Presented at Court*

On Saturday the tenth of the month [circa February 19], the successful prince stopped on the outskirts of Deorani, which is near the city of Ajmer, and an order was given for all the amirs to go out to greet him and present gifts, each according to his rank and station. The next day, which would be Sunday the eleventh, the prince was to attain the felicity of being received. Upon the morrow, the prince entered the Hall of Public and Private Audience with all splendor and magnificence, surrounded by all the victorious soldiers who had been assigned to him on this campaign. Two watches and two gharis had elapsed of the day when the hours of reception came and he had the fortune to perform körünüsh, prostrations, and salutes. [**108a**] He gave a thousand *ashrafi*s and a thousand rupees in fulfillment of his vow and another thousand mohurs and a thousand rupees as alms. I summoned my son forward, embraced him, and kissed his head and face, singling him out for particular affection and kindness. When he had finished the rites of service, he had his vow and alms displayed and said that if it was ordered, Karan should be allowed to prostrate himself and perform körünüsh. I ordered him brought in. The bakhshis brought him in with the usual ceremonials. After he had performed körünüsh and prostrated himself, in accordance with my son Khurram's request I ordered that they should have him stand forward and to the left of the jharoka. After that I ordered Khurram to go and pay homage to his mother and stepmothers. I awarded my son a

royal robe consisting of a jeweled charqab and a gold-spun tunic, and a rosary of pearls. After he had paid his respects [to the ladies], I gave him a royal robe, a royal horse with a jeweled saddle, and a royal elephant. I also gave Karan a sumptuous robe of honor and a jewel-studded sword. The amirs and officers of rank all performed körünüsh, prostrated themselves, and offered their gifts for vows. To each according to his service and rank I gave an award.

It was necessary to win Karan's affection, but he was wild by nature and had never seen a royal court, having been raised in the mountains. Therefore I showed him a new favor every day, as, for example, on the second day he paid homage he was given a jewel-studded dagger, and the next day he was given a royal Persian horse with a jeweled saddle. On that day he went to the Darbar Mahall and was given a sumptuous robe of honor, a jeweled sword, a horse and saddle, and a royal elephant with golden trappings by Nurjahan Begam. He was suitably impressed, and after these favors I gave him an expensive rosary of pearls. The next day he was given an elephant with trappings.

Since I had it in my mind to give him something of every sort, I bestowed upon him three hawks, three falcons, a personal sword, a coat of mail, a breastplate belonging to me, and two rings, one set with a ruby and the other set with an emerald. Toward the end of the month I had the ahadis place on trays and carry on their shoulders into the Hall of Public and Private Audience every sort of textile from brocades to carpets, felts, and bolsters, and every sort of aromatic in gold containers, and two Gujarati *bahal*s [carts]. It was all given to him.



Jahangir Receives Prince Khurram on His Return from the Mewar Campaign, by Balchand. From the Windsor Castle *Padshahnama*, folio 43b. India, Mughal period, ca. 1635. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. 30.4 x 20.1 cm. By gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen

Diyanat Khan is Jailed for Slander

Diyanat Khan was always saying inappropriate things about and making unveiled references to I'timaduddawla and his son Asaf Khan at court assemblies. Once or twice I reproved him and forbade him to repeat such displeasing things. In no way was he about to back down. [**108b**] Since I was very fond of I'timaduddawla and had many various relationships and kinships with his family, it displeased me greatly. Then, one night, for no ostensible reason Diyanat Khan starting gossiping again and spoke so much that signs of hurt and annoyance appeared on I'timaduddawla's face.

The next morning I had one of the court servants take him to Asaf Khan with

a message saying, "Since he spoke tasteless words about your father last night, I am turning him over to you. Keep him wherever you want, either here or in the fortress at Gwalior. Until he makes it up to your father I will not pardon or forgive him."

As commanded, Asaf Khan sent him to the Gwalior fortress.



This month Jahangir-Quli Khan was given a promotion. He had held the rank of 2500/2000, and 500/500 was added to it.

Ahmad Beg Khan, an old servant of the state, had made some mistakes during the expedition to Kabul, and Qilich Khan, the commander of the campaign, complained of his lack of cooperation and incompetence. Of necessity I summoned him to court, and as chastisement and punishment I turned him over to Mahabat Khan to be kept in the fortress at Ranthambhor.

Qasim Khan, the governor of Bengal, had sent two rubies as an offering, and they were presented for my inspection.

Since I had made it a rule that the poor and needy who gathered at the gate should be brought in for me to see after two watches of the night, this year I gave away to the poor with my own hands 50,000 rupees, 190,000 bighas of land, 14 whole villages, 26 farms, and 11,000 loads of rice. I gave those servants who had pierced their ears as a sign of loyalty 732 pearls worth 36,000 rupees.

A Son is Born to Parvez

Toward the end of the month news came that after the elapse of four and a half gharis of the eve of Sunday the eleventh of the last month [January 22], in the town of Burhanpur, God had bestowed a son on my son Sultan Parvez by the daughter of Prince Murad. I named him Sultan Durandesh.

The Tenth Regnal Year: March 11, 1615–March 9, 1616.

The Tenth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

Fifty-five pals had elapsed of the day on the first of Farvardin, corresponding to the twentieth of Safar 1024 [March 11, 1615], when the sun transited from Pisces into its house of culmination, Aries. [**109a**] When three gharis of the eve of Sunday had elapsed I ascended the throne, and a Nawroz celebration like every year was held with the exalted princes, mighty khans, notables of court, and pillars of state making salutations and offering congratulations.

On the first day [of Nawroz] I'timaduddawla's rank of 5000/5000 was increased by 1000 zat. I gave Kunwar Karan, Jahangir-Quli Khan, and Raja Bir Singh Deo personal horses.

On the second day Asaf Khan's offering was presented for my inspection. He had arranged an acceptable offering of gems, jewel-studded utensils, and textiles of every sort and description that were inspected in detail. What I liked was worth eighty thousand rupees. On the same day Karan was given a jeweled sword with a strap and accoutrements, and Jahangir-Quli Khan was given an elephant.

Since I had determined to go to the Deccan and that area, I ordered Abdul-Karim Ma'muri to go to Mandu and build from scratch a palace there for the royal retinue and to repair the buildings of former rulers.

On the third day, Raja Bir Singh Deo's offering was displayed. A ruby, five pearls, and an elephant were accepted.

On the fourth day, Mustafa Khan was given an increase in rank of 500/200, making 1500/250 in all.

On the fifth day, I awarded a banner and drums to I'timaduddawla and ordered that he could have drums sounded. Asaf Khan's rank was increased by 1000/1000, making 4000/2000 in all. A promotion of 700 suwar was given to Raja Bir Singh Deo, and he was given leave to depart for his homeland on condition that he return to court at the promised time. This same day Ibrahim Khan's offering was viewed. All sorts of things were accepted. Kishan Chand, a scion of the rajas of Nagarkot, was given the title of raja.

On Thursday the sixth [March 16], I'timaduddawla's offering was viewed at Chashma-i-Nur. A splendid party had been arranged, and his offering was viewed with wonderment. About a lac of rupees worth of gems, jeweled vessels, and fine textiles were accepted, and the rest was given back.

On the seventh [March 17], I increased Kishan Singh's rank of 2000/500 by 1000 zat. On this day a lion was hunted in the vicinity of Chashma-i-Nur.

On the eighth [March 18], I awarded Karan the rank of 5000/5000 and gave him a



JAHANGIR GREETING THE POET SA'DI (left half), attributed to Abu'l-Hasan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1615. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 18 x 13 cm. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. W.668, folio 37



JAHANGIR GREETING THE POET SA'DI (right half), by Abu'l-Hasan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1615. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 16.9 x 12.3 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F46.28

rosary of pearls and emeralds with a ruby in the middle. In the parlance of the Hindus it is called a *smaran*. I increased Ibrahim Khan's rank by 1000/400, [**109b**] making 2000/1000 in all. Hajji Bey Uzbek was promoted by 300 suwar. I increased Raja Shyam Singh's rank by 500 zat, making 2500/1400 in all.

On Sunday a solar eclipse occurred. Twelve gharis of the day had elapsed when the eclipse began from the west. Four-fifths of the sun was eclipsed in the umbra. It lasted, from beginning to end, for eight gharis. Alms of all descriptions—precious metals, animals, plants, grains—were given to the poor and needy.

On this day Raja Suraj Singh's offering was displayed. What was taken was worth forty-three thousand rupees. The offering of Bahadur Khan, the governor of Kandahar, was viewed. It was worth fourteen thousand rupees.

❁ *The Birth of Dara-Shikoh*

Last night, after the elapse of two watches, corresponding to the the eve of Monday the twenty-ninth of Safar [March 20], with Sagittarius in the ascendant, a son was given birth by Asaf Khan's daughter in Baba Khurram's house. I named him Dara-Shikoh. It is hoped that he will bring his father good fortune in this eternal state.

Sayyid Ali Barha's rank was increased by 500/300 to 1500/1000.

On the tenth [March 20], I'tibar Khan's offering was displayed. Of everything he presented forty thousand rupees' worth was accepted. On the same day Khusraw Bey Uzbek's rank was increased by 300 suwar, and Mangli Khan's rank was increased by 500/200.

On the eleventh [March 21], Murtaza Khan's offering was presented for viewing. Of all the jewels, seven rubies, a pearl rosary, and 270 other stones were taken. What was accepted was worth one hundred forty-five thousand rupees.

On the twelfth [March 22], Mirza Raja Bhao Singh's and Rawat Shankar's offerings were viewed.

On the thirteenth [March 23], of Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan's offering, a qutbi ruby, a diamond, a string of pearls, five rings, four large pearls, and some textiles, worth thirty-two thousand rupees, were accepted.

On the fourteenth [March 24], I increased Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan's rank by 1000/500. I ordered an increase of 750/200 to Wafadar Khan's rank, making 2000/1200 in all.

This same day Mustafa Beg, the emissary of the ruler of Iran, paid homage. After the completion of the Georgian campaign,[1] [**110a**] my exalted brother had sent him with a letter filled with all sorts of expressions of affection and sincerity. He had brought in for my inspection several horses and camels, several pieces of Aleppan textiles, which had reached my royal brother from the Ottoman realm, and nine large European hunting dogs, for which a hint had been sent.

On this day Murtaza Khan was given leave to depart to conquer the Kangra fortress, which, for impregnability and strength, has no equal in the Punjab Hills—indeed, in all the world. From the time Islam came to Hindustan until this felicitous time, when the throne is graced by this petitioner at the divine court, no past ruler or sultan has been able to touch it. Once during my exalted father's time, the army of the Punjab was assigned to take it, and they held it under siege for a long time, but in the end it was not fated for it to be taken and the army was assigned to another more pressing task. When he was given leave, I gave Murtaza Khan a personal elephant with trappings. Raja Baso's son Raja Suraj Mal, whose territory is adjacent to the fortress, was also assigned to the campaign. His previous rank was increased by 500/500.

1. The "Georgian campaign" refers to a series of Safavid incursions that "brought extensive areas of Georgia into Persian hands" (H. R. Roemer, "The Safavid Period," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], 268).

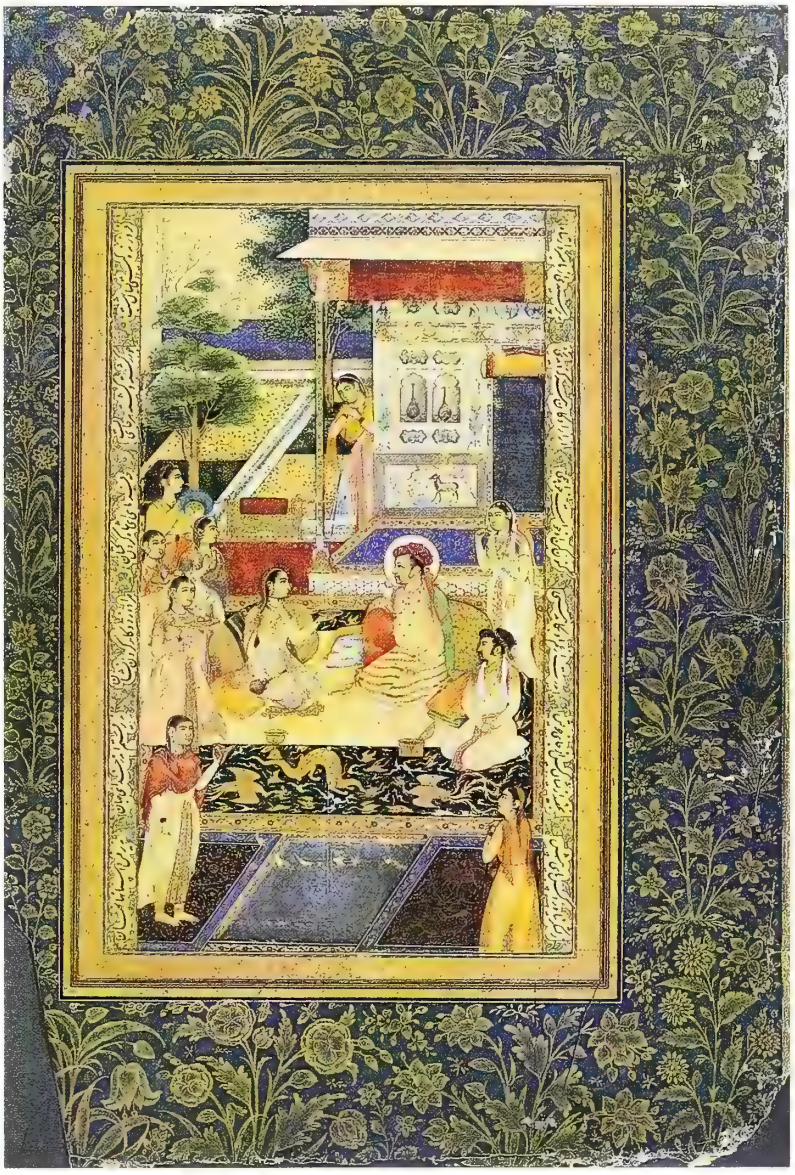
Rai Suraj Singh came from his jagir and paid homage, presenting a hundred and one ashrafis as a vow.

On the seventeenth [March 27], Mirza Rustam's offering was viewed. Two jeweled daggers, a pearl rosary, several bolts of cloth, an elephant, and four horses, worth fifteen thousand rupees, were accepted. The rest was given back.

The same day Kishan Singh's offering worth ten thousand rupees and I'tiqad Khan's offering worth eighteen thousand rupees were viewed.

On the eighteenth [March 28], Jahangir-Quli Khan's offering was seen. Eleven thousand rupees' worth of jewels and textiles were accepted. I increased I'tiqad Khan's rank of 700/200 by 800/300, making 1500/500 in all. Khusraw Bey Uzbek, a major military figure, passed away.

On the twentieth [March 30], which was a Thursday, the culmination began after the elapse of two watches and four gharis. On this felicitous day I mounted the throne, [**110b**] and the people offered congratulations. When one watch remained of the day, I went to Chashma-i-Nur. Mahabat Khan had scheduled the presentation of his offering for there. He had arranged every sort of precious gem, jeweled vessel, and textile he could think of. One thing was a jeweled khapwa the goldsmiths of the royal estate had made at his request. From the point of view of value there was nothing like it in my personal estate. It was worth a lac of rupees. Aside from that, one hundred thirty-eight thousand rupees' worth of other gems were presented. It was truly a splendid presentation.



Jahangir and Khurram Feasted by Nurjahan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1617. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 25.2 x 14.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Gift of Charles Lang Freer. F07.258

To Mustafa Beg, the emissary of the ruler of Iran, I awarded twenty thousand drabs, which equals ten thousand rupees.

On the twenty-first [March 31], I sent robes of honor by Abdul-Ghafur to fifteen of the amirs in the Deccan. Raja Bikramajit was given leave to go to his jagir. He was given a warm shawl belonging to me.

Also during these days I gave a jeweled belt to the emissary Mustafa Beg. I increased Islam Khan's son Hoshang's rank of 1000/500 by 500/200.

On the twenty-third [April 2], Ibrahim Khan was made governor of Bihar. Zafar Khan was ordered to come to court. I increased Ibrahim Khan's rank of 2000/1000 by 500/1000. Around the same time Sayf Khan was given permission to go to his jagir.

Hajji Bey Uzbek was awarded the title Uzbek Khan and given leave to go to his jagir. Bahadur Malik, who was posted to the Deccan and held the rank of

2500/2000, was given a promotion of 500/200. Khwaja Taqi's rank of 800/170 was increased by 200.

On the twenty-fifth [April 4], Salamullah Arab's rank was increased by 200 suwar, making 1500/1000 in all. I awarded Mahabat Khan some of the black piebald horses the ruler of Iran had sent.

At the end of the day on Thursday I went to Baba Khurram's house and stayed there through one watch of the night. On this day his second offering was presented. On the first day he paid his respects he presented to me the one famous large ruby the Rana had given him when he paid homage, [**111a**] and which the jewelers had valued at sixty thousand rupees. However, it wasn't as great as they had said. It weighs eight tanks.[2] It was formerly owned by the Rai of Malwa, the chief of the Rathor clan and one of the major rais of Hindustan. From him it went to his son Chandar Sen, but he sold it to Rana Udai Singh during his time of troubles. From him it went to Rana Pratap, and from him it came to Rana Amar Singh. Since the family didn't have anything better, the day he paid homage to my son Baba Khurram, he presented it along with all his elephants, [an act] the Hindus call *ghata jubar*.[3] I ordered it inscribed on the ruby that it had been given to Sultan Khurram when Rana Amar Singh paid homage. Several other things of Baba Khurram's offering were accepted on that day. Among them were a small, very elaborate crystal chest made in Venice, several emeralds, three rings, four Persian horses, and other miscellaneous items worth eighty thousand rupees. The day I went to his house he had arranged a large presentation of valuable things worth four or five lacs of rupees. Of them the equivalent of one lac of rupees was taken, and I gave the rest back to him.

2. Eight tanks equals 168 carats.

3. *Ghata* means an assemblage or a troop of elephants. *Jubar* is the act of falling at someone's feet.

On the twenty-eighth [April 7], I increased Khwaja Jahan's rank of 3000/1800 by 500/400.

On the last day of the month I awarded Ibrahim Khan a horse, a robe of honor, a jewel-studded dagger, and the privilege of a banner and drums and gave him leave to go to Bihar. The post of reviser of petitions had been held by Khwajagi Hajji Muhammad. When he died I gave it to my trusted Mukhlis Khan. An increase of 300 suwar was given to Zorawar Khan, making his rank 1000/1000.

A Lucky Shot

Since the hour for dismissing Kunwar Karan was nigh, I wanted to show him a bit of my ability in marksmanship. Around this time the scouts brought word of a lioness. Although it is a rule with me not to hunt anything but males, since one might not have been found before he left, I set out to hunt this female, taking Karan along and telling him I would hit it wherever he told me to.

When I reached the place the beast had been surrounded, as it happened a wind and turbulence came up in the air, and the female elephant on which I was mounted [**111b**] was terrified of the cat and wouldn't keep still. Despite this major handicap, I aimed the gun in the lion's direction and fired. God in His grace did not shame me before the raja's son, and, exactly as had been agreed upon, I hit it between the eyes. That very day Karan requested a personal gun. I gave him a Rumi gun of my own.[4]

4. A Rumi gun would be of Ottoman style or manufacture

Since I had not given Ibrahim Khan an elephant when he was dismissed, I gave him a personal elephant. I sent an elephant to Bahadur Malik and another to Wafadar Khan.

Lunar Weighing Ceremony

On the eighth of Urdibihisht [April 18], the lunar weighing ceremony was held, and I was weighed against silver and other things and distributed the proceeds to the deserving and needy.

Nawazish Khan obtained leave to go to his jagir in Malwa. The same day I gave an elephant to Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan.

On the ninth [April 19] Khan A'zam, whom I had summoned from detention in Agra, was brought. Although he had committed major mistakes and I was perfectly justified in everything I had done to him, when he was brought into my presence and my eye fell upon him, I felt more embarrassed than he did. I pardoned all his shortcomings and gave him a shawl I had around my waist.

I gave Kunwar Karan a lac of drabs. On the same day Raja Suraj Singh presented a large elephant he had brought named Ran Rawat, one of his most famous elephants. It is truly a one-of-a-kind elephant. I put it in the royal stable.

On the tenth [April 20] Khwaja Jahan's offering, which he had sent with his son, was displayed. Every sort of thing was there, and it was worth forty thousand rupees.

On the twelfth [April 22], Khan Dawran's offering of five sets of nine horses, two strings of camels, Arabian dogs, and hunting birds was viewed. On the same day Raja Suraj Singh presented another seven elephants, and they were put in the royal stable.

After a period of four months in attendance, Bakhtar Khan was given leave to depart. A message for the Adil Khan was given, and I reminded him of the profit and loss of friendship and enmity. He promised faithfully to relay my words to the Adil Khan and to persuade him to submit and pledge allegiance. As he was given leave I awarded him several things. **[112a]** During this short period of time he had received from the royal estate and from the princes, as well as the gifts the amirs had been ordered to bestow upon him, a total value of around a lac of rupees.

On the fourteenth [April 24], the rank and prize were determined for Baba Khurram. I ordered his rank of 12000/6000 increased to match that of his brother Prince Parvez, which was 15000/7000, and an extra quarter added as a bonus and prize. I also gave him a personal elephant named Bijai Gaj with trappings worth twelve thousand rupees.

On the sixteenth [April 26], an elephant was awarded to Mahabat Khan.

On the seventeenth [April 27], Raja Suraj Singh's rank of 4000/3000 was increased by 1000, and I ennobled him with the rank of 5000. At Abdullah Khan's request Khwaja Abdul-Latif's rank of 500/200 was increased by [500]/200, making it 1000/400. I had summoned Khan A'zam's son Abdullah, who was imprisoned in the Ranthambhor fortress, at his father's request. He arrived at court, and I had the chains removed from his legs and sent him to his father's house.

On the twenty-fourth [May 4], Raja Suraj Singh presented another elephant named Fawj Singar. Although this one was also a fine elephant and was put in the royal stable, it couldn't be compared to the other one, which is one of the rarities of the age. This one was worth a thousand rupees.

On the twenty-sixth [May 6], Mirza Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman, who held the rank of 700/500, was given a promotion of 300 zat, making 1000/500 in all. Mir Hajj's and Allahyar Koka's ranks, which were both 800/500, were increased by 200 zat.

The same day Khwaja Zaynuddin, a scion of the Naqshbandi khwajas, came from Transoxiana and paid homage. He presented eighteen horses. Since Qizilbash Khan,

an auxiliary in the souba of Gujarat, had come to court without the leave of the governor, I ordered an ahadi to bind him and take him back to the governor of Gujarat so that he wouldn't be tempted to do such a thing again. Mubarak Khan Shirvani's rank was increased by 500, making it 1500/700.

On the twenty-ninth [May 9], I gave a lac of rupees to Khan A'zam, and it was ordered that the parganas of Dasna and Kasna, which were equivalent to a zat rank of 5000, be made his jagir.

On the last day of the month [May 11], I gave Jahangir-Quli Khan and his brothers and relatives leave to go to Allahabad, which had been made his jagir. **[112b]** During the assembly twenty horses, a personal cashmere shawl, twelve antelopes, and ten Arabian dogs were given to Karan. The next day, the first of Khurdad [May 12], he was given forty horses. On the second he was given forty-one horses, and on the third he was given twenty horses. Thus, within three days Kunwar Karan was given 101 horses. In return for the elephant Fawj Singar, I gave Raja Suraj Singh one of my own elephants worth ten thousand rupees.

On the fifth of the month [May 16], a turban, ten tunics, and a cummerbund were given to Karan. On the eighth [May 19],[5] I gave him another elephant.

5. Emending *bistum* (twentieth) to *hashtum* (eighth).

❀ *The Story of Mulla Gadai*

Around this time the reporter in Kashmir had written that a man named Mulla Gadai, an ascetic dervish who had been in seclusion for forty years in one of the *khanaqah*s of the town, had died two years previously. He had made a request of the heirs to the khanaqah that, with their permission, he would choose a corner of the khanaqah for his burial. They had agreed. In short, he had chosen a site, and when his allotted time was up, he told his friends, relatives, and acquaintances that he had received an order to relinquish the trust he had been given and to head for the next world. Those who were present were astonished by his words and said, "Not even the prophets are aware of this secret. How is this to be believed?" "I have been so ordered," is all he would say.

After that, he went to one of those who believed in him, the son of a cadi in that land, and said, "Take my copy of the Koran, which is worth seven hundred tankas, exchange it for money, and spend the proceeds on my burial. When you hear the Friday call to prayer, you will receive word of me." This took place on Thursday. Then he divided all the goods in his cell among his acquaintances and disciples and went to the bath house at the end of the day for a bath.

Before the cadi's son heard the call for prayer, he went to the khanaqah to inquire. When he reached the door of the hermit's cell, he found the door closed and a servant sitting against it. He asked the servant what was wrong. He replied, "The mulla instructed me not to go into this cell until the door opens of its own accord." Not a moment after these words the cell door opened. The cadi's son went in with the servant and saw the hermit kneeling facing the qibla, dead. Happy are those escapees who have flown this snare of material attachment with such ease!

❀

I increased Karam Sen Rathor's rank by 200/50 to 1000/300.

On the eleventh of the month [May 22], Lashkar Khan's offering of three Persian camels, twenty Chinese cups and plates, and twenty Arabian dogs was viewed.

On the twelfth [May 23], a jeweled dagger was given to I'tibar Khan. **[113a]** I gave Karan an aigrette worth two thousand rupees.

On the fourteenth [May 25], I gave Sarbulandi Rai a robe of honor and dismissed him to the Deccan.

❁ *Kishan Singh's Revenge*

On the eve of Friday the fifteenth [May 26], a strange thing happened. I happened to be in Pushkar that night.[6] In brief, Raja Suraj Singh's full brother Kishan Singh held a grudge against Gobind Das, the raja's agent who, some time before, had killed Kishan Singh's nephew, a young man named Gopal Das. The reason for the quarrel would take too long to tell. In short, Kishan Singh expected that since Gopal Das was also the raja's nephew, he would take revenge on Gobind Das. The raja, however, neglected to take revenge for his nephew because of Gobind Das's administrative ability and expertise and pretended to ignore the whole thing. When Kishan Singh saw such neglect on the part of the raja, he said to himself, "I'll take revenge for my nephew. I won't allow the murder to go unavenged." For a time he kept this thought to himself, but then on the night mentioned above, he gathered his brothers, friends, and retainers and told them the whole story, saying, "Tonight I am going to kill Gobind Das." It never occurred to him that any harm could possibly befall the raja, who was ignorant of the whole affair.

6. Again reading Pushkar for the text's Bhakkar

Near dawn, accompanied by his nephew Karan, he and his companions set out. When they reached the gate to the raja's compound, he had several experienced men dismount, and he sent them to Gobind Das's house, which was adjacent to the raja's, while he himself, still on horseback, stood at the gate. The men on foot entered Gobind Das's house, running through with their swords the few watchmen and guards who were awake. Gobind Das woke up during the scuffle, drew his sword in confusion, and came around a corner of the house to help the watchmen outside. When the men on foot finished killing the watchmen, [**113b**] they came out of the [watchmen's] tent to look for Gobind Das. Bumping into him, they finished him off.

Before the news that Gobind Das had been killed reached Kishan Singh, he got off his horse impatiently and went inside the compound. No matter how much his men protested that it wasn't proper for him to dismount, he paid them no attention. If he had waited a little longer and received word that the foe had been killed, he could have finished the job on horseback and gotten away safe and free. However, since the pen of destiny had written another ending, no sooner was he off his horse and inside than the raja in his palace awoke to the sounds of a fracas and ran naked to the door of his house, a sword in his hand. People were running in all directions after the men who had come in on foot. The men on foot—well, you can guess how few they were. The raja's men, outnumbering Kishan Singh's ten to one, set upon them. In short, when Kishan Singh and his nephew Karan came opposite the raja's house, the defenders killed them both. Kishan Singh received seven wounds, and Karan nine. Altogether, sixty-six men on both sides were killed in the fracas, thirty of the raja's men and thirty-six of Kishan Singh's.

When the sun rose the next day, all was revealed. The raja saw his brother, his nephew, and liege men he loved more than himself all killed. The rest of the men had scattered and run away in all directions. This was reported to me in Pushkar. I ordered the slain burned, as is their custom, and an investigation made into the matter. In the end it surfaced that the real cause was as has been written, and there was no further inquiry.

On the twentieth of Khurdad [May 31], Sadr-i-Jahan came from his homeland and paid homage. He gave a vow of a hundred mohurs.

Rai Suraj Singh was given leave to depart for service in the Deccan. I gave him a pair of pearls for his ears and a warm shawl that belonged to me. **[114a]** A pair of pearls was also sent for the Khankhanan.

On the twenty-fifth [June 5], I'tibar Khan's rank was increased by 600 suwar to 5000/2000. This day Karan was given leave to depart for his jagir. I gave him a horse, a royal elephant, a robe of honor, a pearl necklace worth fifty thousand rupees, and a jeweled dagger that cost two thousand rupees. The total worth of the cash, goods, gems, and jeweled vessels I had given him from the day he paid homage until his dismissal was two lacs of rupees, 110 horses, and five elephants, not counting what my son Baba Khurram had given him at various times.

I awarded Mubarak Khan Shirvani a horse and an elephant and assigned him to escort Karan and deliver some oral messages to the Rana.

Raja Suraj Singh was given a two-month leave to go home.

On the twenty-seventh [June 7], Payanda Khan Moghul, an old amir of this state, bade farewell to life.

The Murder of Safi Mirza

Toward the end of the month news was received that the ruler of Iran had had his eldest son, Safi Mirza, killed. This news was astonishing! When inquiry was made, it was said that a slave named Bihbud had been ordered to kill Safi Mirza in Rasht, one of the major cities of Gilan.[7] The slave had found an opportunity, and on the morning of the fifth of Muharram 1024 [January 25, 1615], as the mirza was coming out of the bath and headed home, he killed him with two stabs of a poniard. After the body had lain in the mud and water for three days, Shaykh Baha'uddin Muhammad, who was well known in the region for his learning and religiosity, and in whose words the shah had the utmost confidence, mentioned the fact and was given permission to remove the body to the ancestral tomb in Ardabil.

I asked everybody coming from Iran about the affair, but nobody said anything that satisfied my curiosity. There must be a powerful reason to kill a son if the disgrace of such an act is to be avoided.

7. Gilan is the Iranian province along the southwestern coast of the Caspian Sea.

On the first of Tir [June 12], I gave an elephant named Ranjit with trappings to Mirza Rustam. Sayyid Ali Barha was also given an elephant. Mirak Husayn, Khwaja Shamsuddin's son-in-law, was assigned as bakhshi and reporter to the souba of Bihar. **[114b]** I awarded Abdul-Latif Qushbegi an elephant and a robe of honor and gave him leave to go to his jagir.

On the ninth of the month [June 20], a jeweled sword was sent to Khan Dawran and a dagger for Jalala Afghan's son Allahdad, who had pledged allegiance.

On the thirteenth [June 24], an abpashi party was held, and the courtiers sprayed rose water on each other and had a wonderful time.

On the seventeenth [June 28], Amanat Khan was assigned to the port of Cambay. Since Muqarrab Khan wanted to come to court, the port was transferred out of his jurisdiction. The same day I gave a jeweled dagger to my son Parvez.

On the eighteenth [June 20], the Khankhanan's offering was viewed. He had arranged all sorts of things. There were gems and jeweled vessels with three rubies, 109 pearls, one hundred carnelians, ten daggers set with carnelian and pearl, a jeweled flask, a jeweled sword, a velvet quiver with jeweled accoutrements, and a diamond ring. These were worth nearly a lac of rupees. Aside from the gems and jeweled articles, there were Deccani and Carnatic cloth, all sorts of gilded and plain items, fifteen elephants, and a horse whose mane reached the ground.

Shahnawaz Khan's offering of five elephants and a hundred pieces of cloth of all sorts was also viewed.

On the twentieth [July 1], I awarded Hoshang the title of Ikram Khan. I ennobled Rozafzun, a scion of important rajas in Bihar who had been in service at court since childhood, by having him convert to Islam. Even though his father, Raja Sangram, was killed in an insurgence against the ever-victorious empire, I allowed Rozafzun his father's title of raja and lands. I gave him an elephant and let him go home. An elephant was sent as an award to Jahangir-Quli Khan.

On the twenty-fourth [July 5], Kunwar Karan's ten-year-old son Jagat Singh came to pay homage and deliver a letter from his father and his grandfather, Amar Singh. Traces of nobility and aristocratic lineage were visible in his countenance. I won him over by giving him a robe of honor. **[115a]**

Mirza Isa Tarkhan's rank was increased by 200 zat to 1200/600.

Toward the end of the month I awarded Shaykh Husayn Rohela the title of Mubariz Khan and gave him leave of a certain amount of time to go to his jagir. Mirza Ashrafuddin Husayn Kashghari's relatives, who had recently come and attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold, were given ten thousand drabs.

On the fifth of Murdad [July 17], Raja Nath Mal's rank of 1500/1300 was increased by 500/100.

On the seventh [July 19], Keshav Maru, who held the sarkar of Orissa as a jagir, and whom I had summoned to court because of complaints from the governor, came and paid homage. He offered four elephants.

Because I was most anxious to see my "son" Khan Jahan, and it was necessary for him to come to court in order for me to find out what was going on in the Deccan, I had summoned him. On Saturday the eighth of the month [July 20], he paid homage and presented a vow of a thousand mohurs and a thousand rupees and an offering of four rubies, twenty pearls, an emerald, and a jeweled phul-katara valued at fifty thousand rupees.

Since Sunday was the urs of His Holiness Khwaja [Mu'inuddin Chishti], I went to his blessed shrine and stayed there until midnight. While the Sufis went into ecstatic states, I gave the poor coins with my own hand. In all, six thousand rupees in cash, a hundred shirts, seventy coral and amber rosaries, and other things were given away.

I awarded Raja Man Singh's grandson Maha Singh the title of raja and the privilege of drums and a banner.

On the sixteenth [July 28], a Persian horse from the royal stable and another horse were given to Mahabat Khan.

On the nineteenth [July 31], an elephant was given to Khan A'zam.

On the twentieth [August 1], Keshav Maru's rank of 2000/1000 was increased by 200 suwar and he was given a robe of honor. Khwaja Aqil's rank of 1200/600 was increased by 200/200.

On the twenty-second [August 3], Mirza Raja Bhao Singh was given leave to go to Amber, his ancestral home, and I gave him a suit of Kashmiri *phul* that belonged to me.[8]

On the twenty-fifth [August 6], Ahmad Beg Khan, who had been imprisoned in the Ranthambhor fortress, came to pay homage. I pardoned his mistakes because of his former service.

On the twenty-eighth [August 9], Muqarrab Khan came from Gujarat and paid homage, presenting an aigrette, a ruby, and a jewel-studded throne. Salamullah Arab's rank was increased by 500/500 to 2000/1100. **[115b]**

On the first of Shahrivar [August 13], the following promotions were given those who were serving in the Deccan: Mubariz Khan by 300 suwar to 1000/1000; Nahar Khan 1000/1000; Dilawar Khan by 300 suwar to 2500/2500; Mangli Khan by 200 suwar to 1500/1500; Rai Sal's son Gridhr to 800/800; Alif Khan Qiyamkhani to the same; Yadgar Husayn to 700/500; Sher Khan's son Kamaluddin to the same. I increased Sayyid Abdullah Barha's rank by 150 suwar to 700/300.

On the eighth of the month [August 20], I gave a nurjahani mohur worth six thousand four hundred rupees to Mustafa Beg, the emissary of the ruler of Iran.[9] I also gave five cheetahs to Qasim Khan, the governor of Bengal.

On the twelfth of the month [August 24], Mirza Rustam's son Mirza Murad was given the title of Iltifat Khan.

On the eve of the sixteenth [August 28], which was the Shab-i-Barat,[10] I ordered lamps lit on the hills around Ana Sagar and around the edges of the tank. I went out to see it myself. The reflection of the lamps in the water was a wonderful sight! I spent most of the night with the ladies of the harem beside the tank.

On the seventeenth [August 29], Mir Jamaluddin Husayn, who had gone as emissary to Bijapur, came and paid homage. He presented for my inspection three rings, one of which had a Yemeni agate stone of great luster and brilliance. Rarely had such a good agate been seen before. The Adil Khan had sent one of his men, Sayyid Kabir by name, with the mir and had sent elephants with gold and silver trappings, Arabian horses, gems, jeweled vessels, and all sorts of textiles made in that land. On the twenty-fourth [September 5], all these were passed before my view, and a letter he had brought was presented for my inspection. The same day the solar weighing ceremony was held.

On the twenty-sixth [September 7], the ambassador Mustafa Beg was given leave to depart. Aside from what he had been given during his residence, I gave him another twenty thousand rupees in cash and a robe of honor. **[116a]** In reply to the letter he had brought, a missive of affection filled with expressions of friendship was composed.

On the fourth of Mihr [September 16], Mir Jamaluddin Husayn's rank of 2000/500 was increased to 4000/2000.

On the fifth [September 17], Mahabat Khan, who had been assigned to accompany the Khankhanan to the Deccan, received leave at the hour chosen for him. He was given a robe of honor, a jeweled dagger with a phul-katara, a special sword, and an elephant.

On the ninth [September 21], Khan Jahan was given leave to depart and was awarded a robe of honor, a royal *nadiri*, a steed with saddle, a royal elephant, and a royal sword. On the same day it was ordered that 1700 suwar of Mahabat Khan's troop should be reckoned at duaspa-seaspa. The men who had been assigned to the Deccan campaign this time included 330 officers, 3,000 ahadis, 700 Oymaq cavalry, and 3,000 Dilazak Afghans. There was a total of 30,000 men with a treasury of thirty lacs of rupees, well-stocked artillery, and war elephants.

8. *Phul* means flower, and the name probably refers to the floral-embroidered material known as phoolkaree.

9. On page 27 the nurjahani mohur is identified as a one-tola (twelve-gram) gold coin. The one given to the emissary must have been a much larger version, like the 500-tolcha (8 kg = 17½ lb) one mentioned below.

10. The Shab-i-Barat, the commemoration of the first revelation of the Koran, is celebrated on the fourteenth of Sha'ban.

Sarbulandi Rai's rank was increased by 500/260 to 2000/1500. The rank of Qilich Khan's nephew Baljiu was increased to 1000/700. Raja Kishan Das's rank was also increased to 500 zat. At Khan Jahan's request, the rank of Shahbaz Khan Lodi, an assignee to the Deccan, was increased to 2000/1000. Wazir Khan's rank was increased by 200 suwar. Mirza Rustam's son Suhrab Khan's rank was increased to 1000/400.

On the fourteenth [September 26], another 1000/500 was added to Mir Jamaluddin Husayn's rank, making 5000/2500.

On the nineteenth [October 1], Raja Suraj Mal, who had been given home leave, came with his son Gaj Singh and paid homage. They offered a hundred mohurs and a thousand rupees as a vow. I gave Sayyid Kabir, the Adil Khan's emissary, a nurjahani mohur weighing five hundred tolchas.

On the twenty-third [October 5], ninety of the elephants Qasim Khan had captured in the conquest of Cooch [Behar], Mugg, and the zamindars of Orissa [**116b**] were inspected and assigned to the royal stable.

On the twenty-sixth [October 8], Iradat Khan was given the post of *mirsaman* [chief steward], Mu'tamad Khan was made bakhshi of the ahadis, and Riza Jabiri was made bakhshi and reporter of the Punjab. On this date leave was given to Sayyid Kabir, who had come on behalf of the Adil Khan to beg pardon for the rulers of the Deccan and to guarantee the return of the fortress of Ahmadnagar and the imperial realms that had been lost due to the corruption of some mischief-makers. He was given a robe of honor, an elephant, and a horse and was dismissed.

Since Raja Rai Singh Kachhwaha had died in the Deccan, I gave his son Ram Das the rank of 1000/400.

On the fourteenth of the month of Aban [October 26], Sayf Khan Barha was awarded drums and promoted by 300 suwar to the rank of 3000/2000. On the same day I released Raja Man, who had been in prison in the Gwalior fortress, on Murtaza Khan's guarantee, let him keep his rank, and sent him to the khan on the Kangra fortress campaign.

At Khan Dawran's request Sadiq Khan's rank was increased by 300 suwar to 1000/1000. Mirza Tarkhan came from his jagir in Sambhal and paid homage, offering a vow of a hundred mohurs.

On the sixteenth [October 28], Raja Suraj Singh was given leave to depart for the Deccan. I promoted him by 300 suwar to 5000/3300 and gave him a robe of honor and a horse.

On the eighteenth [October 30], I increased Mirza Isa's rank to 1500/800, gave him a robe of honor and an elephant, and dismissed him to the Deccan.

Around the same time news of the wretched Chïn-Qilich's death was received in a report from Jahangir-Quli Khan. After the death of Qilich Khan, an old servant of the empire, I showed this wretch great favor, made him an amir, and assigned him a jagir similar to the Jaunpur Province. Then I assigned his brothers and relatives to him and stationed them in his troop. He had a brother named Lahauri, a miserable, evil-natured person. [**117a**] It was reported to me that the people were suffering from his conduct, so I sent an ahadi to bring him from Jaunpur. As soon as the ahadi arrived, Chïn-Qilich was overcome by apprehension for no ostensible reason and put it in his mind to take his misguided brother and flee. Abandoning his station and responsibility, his jagir and property, his children and his men, he took a bit of cash and gems and went out with a few men among the zamindars. This news arrived a few days ago and caused great amazement. In short, he gave huge sums of money to every zamindar he came to, and they encouraged him to overstep his bounds. Finally word was received that he had

entered the province of Johirhat.[11] It happened that the zamindar was with Jahangir-Quli Khan, so the khan sent the zamindar with a few of his men to capture the wretch and bring him in. As soon as they arrived they seized him and were about to take him to Jahangir-Quli Khan when he died. The few men who were with him reported that he had come down with an illness some time before, and that is what killed him. It was also heard that he killed himself in order not to be taken to Jahangir-Quli Khan. In either case, his body was taken to Allahabad along with his sons and servants. He had squandered most of the money or given it to the zamindars. May such disloyal disgraces always come to such an end.

11. The manuscripts have various names here, and the place has not been identified.

> Above and beyond the obligation that lies upon all nations is the duty to one's benefactor.

On the twenty-second [November 3], the rank of Nadi-Ali Maydani, who was assigned to the Bangash campaign, was increased by 200 suwar to 1500/1000 at Khan Dawran's request. Lashkar Khan, 2000/900, was promoted by 100 suwar.

On the twenty-fourth [November 5], I increased Muqarrab Khan's rank of 3000/2000 to 5000/2500. Around the same time Shah-Muhammad Qandahari's son Qiyam, a scion of amirs who held the rank of scout, was awarded the title of khan.

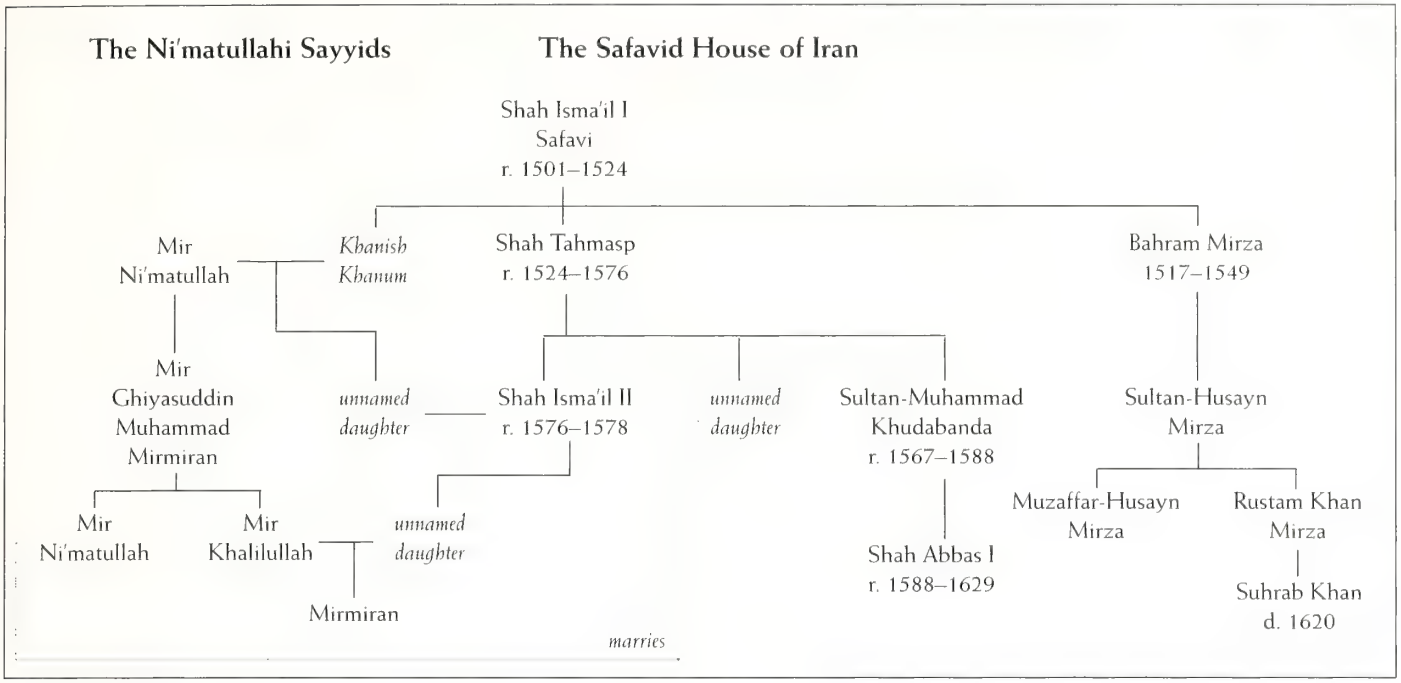
On the fifth of Azar [November 16], a jeweled dagger was given to Darab Khan.

On the ninth [November 20], I sent robes of honor with Raja Sarang Deo to the amirs in the Deccan.

Since certain things had been heard about Safdar Khan, the governor of Kashmir, [**117b**] I dismissed him from the governorship and appointed in his stead Ahmad Beg Khan on account of his past service. I maintained his rank at 2500/500 and gave him a jeweled girth dagger and a robe of honor. I sent winter robes of honor to Qasim Khan the governor of Bengal and the amirs assigned there.

On the fifteenth of the month [November 26], the offering of Iftikhar Khan's son Makki consisting of an elephant, fourteen ghunt ponies, and some textiles was viewed. He was awarded the title of Muruwwat Khan. Also, Diyanat Khan's sequestered income and property were released.

Around this time Khwaja Hashim Dahbedi, who keeps dervishdom thriving in Transoxiana today, and in whom the people of that realm have the utmost belief, sent me, by one of the dervishes of his order, a fur garment, a bow, and a letter conveying his best wishes and the loyalty his ancestors had for the members of this dynasty. In the letter he also included a line of poetry His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur] wrote for a master of the order named Khwajagi. The second hemistich of the line is as follows: "We are a slave to Khwajagi, we are a slave to Khwajagi." In reply I wrote several lines in my own hand and sent them to the khwaja together with the following quatrain I composed extemporaneously and a thousand Jahangiri mohurs: "My love for you is greater than ever, and the memory of you, O dervish, is good fortune. / As happy as my heart is with good news of you, we are happier that your kindness is more than ever." Since we ordered that anyone who had poetic talent should compose such a quatrain, Masihu'z-Zaman came up with the following excellent one: "Although we have the job of being king, we remember the dervishes more and more every moment. / If one dervish's heart is gladdened by us, we reckon it as the supreme achievement of our reign." Another thousand mohurs were given to the doctor as a prize for this quatrain.



On the seventh of Day [December 18], I turned back from touring Pushkar and headed for Ajmer. [**118a**] Along the way forty-two boars were hunted.

On the eighth [December 19], the Mirmiran came to pay homage. A summary account of him and his line has already been written.[12] On his father's side he is the grandson of Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Mirmiran, the son of Shah Ni'matullah. They attained the highest honors under the Safavid sultans. His Majesty Shah Tahmasp gave his sister Khanïsh Khanum to Shah Ni'matullah and was honored to be an in-law and relative of the shaykh's. On his mother's side he is the son of the daughter of Shah Ismail [II] the Safavid. After Shah Ni'matullah's death, his son Mir Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Mirmiran received enormous patronage, and the late shah [Tahmasp] gave one of the daughters of the royal family to his eldest son. He gave Shah Ismail's daughter to another son, Khalilullah, and she gave birth to the Mirmiran. Mir Khalilullah came from Persia seven years ago and paid me homage in Lahore. Since he belonged to a saintly line, I showed him great respect and gave him a rank and jagir sufficient to maintain his dignity. Shortly after Agra became the capital, he was afflicted with bilious diarrhea from eating too many mangoes and died within ten or twelve days. I was very distressed by his death. I ordered his legacy, both cash and goods, sent to his sons in Persia. Around that time, the twenty-two-year-old Mirmiran had become a wandering dervish and got himself to us in Ajmer in a guise that kept him from being recognized along the way. I soothed all his anxiety and both external and internal distress, assigned him the rank of 1000/400, and gave him thirty thousand drabs in cash. At present he is in service in the retinue.

12. See page 88f.

On the twelfth [December 23], Zafar Khan, who had been removed from the governorship of Bihar, came and paid homage. He presented a vow of 101 mohurs and an offering of three elephants.

On the fifteenth of Day [December 26], the rank of Qasim Khan the governor of



PORTRAIT OF SULTAN KHURRAM. India, Mughal period, ca. 1615. Ink on paper. Page and illustration: 11.1 x 7.3 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler. S1986.437

Bengal was increased by 1000/1000 to 4000/4000. Since satisfactory service had not been rendered by the divan and bakhshi of Bengal, Husayn Beg and Tahir, Mukhlis Khan, a favorite servant of the court, [**118b**] was assigned. I appointed him to the rank of 2000/700 and awarded him a banner.

I gave the post of reviser of petitions to Diyanat Khan.

Khurram's Weighing Ceremony

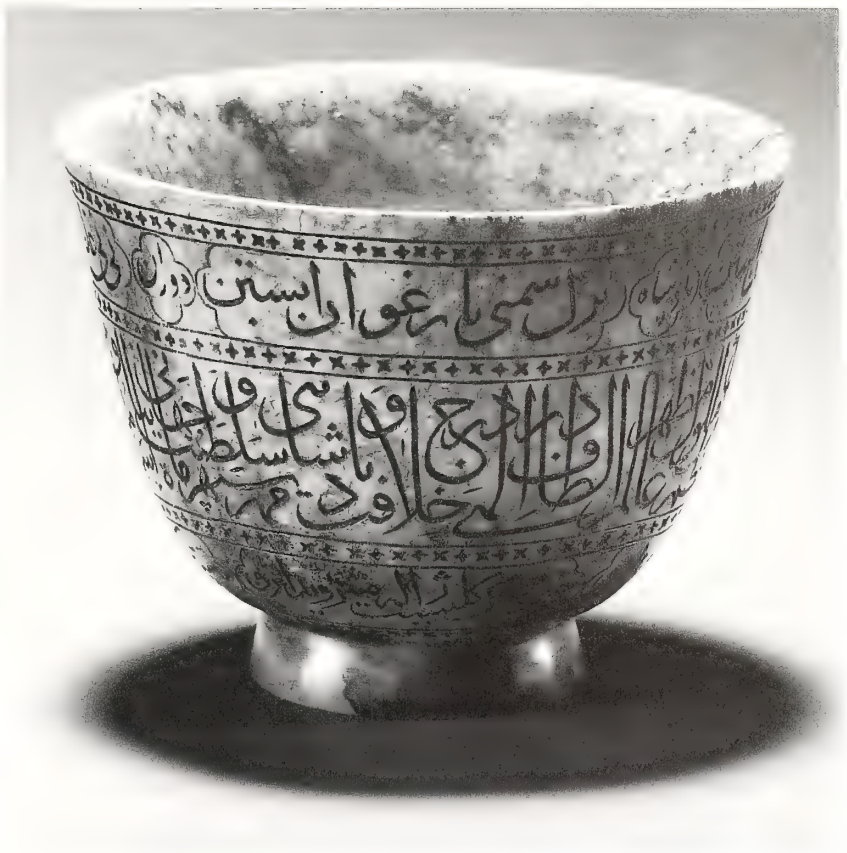
On Friday the twenty-fifth [January 5], the weighing of my son Khurram was held. Until this year, when he is in his twenty-fourth year, is married, and has children, he had never defiled himself by drinking wine.

On this day, his weighing ceremony, I said, "Baba has children, and monarchs and princes have always drunk. Today, which is your weighing ceremony, I let you drink wine and give you permission to drink on festival days, on Nawroz, and on great occasions, but you must keep to the path of moderation because drinking wine to the point that you lose your reason is not allowed by the wise. There must be a profit and benefit in drinking. Avicenna, the greatest physician and doctor, has said this in poetry: 'Wine is an enemy to the drunk and a friend to the sober. A little is an antidote, but too much is venom. / In too much the harm is not insignificant; in a little there is much benefit.'" It took great persistence to get him to drink.

Jahangir's Drinking Habits

I myself did not drink until the age of eighteen, except during my infancy, when two or three times my mother and nurses asked my exalted father for liquor to treat infantile complaints and gave me a tola of it mixed with rose water and water as cough medicine. Then, when my exalted father's entourage was camped to deal with the Yusufzai Afghans in the Attock fortress on the banks of the Nilab River, one day I mounted to go hunting. Since I overdid it and got exhausted, a wonderful gunner named Ustad Shah-Quli, the chief of my uncle Mirza Muhammad-Hakim's gunners, said to me, "If you drink a beaker of wine, it will relieve the exhaustion. Since I was young and my nature was inclined to do these things, I ordered Mahmud the water-carrier to go to Hakim Ali's house and bring some alcoholic syrup. The physician sent a phial and a half of yellow-colored, sweet-tasting wine in a small bottle. I drank it and liked the feeling I got. [**119a**]

After that I started drinking wine, increasing it day by day until I no longer got a kick out of grape wine and started drinking liquor. Little by little, over nine years, it increased to twenty phials of double-distilled spirits, fourteen during the day and rest at night. By weight that much is six Hindustani seers, which is equivalent to one and a half Iranian maunds. During those days my only food was the equivalent of one meal with bread and radishes.[13] In this state no one had the power to stop me. Things got so bad that in my hangovers my hands shook and trembled so badly I couldn't drink myself but had to have others help me. Finally I summoned Hakim Humam, Hakim Abu'l-Fath's brother and one of my exalted father's confidants, and informed him of my condition. In perfect sincerity and compassion he said, with no beating around the bush, "Highness, the way you're drinking, in another six months—God forbid—things will be so bad it will be beyond remedy." Since his words were spoken in benevolence, and life is precious, it made a great impression on me.



WINE CUP. India, Mughal period, dated A.H. 1016 (1607–8). Jade (nephrite), Ht. 5.5; diam. 7.5 cm. Brooklyn Museum of Art, anonymous loan L78.22

From that date I began to decrease the amount and started taking philonium, increasing it by the amount I decreased the wine. Then I ordered the spirits mixed with grape wine, two parts wine to one part spirits, and I kept decreasing the amount I drank every day. Over a period of seven years I got it down to six phials, the weight of a phial being seventeen and three-quarters mithcals. I have now been drinking like this for fifteen years without increase or decrease. I only drink at night, but not on Thursday, the day of my accession, or on Friday eve, a blessed night of the week. Out of these two considerations I drink at the end of the day because I don't like to let the night go by in negligence without rendering thanks to the True Benefactor. On Thursdays and Sundays I don't eat meat—Thursday because it is the day of my accession, and Sunday, my exalted father's birthday, because he venerated it greatly.

After a while I substituted opium for the philonium. Now that I am forty-six years and four months old by solar reckoning, or forty-seven years and nine months by lunar reckoning, I have eight surkhs of opium [**119b**] after the elapse of five gharis of the day and six surkhs after the first watch of the night.

13. The text for this sentence is questionable. Translation is based on a reading of *taghazzi* (meal) for the text's meaningless *TGhDRY*.

A jeweled dagger was given to Maqsud-Ali to take to Abdullah Khan. Shaykh Musa, Qasim Khan's relative, was awarded the title of khan, promoted to the rank of 800/400, and given leave to proceed to Bengal. Zafar Khan's rank was increased by 500/500, and he was assigned to the Bangash campaign. The same day Khwaja Jahan's brother Aqa

Muhammad-Husayn was sent as garrison commander to the Agra sarkar and given an increase in rank of 200 suwar to 500/400 and an elephant.

On the fifth of Bahman [January 15], an elephant was given to the Mirmiran. Since the merchant Khwaja Abdul-Karim was coming to Hindustan from Iran, my regal brother Shah Abbas sent with him a rosary of Yemeni agate and a cup of exquisite Venetian workmanship.[14] They were presented for my inspection on the ninth of the month [January 19].

14. Reading with Rogers and Beveridge *kabi* (cup) for the text's *rikabi* (stirrup)

On the eighteenth [January 28], some offerings of all sorts of jeweled vessels and other things Sultan Parvez had sent were viewed.

On the seventh of Isfandarmudh [February 16], I'timaduddawla's nephew Sadiq, who held the post of bakhshi, was awarded the title of khan. The title had already been awarded to Khwaja Abdul-Aziz, so, since I had given him the title of Abdul-Aziz Khan, I gave Sadiq the title of Sadiq Khan.

On the tenth [February 19], Kunwar Karan's son Jagat Singh was ordered to return home. When he was given leave I gave him twenty thousand rupees, a horse, an elephant, a robe of honor, and a royal shawl. I gave Hari Das Jhala, one of the Rana's trusted men and Karan's son's ataliq, five thousand rupees, a horse, and a robe of honor and sent by him a six-flanged mace of gold for the Rana.

On the twentieth of the month [February 29], Raja Baso's son Raja Suraj Mal, who had been assigned to accompany Murtaza Khan to take the Kangra fortress because his lands were nearby, came as summoned and paid homage. The khan had some misgivings about him and considered his accompaniment detrimental. To this effect he had sent several reports to court complaining of him until finally an order recalling him was issued.

On the twenty-sixth [March 6], Nizamuddin Khan came from Multan and paid homage. [**120a**]

The Defeat of Ahdad the Afghan

Toward the end of the year came news of conquest and victory on all fronts. First was the affair of Ahdad the Afghan, who had long been holed up in the mountains of Kabul in rebellion and mischief-making and against whom many Afghans of the frontier had been sent. From the time of my exalted father until the present, which is the tenth year of my reign, troops have been constantly sent against him. Little by little he suffered setbacks and defeats, and some of his men defected and others were killed. He took refuge for a time in Charkh, his main residence, but Khan Dawran raised a siege all around it and blocked all access. When there was no fodder, water, or food left in his stronghold for the animals, Ahdad's men used to bring their flocks down from the hills by night to graze on the slopes, and Ahdad also went in order to keep his men with him. When Khan Dawran learned of this situation, he assigned a group of commanders and experienced warriors to go on a certain night to the vicinity of Charkh and lie in ambush. They went and hid themselves in ambushes by night. The next day Khan Dawran rode out in that direction. When the wretches brought their flocks down to graze and Ahdad and his troop were past the ambushes, suddenly they saw dust on the road ahead. Ahdad's scouts were sent out and learned that it was Khan Dawran. Pell-mell they lit out to return, but the khan's scouts also reported Ahdad was ahead. The khan galloped toward Ahdad, and the men who were in the ambushes also blocked the way and attacked. The clash lasted till the second watch on account of the roughness and unevenness of the ground and the thickness of the forest. In the end, however, defeat befell the wretches, who pulled back into the hills and valleys, with nearly three

hundred of their fighters sent to hell and a hundred taken prisoner. Ahdad could neither get himself back into his stronghold nor make a stand. There was nothing he could do but head in the direction of Kandahar. The imperial forces entered Charkh and the wretches' houses and [**120b**] torched them all, destroying and uprooting everything.

❁ *The Defeat of Malik Ambar*

Another piece of news was of the defeat of the ill-starred Ambar and the overthrow of his army of calamity. A summary account is as follows. A group of important commanders and a troop of Bargis, a people of unlimited stupidity and the wellspring of mischief and foolhardiness in that land, suffered an insult from Ambar and wanted to transfer their support to us. They asked Shahnawaz Khan, who was in Balapur with a troop of imperial soldiers, for his word that they could come to see him for negotiations. As he assured them of his good faith, Adam Khan, Yaqut Khan, a group of other commanders and Bargis, Jadun Rai, and Babajiv Kathiya came to see him. Shahnawaz Khan gave each of them a horse, an elephant, money, and a robe of honor according to their ranks and stations and received their pledges of support. Then, decamping from Balapur, he headed against Ambar accompanied by these men. Along the way they encountered a troop of Deccanis consisting of Mahaldar, Danish, Dilawar, Bijli, Firoz, and several other officers and ground them into the dust. The defeated, "weapons smashed and belts broken, neither capable of fighting nor concerned for their lives," got themselves back to the ill-starred Ambar's camp. Ambar was so conceited that he dared do battle with imperial troops, and the wretches with him gathered the Adilkhanid and Qutbulmulkid armies, readied their artillery, and went out to face the imperial hosts until there was less than five or six kos between them.

On Sunday the twenty-fifth of Bahman [February 4], the forces of light and darkness approached each other, and each side's troops and banners could be seen by the other. Three watches of the day had passed when artillery bombardment began. In the end, Darab Khan, the commander of the vanguard, with other commanders and warriors like Raja Bir Singh Deo, Rai Chand, Ali Khan Niyazi, Jahangir-Quli Beg Türkmän, [**121a**] and other lions of the thicket of bravery drew their swords and charged the enemy's vanguard, showing their mettle and scattering the foe. Unconcerned with the other side, they hurled themselves against the center. Similarly, every unit advanced against its opposite number, and such a clash took place that the onlookers were astonished. The fracas lasted about two gharis, and there were mountains of slain men. The ill-starred Ambar did not have the strength to resist the onslaught and turned in flight. Had the onset of darkness not helped the unfortunates, not one would have made it to safety. The crocodiles of the river of courage lit out in pursuit, tracking the fleeing soldiers for two or three kos. Only when neither horse nor man was able to proceed and the vanquished had scattered did they pull in their reins and return to camp. The enemy's entire artillery store, three hundred heavy-laden camels, war elephants, Arabian and Persian horses, and arms beyond number fell into the imperials' hands. There was no reckoning the dead and fallen, and many officers were captured alive.

The next day the imperial forces decamped from Fathpur and headed for Kharki, the nest of those owls.[15] Finding no trace of them, they pitched camp there and learned that every single one of the enemy had gone off somewhere in misery during the night and that day. The imperial forces remained several days in Kharki, leveling

15. Kharki is a town that was built by Malik Ambar, now Aurangabad. The owl is a bird of extremely ill omen, hence the epithet.

the rebels' buildings and houses to the dust and burning the habitation. Because of certain events, which would take too long to relate here, they turned back and descended through the Rohankhera pass. As a reward for this service all those who displayed outstanding courage and bravery were given promotions.

Another piece of good news was the conquest of the province of Gogra and the capture of a diamond mine through the efforts of Ibrahim Khan. [**121b**] This province is a dependency of the souba of Bihar and Patna, and through it flows a river from which diamonds are extracted by a singular method, as follows.

Diamond Mining

During the season in which there is little water, there are pools and waterholes, and those who do this kind of work know from experience that tiny flying insects like gnats, which the people of India call *jhingar,* swarm over any pool that has diamonds. First they stake out the length of the river as far as one can walk, and then they make walls of stone around the pools. After that, they get to work with shovels and picks and dig an ell or an ell and a half down into the pools. When they search through the gravel that comes out, they get diamonds, large and small. Sometimes they find a diamond worth a lac of rupees.

This area and the river used to belong to a Hindu named Durjan Sal, and every time the governors of Bihar tried sending armies against him, or going themselves, the roads were so easily defended and the jungles so thick that they contented themselves with taking two or three diamonds and left him alone.

When the souba of Bihar was taken from Zafar Khan, and Ibrahim Khan was put in his stead, as I was giving him leave to depart I ordered him to attack that area and get the territory out of that little nobody's hands. As soon as Ibrahim Khan entered Bihar, he assembled a troop and set out against the zamindars. As before, Durjan Sal sent envoys to make an agreement and offer a couple of diamonds and a few elephants. The khan, however, not to be satisfied with that, rushed into the province and attacked the fellow before he could get his troops together and block the way. Simultaneously he received word that the mountain and valley where he made his home were surrounded. The khan sent men out in all directions to search for him, and he was captured in a cave with several women, one of whom was his mother and another was one of his father's other wives, and one of his brothers. [**122a**] The captives were searched, and the diamonds they had with them were taken. Twenty-three male and female elephants were also captured.

As a reward for this service Ibrahim Khan's rank was increased to 4000/4000, and he was awarded the title of Fath-Jang.[16] All the officers who participated in this campaign and performed outstandingly were also promoted.

16. The title Fath-Jang means "triumphant in battle."

At present the province is in the hands of imperial agents, work continues in the river, and day by day diamonds are found and brought to court. Recently a large diamond worth fifty thousand rupees was found. With a little labor it is probable that fine diamonds will enter the royal gem department.

The Eleventh Regnal Year: March 10, 1616–March 10, 1617

The Eleventh Nawroz after the Royal Accession

On Sunday, the last day of Isfandarmudh, corresponding to the first of Rabi' I 1025 [March 9, 1616], after the elapse of fifteen gharis, the sun transited from the constellation of Pisces into its house of good fortune, Aries. At this auspicious hour I offered prayers and petitions at the Creator's court and ascended the throne in the Hall of Public and Private Audience. The hall's courtyard had been spread with cloth and *shamiana*s [screens], and its sides were decorated with European canvases, gold-spun brocades with images, and rare textiles. The princes, amirs, dignitaries of court, pillars of the state, and all other servants of the court offered congratulations.

Since Hafiz Nadi-Ali the singer was an old servant, I ordered all cash and goods offered on Monday to go to him as a reward.

On the second day the offerings of several servants were viewed.

On the fourth day [March 13], Khwaja Jahan's offering he had sent from Agra, consisting of several diamonds, several pearls, some jeweled vessels, textiles of every sort, and an elephant, **[122b]** worth a total of fifty thousand rupees, was viewed.

On the fifth [March 14], Kunwar Karan, who had been given leave to go home, arrived and paid homage. He presented a hundred mohurs and a thousand rupees as a vow and an elephant with trappings and four horses as an offering.

On the seventh [March 16], Asaf Khan's rank of 4000/200 was increased by 1000/2000, and I awarded him the privilege of drums and a banner. The same day Mir Jamaluddin Husayn's offering was viewed. I liked everything he presented. There was a jeweled dagger he had fashioned himself. On the hilt a yellow carnelian had been set, and for brilliance and size no such yellow carnelian had been seen before. There were also European carnelians I liked and old emeralds fashioned in a peculiar shape. The jewelers valued them at fifty thousand rupees. I increased the mir's rank by 1000 suwar to 5000/3500.

On the eighth [March 17], Sadiq Khan's rank was increased by 300 and Iradat Khan's by 300/200, so they both then had the rank of 1000/200.

On the ninth [March 18], Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan's offering was viewed. Forty thousand rupees' worth of gems, jeweled vessels, and textiles was accepted. I gave the rest back to him. Tatar Khan Bökäülbegi's offering of a ruby, a carnelian, a jeweled throne, two rings, and several pieces of textile was accepted.

On the tenth [March 19], three elephants Raja Maha Singh had sent from the Deccan and a hundred-odd bolts of brocade, etc. that Murtaza Khan had sent from Lahore were viewed. On this day Diyanat Khan also presented his offering of two



Portrait of Asaf Khan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1616. Opaque watercolor on paper. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz—Orientabteilung. A117, folio 20b

pearl rosaries, two rubies, six large pearls, and a golden tray worth twenty-eight thousand rupees.

Toward the end of the day on Thursday the eleventh [March 20], I went to I'timadud-dawla's house as a show of favor to him, and he presented his offering there. **[123a]** I inspected in detail the things he offered, most of which were of great rarity. Two pearls worth thirty thousand rupees and a qutbi ruby he had purchased for twenty-two thousand rupees were accepted along with some other pearls and rubies worth a total of a hundred ten thousand rupees. Textiles and other things worth fifteen thousand rupees were taken.

When I finished viewing the offering, I spent nearly one watch of the night in enjoyable conversation, ordering the amirs and courtiers to pass round the cup. The ladies of the harem were there too. It was a good party. At the end I'timaduddawla apologized for any shortcoming, and I headed back to the palace.

Around this time I ordered Nurmahall to be called Nurjahan Begam.[1]

On the twelfth [March 21], I'tibar Khan's offering was viewed. There was a very ornate vessel, shaped like a fish and studded with precious jewels, that held my accustomed amount [of wine]. I accepted it along with other jewels, jewel-studded vessels, and textiles worth a total of fifty-six thousand rupees. I gave the rest back.

Bahadur Khan had sent seven Persian horses and nine sets of nine bolts of textiles from Kandahar. It was viewed on the thirteenth [March 22] along with Iradat Khan's offering and that of Raja Baso's son Raja Suraj Mal.

Abdul-Subhan, who held the rank of 1200/600, was promoted to 1500/700.

On the fifteenth [March 24], the governorship of Thatta and that area was taken from Shamsher Khan Uzbek and given to Muzaffar Khan.

On the sixteenth [March 25], the offering of I'timaduddawla's son I'tiqad Khan was viewed. I took thirty two thousand rupees' worth and gave the rest back to him.

On the seventeenth [March 26], Tarbiyat Khan's offering was seen. Seventeen thousand rupees' worth of gems and textiles were found satisfactory. **[123b]**

On the eighteenth [March 27] I went to Asaf Khan's house, where his offering was viewed. From the palace to his house was approximately a kos. From halfway there he had spread the road with velvets and brocades I was told were worth ten thousand

1. Nurmahall means "light of the palace"; Nurjahan means "light of the world."



DALLIANCE ON A TERRACE. India, Jahangir period, ca. 1615 or later. Opaque watercolor on paper. Full page: 33.3 x 21.6 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, from the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase. M.83.1.6

rupees. I stayed in his house with the ladies of the harem until midnight, and his offerings were inspected in detail. One hundred fourteen thousand rupees' worth of gems, jeweled vessels, gold vessels, fine textiles, four horses, and a camel were accepted.

Celebration of Culmination and Lunar Weighing Ceremony

On the nineteenth [March 28], the culmination day, a splendid assembly was held in the palace. At the proper hour, two and a half gharis from the end of the day, I mounted the throne. At this auspicious hour my son Baba Khurram presented a ruby of wonderful color and brilliance worth eighty thousand rupees. I increased his rank of 15,000/8,000 to 20,000/10,000. On the same day the lunar weighing was held.

I increased I'timaduddawla's rank of 6000/3000 to 7000/5000, gave him a tümän tugh, and ordered that his drums were to be sounded after my son Khurram's. Tarbiyat Khan's rank was increased by 500/500 to 3500/1500. I'tiqad Khan was given a promotion of 1000/400. Nizamuddin Khan was promoted to the rank of 700/300 **[124a]** and assigned to service in Bihar. Salamullah Arab was awarded the title of Shaja'at Khan and given pearls to signify his allegiance to the court. I gave Mir Jamaluddin Husayn Injü the title of Azududdawla.

On the twenty-first [March 30], God granted a son to Khusraw by the daughter of Mihtar Fazil Rikabdar's son Muqim.[2]

Allahdad the Afghan, who had elected to pledge allegiance, had sincerely severed himself from the evil Ahdad. He was awarded twenty thousand drabs.

On the twenty-fifth [April 3], news was received of the death of Rai Manohar, who had been assigned to the Deccan campaign. I gave his son the rank of 500/300 and awarded him his father's place and post.

On the twenty-sixth [April 4], Nadi-Ali Maydani's offering of nine horses, a hundred sables, and four Persian camels was viewed.

On the twenty-seventh [April 5], I gave an elephant to Bahadur Khan the governor of Kandahar, one to Mir Khalilullah's son the Mirmiran, and one to Sayyid Bayazid the governor of Bhakkar.

On the first of Urdibihisht [April 10], at Abdullah Khan's recommendation I awarded his brother Sardar Khan the privilege of drums.

On the third [April 12], I gave a jeweled khapwa to Allahdad the Afghan. The same day news was received that Qadam, an Afridi Afghan who had been in allegiance and obedient and who was charged with keeping watch over the Khyber Pass, had, with little provocation, stepped out of the circle of obedience and rebelled. Sending troops against every outpost, he and his men had taken by surprise and pillaged every place they got to and killed many. **[124b]** In short, by this evil action this mindless Afghan has once again stirred up trouble in the mountains of Kabul. When the news arrived I ordered Harun, Qadam's brother, and Jalal, his son, both of whom were at court, to capture him and turn him over to Asaf Khan to imprison in the fortress at Gwalior.

As a sign of divine grace and favor, something happened around this time that is not a little strange. After defeating the Rana, my son Khurram presented a fine, brilliant ruby to me in Ajmer. It was worth sixty thousand rupees. It occurred to me that I should wear it on my arm. However, two rare and lustrous matched pearls worthy to sit with this ruby were necessary. Then, when Muqarrab Khan obtained one superb pearl worth eight thousand rupees and offered it for Nawroz, it occurred to me that if a mate to this pearl could be found it would make a perfect arm band. Khurram, who had been in my exalted father's service from childhood and had spent day and night with him,

2. The son's name is not mentioned. However, when Khusraw's son Dawarbakhsh is put to death in 1628 (page 460), a brother named Garshasp is also done away with. The child whose birth is reported here may be that Garshasp.

said, "I have seen a pearl of this size and shape on an old headband." A big old turban ornament was brought, and upon examination it was found to contain a pearl of exactly the right size and shape. It didn't differ an iota in size. The jewelers were astonished that it matched in size, shape, and luster. **[125a]** You'd say they had been cast in the same mold. I had the pearls set on either side of the ruby and put it on my arm, placing my head in gratitude upon the ground to render thanks to the lord. "Who succeeds in giving proper thanks with hand and tongue?"

On the fifth [April 14], thirty Persian and Turkish horses Murtaza Khan had sent from Lahore were viewed. The offering Khan Dawran had sent from Kabul was seen. It consisted of sixty-three horses, fifteen male and female camels, one feather ornament, nine egret plumes, nine Chinese porcelains, nine striated fish teeth,[3] three muskets, and other things. Muqarrab Khan offered a small Ethiopian elephant that had been brought by ship across the sea. There are some differences in shape relative to Indian elephants. The Ethiopian's ears are larger than the ones here, and its trunk and tail are longer. During my exalted father's time I'timad Khan Gujarati sent a young elephant as an offering.[4] Little by little as it grew up it became very ferocious and bad-tempered.

On the seventh [April 16], a jeweled dagger was given to Muzaffar the governor of Thatta. Around the same time news was received that a group of semisavage Afghans had attacked and surrounded the outpost where Abdul-Subhan, Khan Alam's brother, was stationed. Abdul-Subhan and the few men with him had done their all and performed valiantly in the fray, but in the end, as the saying goes, "When a mosquito is on the wing it will bite an elephant," **[125b]** the dogs got to them and slew Abdul-Subhan and the men of the outpost. I sent a letter of condolence and a robe of honor to Khan Alam, who had gone on a diplomatic mission to Iran.

On the fourteenth [April 23], the offering of Mu'azzam Khan's son Mukarram Khan, who had come from Bengal, was viewed. He had assembled goods and wares from that province. I increased the ranks of several jagirdars of Gujarat. Among them, Sardar Khan was promoted from 1000/500 to 1500/600 and awarded a banner. Sayyid Dilawar Barha's son Sayyid Qasim was promoted to 800/450. Ahmad Qasim Koka's nephew Yar Beg was promoted to 600/250.

On the seventeenth [April 26], news was received of the death of Razzaqverdi Uzbek, who had been assigned to the Deccan campaign. He always made valuable contributions to tactical planning sessions and had been a ranking amir of Transoxiana.

On the twenty-first [April 30], I awarded Allahdad the Afghan the title of khan and increased his rank of 1000/600 to 2000/1000. Three lacs of rupees from the Lahore treasury were given to Khan Dawran to defray expenses because he had made such splendid efforts against the Afghans. **[126a]**

On the twenty-eighth [May 7], Kunwar Karan was given leave to go home to get married. I gave him a robe of honor, a personal Persian horse with saddle, an elephant, and a jewel-studded girth dagger.

The Death of Murtaza Khan

On the thirtieth of the month [May 9], news came of the death of Murtaza Khan, an old servant of the state. My exalted father patronized him and raised him to a position of trust and importance. During my reign he had the outstanding success of defeating Khusraw. His rank reached 6000/5000. Recently, since he was the governor of the Punjab, he had undertaken to capture the Kangra fortress in the hill country of that province—in all the world there is not such an impregnable fortress. He had been sent on that task and was occupied with it.

3. The "fish tooth," or "fish tusk," that comes up in the memoirs and with which Jahangir was very taken refers to narwhal tusk.

4. See Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 2:315 (trs. 2:466).

I was deeply depressed by this unpleasant news, for truly the death of such a supporter is very distressing. Since he had spent his life in allegiance and been so useful, I asked God to pardon his sins.

❁

On the fourth of Khurdad [May 14], Sayyid Nizam's rank was increased to 900/350, and the office of host to foreign emissaries was given to Nuruddin-Quli.

On the seventh [May 17], news arrived of Sayf Khan Barha's death. He was a very brave and manly warrior. He performed splendidly in the battle with Khusraw. He died in the Deccan of cholera. I took his sons under my wing and gave the elder son, Ali-Muhammad, **[126b]** the rank of 600/400. The other brother, Bahadur, was made 400/200. His nephew Sayyid Ali was promoted to 500/500. Around the same time Shahbaz Khan Kambo's son Khubullah was awarded the title of Rambaz Khan.

On the eighteenth [May 28], Hashim Khan's rank was increased to 2500/1800. On this day I gave twenty thousand drabs to Allahdad the Afghan. Bikramajit, the Raja of Bandhu, whose ancestors have been major landholders in Hindustan, attained the felicity of körünüsh through the intermediary of my fortunate son Baba Khurram, and his offenses were pardoned.

On the twentieth [May 30], Kalyan of Jaisalmer, whom Raja Kishan Das had gone to summon, came and paid homage, presenting a hundred mohurs and a thousand rupees as a vow. His elder brother, Rawal Bhim, had held great status and position, and when he died he left a two-month-old child who didn't survive but several days. When I was a prince I married his daughter and gave her the title of Malika Jahan. This connection had come about because this clan's ancestors had long been supporters. I summoned the above-mentioned Kalyan, Rawal Bhim's brother, marked him with the ticka of rajaship and gave him the title of *rawal*.

❁ *The Death of a Grandchild*

On this date an event took place of which, no matter how much I wanted to, my hand and heart would not let me write. Every time I took the pen I felt so depressed that I had to tell I'timaduddawla to write it for me.

"On the eleventh of Khurdad of the eleventh year [May 21], traces of fever were seen in Prince Khurram's heavenly daughter, a newcomer to the garden of felicity to whom His Majesty's servants were greatly attached.[5] After three days signs of pustules appeared, and on the twenty-sixth of the month [June 5], corresponding to Wednesday the twenty-ninth of Jumada I 1025, the bird of her spirit took wing from this elemental cage and flew to the gardens of paradise. On this day it was ordered that Wednesday *(chabarshamba)* should be called *gumshamba* [day of loss]. **[127a]** What am I to write of the grief that afflicted His Majesty the Shadow of God from this tragic and sad event? If the soul of the world is in such a condition, how will other servants be who consider their lives dependent upon his blessed existence? For two days servants were not received, and it was ordered that the room where that bird from paradise had lived should be walled up, never to be seen again. Even so His Majesty did not appear in the palace. On the third day, unable to bear it any longer, he went to the house of the prince, affording his servants the felicity of körünüsh and a new lease on life. Along the way, no matter how much he desired to control himself, involuntary tears poured from his blessed eyes, and for a long time at the mere mention of a word that reminded him of her, he broke down. He spent several days in the

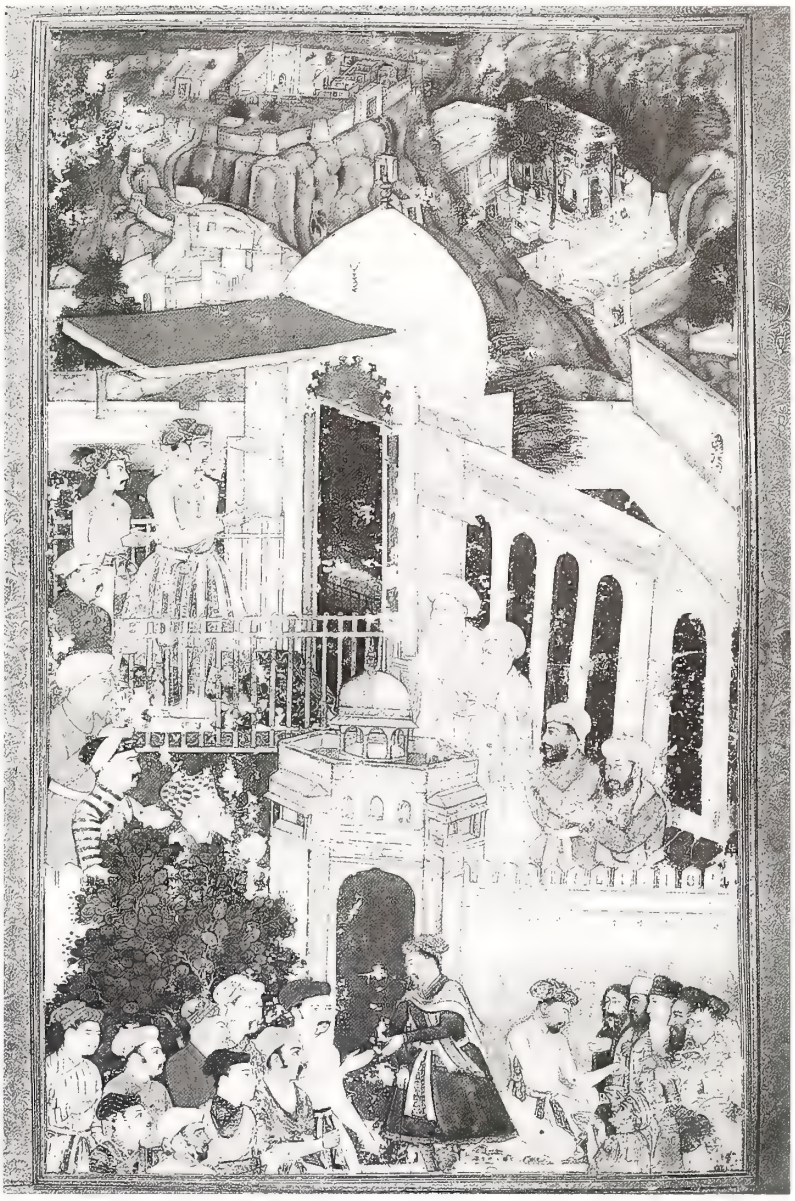
5. According to the Rajputana Gazetteer 2:62, near the shrine of Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti is the grave of an infant daughter of Shahjahan named Chamani Begam.

prince's house, and on Monday the sixth of Tir [June 15] he went to Asaf Khan's abode. From there he went to Chashma-i-Nur on Thursday the ninth [June 18], keeping his mind occupied there for two or three days. However, as long as he was in Ajmer, he could not control himself, and every time familiar words came to his ears he burst into tears. The hearts of his devoted servants were breaking, but when the imperial retinue set out for the Deccan, he regained a certain amount of calm and composure."

On Saturday the eleventh [June 18], I went from Chashma-i-Nur to the palace.

The Birth of Prince Shah-Shuja'

On Sunday the twelfth [June 21],[6] after the elapse of thirty-seven pals, in the twenty-seventh degree of Sagittarius's ascent by the calculation of Hindu astronomers, or the fifteenth degree of Capricorn by Greek calculation, a precious pearl came into the world from the womb of Asaf Khan's daughter.[7] In celebration and joy over this wonderful gift, drums were sounded loudly and the gates of rejoicing were opened to all people. Without reflection or thought I spoke the name Shah-Shuja'. I hope his advent will be blessed and auspicious for his mother and father.



JAHANGIR AT THE SHRINE IN AJMER. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 33 x 20 cm. Raza Library, Rampur. Album 1, folio 3a

On the twelfth [June 21], I gave a jeweled dagger and an elephant to Rawal Kalyan of Jaisalmer. [127b]

Around this time news was received of the death of Khawass Khan, whose jagir was in the Kannauj sarkar.

I gave an elephant to Rai Kunwar, the divan of Gujarat.

On the twenty-second of the month [July 1], I increased Raja Maha Singh's rank by 500/500 to 4000/3000. The rank of Ali Khan Niyazi, who had already been awarded the title of Nusrat Khan, was fixed at 2000/1500, and he was awarded a banner.

For the outcome of several things I made a vow to have a gold latticework railing installed around Khwaja [Mu'inuddin Chishti]'s blessed tomb. It was completed on the twenty-seventh of the month [July 6]. I ordered a screen installed. It cost one hundred ten thousand rupees.

6. According to Muhammad-Salih Kambo (*Amal-i salih*, 1.97), Shah-Shuja' was born on the eighteenth of Jumada II 1025 (June 23, 1616), but according to Mu'tamad Khan (*Iqbalnama*, 88) it was the fourteenth (June 19).

7. Asaf Khan's daughter was Shahjahan's wife Mumtaz Mahall, the mother of all four of his sons



JAHANGIR DISPENSING FOOD AT AJMER, possibly by Fath Chand. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 31 x 20 cm. Raza Library, Rampur. Album 1, folio 4a

New Plans for the Deccan

Since the leadership and command of the Deccan campaign had not gone as well as I had wished under my son Sultan Parvez, it occurred to me to summon him and then make Baba Khurram, who was clearly competent, the vanguard of the imperial forces and go myself in his wake. With such a push the campaign would be brought to conclusion. A decree to this effect had already been issued for Parvez to set out for Allahabad, which is in the middle of the realm, so that he could protect and guard that territory while we were on campaign.

On the twenty-ninth of the month [July 8], a letter came from Bihari Das, the reporter of Burhanpur, saying that the prince had left the city safe and sound on the twentieth, headed for Allahabad.

On the first of Amurdad [July 11], I gave Mirza Bhao Singh a jewel-studded turban ornament. An elephant was given to a court wrestler.

On the eighteenth [July 28], four steeds Lashkar Khan had sent were viewed. **[128a]** Mir Moghul was appointed garrison commander of Sambhal sarkar in succession to Sayyid Abdul-Waris, who had been appointed in Khawass Khan's place to the governorship of Kannauj sarkar. His [Mir Moghul's] rank was fixed at 500/500 for the duration of this posting.

On the twenty-first [July 31], Rawal Kalyan Jaisalmeri's offering of three thousand mohurs, nine horses, twenty-five camels, and an elephant was viewed. Qizilbash Khan was promoted to 1200/1000.

On the twenty-third [August 2], Shaja'at Khan obtained leave to go to his jagir to take care of the business of liege men and the province, having promised to return by a given date.

An Epidemic in the Punjab

During this year, and indeed during the tenth year, a great pestilence appeared in several places in Hindustan. The epidemic began in the Punjab countryside and spread little by little to the city of Lahore. Many people, both Muslims and Hindus, died of the disease. After that, it reached Sirhind and the Doab as far as Delhi and environs, devastating villages and the countryside. These days it has abated somewhat.

Since it appears from what aged people say and from history books that this illness has never appeared in this province before, the physicians and the learned were asked about the cause. Some say that since there have been two successive dry years with little rain during the monsoon, it has been caused by the putridity of the air arising from

the dryness and lack of rain. Others attribute it to other causes. God only knows. One can only bow to divine destiny. "What is a slave who will not bend his neck to orders to do?"

❁

On the fifth of Shahrivar [August 15], five thousand rupees were assigned as a grant to the Mirmiran's mother, who was the daughter of Shah Isma'il II. The money was sent to Persia with merchants.

On the sixth [August 16], a letter came from Abid Khan, the bakhshi and reporter of Ahmadabad, saying, "Inasmuch as I included in my reports some incidents that were displeasing to Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz-Jang, he has taken revenge on me by sending a group of men to waylay me and carry me off dishonorably to his house," where he did one thing and another. This displeased me so much that I wanted to cast Abdullah Khan out of my sight and get rid of him forever. Finally I decided to send Diyanat Khan [**128b**] to Ahmadabad to investigate the matter with disinterested parties. If it was true, he was to bring Abdullah Khan back to court and turn over the administration of Ahmadabad to his brother Sardar Khan. Before Diyanat Khan left, the news reached Khan Firoz-Jang, who, in a great state of consternation, admitted that he was guilty and started for court on foot. Diyanat Khan met him along the way and found him in an dreadful state. Since walking on foot had injured his feet, Diyanat Khan put him on his horse and set out to bring him to me.

Muqarrab Khan, an old servant of this court, has repeatedly begged me from the time I was a prince for the governorship of Gujarat. In view of Abdullah Khan's action it occurred to me to grant this old servant his wish and send him to Ahmadabad in Abdullah Khan's place. Around this time an hour for departure was chosen, and I turned over the governorship to him and made him happy in mind and body.

On the tenth [August 20], Bahadur Khan, the governor of Kandahar who held the rank of 4000/3000, was given an increase of 500 zat. I awarded Shawqi the tambura-player, one of the wonders of the age, the title of Anand Khan. He sings Hindi and Persian songs in a manner that soothes the soul. In the Hindi language *anand* means pleasure and repose.

Mangoes are not found in Hindustan past the end of the month of Tir [June–July], but Muqarrab Khan has made orchards in the pargana of Kairana, his ancestral homeland, in which they can be kept and preserved somehow for an extra two months after their season so that mangoes were sent to the fruit storehouse in Ajmer every day. Since this is such a strange thing, it has been recorded.

On the twentieth [August 30], a rare Persian horse named La'l-i-Bebaha [priceless ruby] was sent with the servant Sharif for Parvez. [**129a**]

I had ordered skilled stonecutters to sculpt life-size likenesses of the Rana and his son Karan in marble. On this date they were completed and shown to me. I ordered them taken to Agra and set up in the garden beneath the Jharoka-i-Darshan.

❁ *Solar Weighing Ceremony*

On the twenty-sixth [September 5], the solar weighing ceremony was held as usual. The first weighing was 6,514 tolchas of gold. I was weighed twelve times, each time against a different item. The second weighing was against quicksilver, the third against silk, the fourth against various perfumes like ambergris, musk, sandalwood, aloes, myrobalan, and so on for twelve weighings. One sheep, one goat, and one chicken for

every year of my life that had passed were given to the poor. It has been the custom in this eternal empire from my exalted father's time until now for all the goods from the weighing, approximately a lac of rupees worth, to be distributed among the poor and needy.

On this day a ruby Mahabat Khan had purchased from Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz-Jang in Burhanpur for sixty-five thousand rupees was shown to me. I liked it. It was a very nicely shaped ruby.

Khan A'zam's personal rank was fixed at 7000 zat, and the divanis were ordered to allot him a jagir corresponding to that amount. At I'timaduddawla's request, Diyanat Khan was reinstated to the rank he had held before being demoted for past actions. Azududdawla was given leave to go to his jagir in Malwa and awarded a horse and a robe of honor. Rawal Kalyan Jaisalmeri's rank was fixed at 2000/1000, and it was ordered that the province of Jaisalmer be allotted him as a jagir. Since the hour for his departure was on this day, he was given a horse, an elephant, a jeweled sword, a robe of honor, and a royal shawl [**129b**] and dismissed in a happy state to his province.

On the thirty-first [September 10], Muqarrab Khan was dismissed to Ahmadabad, and his rank, which was 5000/2500, was fixed at 5000/5000. He was awarded a royal robe of honor, a shirt, and a nadiri with pearl buttons. Two horses from the royal stable, a royal elephant, and a jeweled sword were also given to him. He too set out for his province happy.

On the fifteenth of Mihr [September 25], Kunwar Karan's son Jagat Singh came from home and paid homage.

On the sixteenth [September 26], Mirza Ali Beg Akbarshahi came from the province of Oudh, his jagir, and paid homage, presenting a vow of a thousand rupees and an elephant one of the zamindars of that land had owned. He had been ordered to take it from the zamindar.

On the twenty-first [October 1], the offering of Qutbulmulk, the ruler of Golconda, consisting of several jeweled utensils, was seen. Sayyid Qasim Barha's rank was fixed at 1000/600.

On the eve of Friday the twenty-second [October 2], Mirza Ali Beg passed away at the age of over seventy-five. He had performed many outstanding services to the empire, and his rank had gradually reached 4000. He was one of the generous and brave established warriors of this nation. He left no son or progeny. He had a poetic nature. Since the inescapable had happened to him on a day he had gone to visit the blessed shrine of Khwaja Mu'inuddin, I ordered him buried in that holy place.

A Wrestler from Bijapur

When I was giving leave to the emissaries of the Adil Khan of Bijapur, [**130a**] I had charged them to tell the Adil Khan to send me any outstanding wrestlers or renowned fencers from his land. Some time later, when the emissaries returned, they brought a man named Sher-Ali, a Moghul by descent, who had been born in Bijapur. He was a wrestler and had great expertise in the art. They also brought several fencers. The fencers were seen to be indifferent, but when I set Sher-Ali against the wrestlers and champions in my retinue, not one of them could stand up to him. He was awarded a thousand rupees and an elephant. He was very well built, good looking, and powerful. I kept him in my retinue, entitled him Pahlavan Paytakht,[8] and gave him a jagir rank.

8. Pahlavan Paytakht means "champion at the foot of the throne."

On the twenty-fourth [October 4], Diyanat Khan, who had been sent to bring Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz-Jang, brought him in and paid homage, presenting a vow of a hundred mohurs. The same day Ram Das, the son of the Rajput amir Raja Rai Singh who had died in the Deccan, was promoted to the rank of 1000/500.

Since Abdullah Khan had made mistakes, he had Baba Khurram intercede on his behalf. For Baba Khurram's sake I ordered him to perform körünüsh on the twenty-eighth [October 6], and he made an obeisance in all humility and embarrassment, presenting a vow of a hundred mohurs and a thousand rupees.

I had decided, before the Adil Khan's emissaries came, to put Baba Khurram in charge of my vanguard and to go myself to the Deccan and finish this campaign, which had fallen into a slump for certain reasons. I had therefore ordered that no one other than the prince should report on the affairs of the rulers of the Deccan. On this day the prince brought the emissaries into my presence to say what they had to say.

After the death of Murtaza Khan, Raja Man and most of the auxiliary officers had come to court. **[130b]** On this day, at I'timaduddawla's request, I assigned Raja Man the command of the expedition against the Kangra fortress, and I appointed all those others to accompany him. I gave each a bonus, horse, elephant, robe of honor, and cash according to their ranks and stations, and dismissed them. Several days later, at Baba Khurram's suggestion, I gave a jeweled dagger to Abdullah Khan, who was very broken-hearted and depressed, and I ordered his rank restored as before and him to join Baba Khurram's retinue on the Deccan campaign.

On the third of Aban [October 14], the rank of Wazir Khan, who was in Baba Parvez's retinue, was increased to 2000/1000.

On the fourth [October 15], I turned over Khusraw, whom Ani Rai Singhdalan had been assigned to keep an eye on, to Asaf Khan and awarded him a personal shawl.

An Emissary from Iran

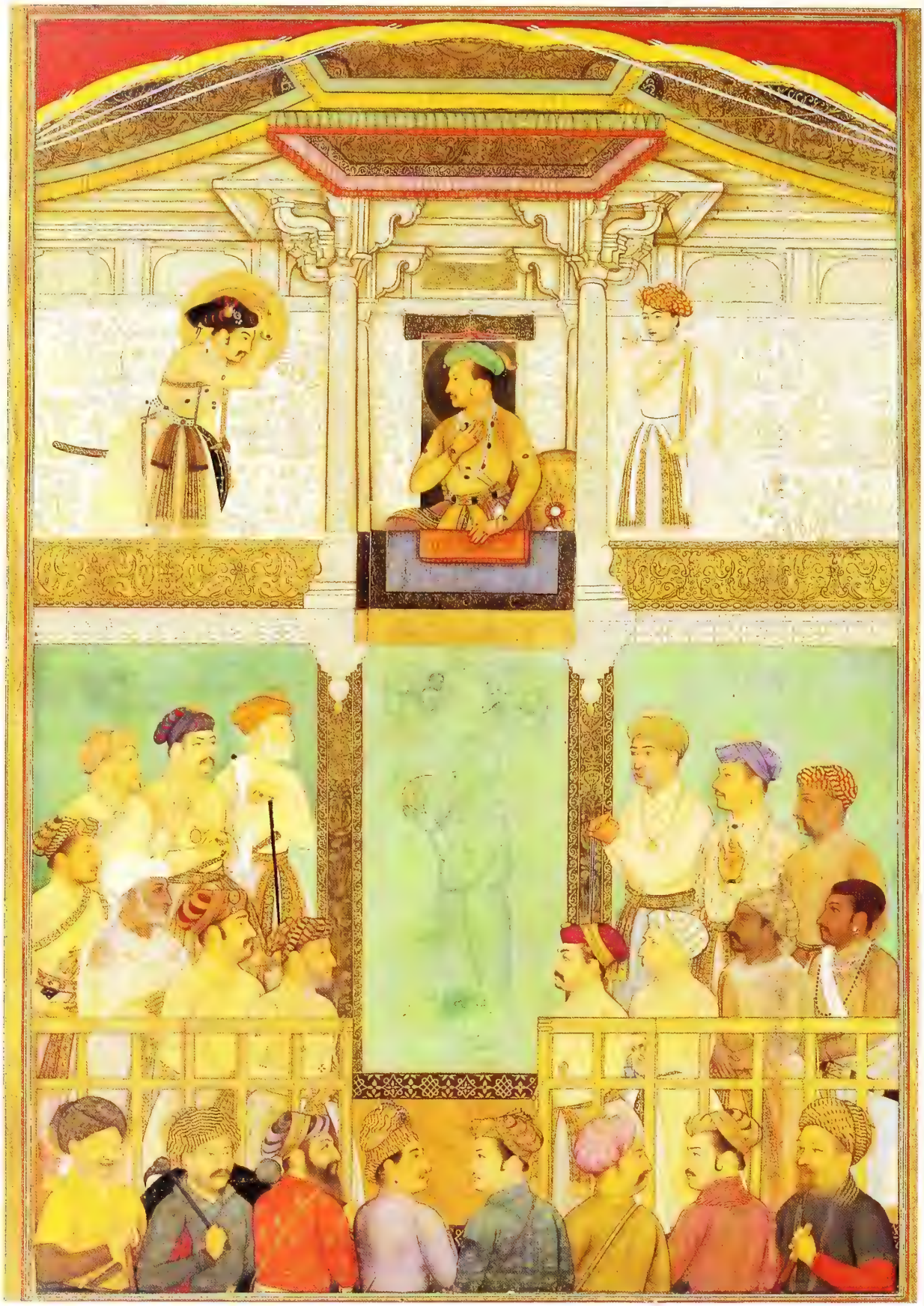
On the seventh, corresponding to the seventeenth of Shawwal [October 18], a man named Muhammad-Riza Beg, whom the ruler of Iran had sent as a confidential emissary, paid homage. After performing the rites of körünüsh, sijda, and taslim, he presented the letter he had. He was ordered to display the horses and gifts he had brought. Everything [the shah] had written or told him was in a brotherly and friendly vein.

On this day I gave the emissary a jeweled crown and a robe of honor. Since there were expressions of friendship and amity in the letter, it would be good to reproduce it verbatim in the *Jahangirnama*.[9]

9. The letter (folios 131a–132a) is omitted from translation. The style and contents are adequately represented by the letter on page 122f.

On Sunday the eighteenth of Shawwal [October 19], corresponding to the eighth of Aban, Baba Khurram's forward camp set out from Ajmer for the conquest of the Deccan. It had been decided that my son would go forward in the vanguard, and the imperial banners would follow behind.

On Monday the nineteenth [October 20], corresponding to the ninth, after the elapse of three gharis of the day, the royal entourage got into motion in the same direction.



JAHANGIR RECEIVES PRINCE KHURRAM, attributed to Abid. India, Mughal period, ca. 1635. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. 35.8 x 24.2 cm. From the Windsor Castle *Padshahnama,* folio 192b. By gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen

On the tenth of Aban [October 21], the rank of Raja Suraj Mal, who had been assigned to the prince, was fixed at 2000/2000.

On the eve of the nineteenth [October 30], I was back in the Ghuslkhana as usual with some amirs and servants. As it happened, the Iranian ambassador Muhammad-Riza Beg was also present. After the elapse of six gharis, an owl flew over the roof of one of the buildings and lighted. **[132b]** It was so scarcely visible that most of the men were unable to make it out. I called for my gun, took aim in the direction they pointed to, and fired. The ball hit the ill-omened bird like a decree from heaven and blew it to pieces. A cry went up from those present, who couldn't keep from shouting bravo.

This same night I was talking with my brother Shah Abbas's emissary, and finally the conversation came around to the subject of the murder of Safi Mirza, the shah's eldest son. Since I had been bothered by it, I asked him about it. He answered that if he had not been killed when he was, he would have attempted to assassinate the shah. When such an evil plot was discovered, the shah had made a preemptive strike and ordered him killed.

Mirza Rustam's son Mirza Hasan was promoted to 1000/300. Mu'tamad Khan, who had been assigned as bakhshi to the division accompanying Baba Khurram, was promoted to 1000/250.

❁ *Khurram Proceeds to the Deccan*

The hour for Baba Khurram's dismissal was on Friday the twentieth [October 31]. Toward the end of the day he brought his chosen men, armed and mounted, into the Hall of Public and Private Audience for my inspection. One of the outstanding awards I made my son on this occasion was the title of shah, which I made part of his name and ordered that he henceforth be called Shah Sultan Khurram.[10] I also gave him a robe of honor, a jeweled charqab with a pearl-edged hem and collar, a Persian horse with a jeweled saddle, a Turkish horse, a royal elephant named Mahant Badan, a *ratha* [carriage] from the English Franks for him to sit in while traveling,[11] a jeweled sword with a very famous and renowned belt—the first sword belt that had been captured during the conquest of Ahmadnagar, and a jeweled dagger. He set out with all readiness, and I hope he will be successful in this endeavor. **[133a]**

Each of the amirs and officers was given a horse and robe of honor in accordance with his rank and station. I unstrapped a sword from my waist and gave it to Abdullah Khan Firoz-Jang. Since Diyanat Khan had been assigned to accompany the prince, I gave the post of reviser of petitions to Khwaja Qayim Qilichkhani.

10. The shah title is roughly equivalent to "king." Jahangir's title was padishah (emperor).

11. "English Franks": to Jahangir all Europeans were "Franks" (*firangi*) and the English were but one "tribe."

❁ *A Courageous Thief*

Prior to this a band of thieves had broken into one of the imperial treasuries in the vicinity of the kotwal's terrace and gotten away with some money. Several days later seven men of the band and their ringleader, whose name was Nawal, were caught, and a portion of the money was recovered. It occurred to me that since they had perpetrated such an audacious act, they should be given a suitably severe punishment. Each one was given a special sentence. When I ordered Nawal thrown under an elephant's feet, he said, "If it is so commanded, I'll fight the elephant."

"So be it," I said. I had a furious elephant brought and ordered a dagger put into his hand to face the elephant with. The elephant knocked him down several times, but the damn fearless fellow got up every time, even though he had witnessed his comrades' executions, and plunged the dagger just as courageously and bravely over and over into the elephant's trunk until it stopped attacking him. When I saw this display of

courage and valor I ordered an inquiry made concerning him. A short time later, because of his evil and vile nature, he ran away to his homeland. This annoyed me so much that I ordered the jagirdars of the vicinity to hang the unappreciative ingrate by the neck. What Shaykh Sa'di says is certainly applicable to him: "In the end a wolf child becomes a wolf even though it grows up with humans."[12]

12. Sa'di, *Gulistan* in *Kulliyyat*, 42

Departure from Ajmer

On Saturday the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da [October 31], corresponding to the twenty-first of Aban, after two watches and five gharis had elapsed of the day, [**133b**] I mounted a European carriage to which four horses were attached and departed from Ajmer. I ordered most of the amirs to get into the carriage and accompany me. Near sundown I stopped at a way station one and three-quarters kos away in the village of Deorani. It is an established custom among the people of India that when monarchs and grandees go eastward to conquer territory they ride on elephants with tusks, but if they go westward they ride horses of a single color. If they go northward they ride in palanquins and *singhasan*s [thrones]. If they go southward, the direction of the Deccan, they ride in carriages and carts.

I had been in Ajmer for five days short of three years.[13] The town of Ajmer, where the holy shrine of Khwaja Mu'inuddin is, is considered to be in the second clime. The weather is nearly temperate. To the east is Agra, to the north are the townships of Delhi, to the south is the souba of Gujarat, and to the west are Multan and Dipalpur. The soil of the province is all sandy. The water is difficult to get out of the ground, and agriculture in the souba relies on rainfall on open ground. The winter is perfectly moderate, and the summer is gentler than in Agra. In wartime 86,500 Rajput horsemen and 147,000 foot soldiers can be raised from this souba. There are two large lakes in the town, one called Lake Bisal and the other Ana Sagar.[14] Lake Bisal is in ruins and its dam is broken. I ordered it redammed. The whole time the imperial retinue was camped there, the Ana Sagar lake was always full of water and waves. It is a kos and a half and five tanabs [in circumference]. While there I visited the khwaja's shrine nine times and went out to see the Pushkar lake eleven times. [**134a**] Thirty-eight visits were made to the Chashma-i-Nur, and I went hunting lions and other things fifty times for the following totals: lion, 15; cheetah, 1; lynx, 1; nilgai, 53; deer, 33; antelope, 90; boar, 80; waterfowl, 340.

13. He arrived on 5 Shawwal 1022, or 26 Aban, November 5, 1613 (see page 153) and departed on the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da 1025, 21 Aban, October 31, 1616. By Ilahi reckoning it was five days short of three years. Text should be emended here to read *se sal u panj roz kam* (five days short of three years) instead of *se sal u panj roz* (three years and five days).

14. The first is Lake Bisal, or Bisalya Tank, built by Bisal Deo Chauhan. Text should be emended to read *yaki-ra Bisal Tal* instead of the meaningless *YKY ZANYL TAL*

We stayed at Deorani for seven days. During this time five nilgais and twelve waterfowl were taken.

On the twenty-ninth [November 8], we decamped from Deorani and stopped in the village of Dasawali, two and an eighth kos from Deorani.[15] I gave Mu'tamad Khan an elephant. We stayed here for three more days, during which a nilgai was killed. I sent my son Baba Khurram two royal hawks.

On the third of Azar [November 12], we decamped and proceeded to the village of Madhal, two and a quarter kos away. Along the way six waterfowl and other things were hunted.

On the fourth [November 13], we proceeded half a kos and stopped in the vicinity of Ramsar,[16] which belongs to Nurjahan Begam. We stayed there eight days. I ordered Hidayatullah to succeed Khidmatgar Khan to the office of *mir tüzük* [master of ceremonies].

On the fifth of the above-mentioned days, seven antelopes, a crane, and fifteen fish were taken. The next day Kunwar Karan's son Jagat Singh was given a horse and robe

15. Neither of these two place names has been identified. Oddly enough, although most itineraries can be easily traced on modern maps, very few of the names given by Jahangir on the journey from Ajmer to Mandu have been located.

16. This "Ramsar" is undoubtedly Ramsagar, which has, as he says below, a large lake and is approximately the correct distance from Ajmer.

of honor and sent home. Keshav Das Maru was also given a horse. The same day a deer, three antelopes, twenty-seven fish, and two waterfowl were hunted.

News of the death of Raja Shyam Singh, who was serving on the Bangash campaign, was received around this time.

On the seventh day thirty antelopes, five waterfowl, and a coot were hunted.

On Thursday day and that night, since Ramsar was Nurjahan Begam's jagir, a celebration and reception were held. Gems, jeweled vessels, fine gold-beaded textiles, and every sort of offering were displayed. **[134b]** At night lamps were placed around the edges and in the middle of the lake, which was extremely vast. It was a very good party.

Toward the end of the day on Thursday I summoned the amirs and ordered cups given to most of the courtiers. While traveling on the land, several boats always accompany the royal camp, and the boatmen load them on carts and roll them along. The day after the party we got into the boats and went fishing. Soon 208 large fish had been caught in one net, and half of them were of the species *robu [Cyprinus rohita]*. That night I had them divided up among the courtiers in my presence.

On the thirteenth of Azar [November 22], we decamped from Ramsar and proceeded four kos, hunting along the way, to the village of Baloda, where the imperial camp had been pitched. The next day I stayed there.

On the sixteenth [November 25], we went three and a quarter kos to the camp in the village of Nahan.

On the eighteenth [November 27], we decamped and proceeded two and a quarter kos. This day an elephant was given to Muhammad-Riza Beg, the Iranian ambassador. Camp had been made in the village of Chaunsa.

On the twentieth [November 29], we decamped and went to the village of Deogam. A distance of three kos had been covered, with hunting along the way. We stayed there two days, riding out to hunt toward the end of the day on both days.

❁ *A Strange Episode with Cranes*

A strange thing happened at this site. Before the imperial banners reached this spot, a eunuch went to the edge of a large lake in the village and captured two baby *saras*es, a kind of crane. That night, while we were camped there, two screeching adult cranes appeared in the vicinity of the ablutions tent, which had been placed by the lake. Just like a person with a complaint, they came forward, screeching in terror. **[135a]** It occurred to me that they must certainly have suffered an injustice, most likely their young had been taken from them.

After an investigation, the eunuch who had taken the baby cranes brought them for me to see. When the cranes heard the cries of the babies, they hurled themselves on top of them. Thinking they hadn't been fed, each of the cranes put a morsel of food in the babies' mouths and did all sorts of things to console them. Then, picking the babies up, they spread their wings and headed off, yearning for their nest.

❁

On the twenty-third [December 2], we decamped and proceeded three and three-quarters kos to camp in the village of Bhasu. We stayed there two days, and both days we rode out hunting.

On the twenty-sixth [December 5], the imperial banners got into motion and we marched two kos to the next station, outside the village of Kakal.

On the twenty-seventh [December 6], Mirza Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman was promoted to the rank of 1500/750.

On the twenty-ninth [December 8], we decamped and proceeded two and three-quarters kos, stopping in the village of Lasa near the pargana of Toda.[17] This day corresponded to the Feast of the Sacrifice,[18] so I ordered the necessary things done. From the departure from Ajmer until the end of the aforementioned month, which was the thirtieth of Azar [December 9], sixty nilgais and antelopes, thirty-seven waterfowl, and other things had been hunted.

On the second of Day [December 11], we decamped from Lasa and proceeded three kos and ten *jaribs*,[19] hunting along the way and camping in the village of Kanra.

On the fourth [December 13] we decamped and went three and a quarter kos to the village of Surath.

On the sixth [December 15], we traveled four and a half kos and stopped outside the village of Barora.

On the seventh [December 16], when there was a halt, fifty waterfowl and fourteen coots were hunted. The next day was a halt too. That day twenty-seven waterfowl were hunted.

On the ninth [December 18], we decamped and went four and a half kos, hunting along the way, to the station of Khosh Tal. **[135b]** While stopped here a report was received from Mu'tamad Khan saying that at present Prince Khurram had camped in the Rana's territory and, although it had not been scheduled, the fame of the imperial forces' might had undermined the Rana's patience and self-control, and he had come to render homage at Dudpur on the frontier of his territory. He had performed all the rites and rituals of obeisance, and Sultan Khurram had reassured him, given him a robe of honor, a charqab, a sword, a jeweled khapwa, a Persian horse, a Turkish horse, and an elephant, and given him leave to depart. He also gave the Rana's sons and relatives robes of honor. Of the Rana's offering of five elephants, twenty-seven horses, and a tray filled with gems and gem-studded implements, he had accepted three horses and given the rest back. It had been agreed that the Rana's son Karan would serve in Baba Khurram's retinue on this campaign with fifteen hundred cavalry.

On the tenth [December 19], Raja Shyam Singh's sons came from their home jagir in the vicinity of Ranthambhor to pay homage. They presented three elephants and nine horses. Each was given a rank suitable to his station. While the imperial banners were camped in the vicinity of the Ranthambhor fortress I released several prisoners who were being held there. We stayed here two days, and both days I rode out hunting. Thirty-seven waterfowl and coots were hunted.

On the twelfth [December 21], we decamped. After traveling four kos we stopped in the village of Koyala. I hunted four waterfowl and an antelope along the way.

On the fourteenth [December 23], we traveled three and three-quarters kos and stopped in the vicinity of the village of Ektora. A nilgai, twelve herons, et cetera were hunted along the way. This day Aqa Afzal was appointed deputy governor for I'timaduddawla in Lahore and given the title of Afzal Khan. At this station the royal tent was pitched beside a lake that was extremely pleasant and delightful. It was such a nice place we stayed there two days, **[136a]** riding out to hunt at the end of each day.

While we were there Mahabat Khan's youngest son, Bihroz, came from the fortress at Ranthambhor, his father's jagir, and paid homage. He brought two elephants, both of which were placed in the royal stable. Amanat Khan's son Safi was awarded the title khan, given a promotion, and assigned as bakhshi and reporter to the souba of Gujarat.

On the seventeenth [December 26], we proceeded four and a half kos and halted

17. This is either Toda pargana in the Ranthambhor sarkar (Abu'l-Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari* , 1:510) or a scribal error for Boda in the Marosor sarkar (Abu'l-Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari* , 1:466).

18. The Feast of the Sacrifice (*'id-i qurban*) marks the end of the pilgrimage season in Mecca. It is celebrated on the tenth of Dhu'l-Hijja.

19. The *jarib* is a measurement of area (958 square meters) and not of distance.

in the village of Saya. On the day of halt one owl and twenty-three quails were hunted. Since I had summoned Lashkar Khan to court because of the incompatibility between him and Khan Dawran, here I assigned Abid Khan to serve as bakhshi and reporter in his stead.

On the nineteenth [December 28] we marched. After proceeding two and a quarter kos and one jarib, we stopped in Gurana[20] on the banks of the river Chambal. We stayed there for three days because the place was so lovely and the weather was so delightful. Every day we got in boats, hunted waterfowl, and toured up and down the river.

20. On the modern map, Gulana.

On the twenty-third [January 1], we marched and stopped, after traveling four and a half kos, hunting the whole way, in Sultanpur[21] and Chelapila. On the day we were halted I gave Miran Sadr-i-Jahan five thousand rupees and let him leave to go to his jagir. Another thousand rupees were given to Shaykh Pir.

21. Probably the Sujanpur of the modern map.

On the twenty-fifth [January 3], we decamped and proceeded three and a half kos, hunting, to stop in the village of Manpura. By established rule of one halt to one march, on the twenty-seventh [January 5] we proceeded four and an eighth kos, hunting, and camped in the village of Charduha,[22] where we remained for two days. During the month of Day 416 animals were hunted: quail, 97; coot, 19[2]; crane, 1; heron, 7; ducks, 118; hare, 1. **[136b]**

22. On the modern map, Chanduia.

On the first of Bahman, corresponding to the twelfth of Muharram 1026 [January 10, 1617], the ladies of the harem and I got into boats and sailed to the next station. One ghari of daylight was left when we reached the camp site in the vicinity of Rupahera.[23] We had come four kos and fifteen jaribs. I shot five quail. Around this same time twenty-one winter robes of honor were given to Kichkina to take to the amirs assigned to the Deccan, and he was ordered to collect twelve thousand rupees from the amirs as displays of gratitude. This station was incredibly lovely.

23. On the modern map, Rupaheli.

On the third [January 12], we decamped and once again, as we had before, we got into boats and went two and an eighth kos to the camp site in the village of Kawalhas. While I was hunting along the way, a quail flew into a bush. After a search had been made I ordered one of the scouts to surround the bush and get hold of the quail, and I went on. Just then another quail took off. No sooner had I sent a hawk after that one than the scout brought me the first one. I ordered the hawk fed on the latter quail, and I ordered the second one, which we had caught, kept because it was young. By the time this order arrived, the huntsmen had already let the hawk feed on the quail. After a time the scout said, "If we don't kill the quail, it will die." I commanded it killed if that was the case. When the blade was placed on its throat, it squirmed out from under the blade and flew away. After that I moved from the boat to horseback, when suddenly a sparrow was blown by the wind and impaled itself on an arrow shaft one of the scouts ahead of me was holding. It died instantly. I marveled at the twist of fate. Back there, it protected a quail whose time had not come, and within an instant, saved it from danger, while here it made a swallow whose time had come the prisoner of an arrow of destiny in the hand of destruction. **[137a]**

If the blade of the world moves, it will not cut a vein until God so wills.

Winter robes of honor were sent by scouts to the amirs in Kabul. We remained at this station for two days because the place and weather were so fine. During these days the news arrived from Kabul of the death of Nadi-Ali Maydani. I raised his sons to rank. At Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang's request Rawat Shankar was promoted by 500/1000.

On the sixth [January 15], we decamped, proceeded four and an eighth kos through the valley known as Ghati Chanda, and stopped in the village of Amjar. The valley is extremely green, lush, and filled with trees. To this station, which is the end of the province of Ajmer, we had gone eighty-four kos. This station was also one of the fine ones. Here Nurjahan Begam shot a *qarisha* with a musket.[24] Until now such a large and fine-colored one had not been seen. I ordered it weighed, and it was nineteen tolas and five mashas.

The above-mentioned village is the beginning of Malwa.

A Description of Malwa

Malwa is in the second clime. It extends lengthwise 245 kos from the end of the province of Garha to the province of Banswala and in breadth 230 kos from the pargana of Chanderi to the pargana of Nandurbar. To the east lies Bandhu,[25] to the north Narwar, to the south Baglana, and to the west the soubas of Gujarat and Ajmer.[26] It is a land filled with rivers and good air. Aside from canals, streams, and springs, five rivers flow through it, the Godi, the Bhima, the Kali Sindh, the Parwan, and the Narbada.

The climate is nearly temperate. The terrain is a bit higher in elevation than its surroundings. In the town of Dhar, one of the major places of Malwa, vines produce grapes twice a year, at the beginning of Pisces [February] and at the beginning of Leo [July]. The grapes in Pisces are sweeter. The farmers and craftsmen are not unarmed. The total revenue of the province is twenty-four crores and seven lacs of *dams*.[27] In wartime 9,300-odd horsemen, 470,300 foot soldiers, and 100 elephants can be raised from the province.

On the eighth [January 17], we proceeded three and five-eighths kos and stopped in the vicinity of Khairabad. **[137b]** Along the way three herons were hunted. Then, proceeding three kos while hunting, we stopped in the vicinity of the village of Arrah.

On the eleventh [January 20], a halt was made. Toward the end of the day I mounted to go hunting and shot a nilgai.

On the twelfth [January 21], after traversing four and a quarter kos, camp was made outside the village of Bachhayari. Recently Rana Amar Singh had sent several baskets of figs. It was truly delicious fruit. Until now I hadn't seen such good figs in India, but in my opinion one should eat only a few.

On the fourteenth [January 23] we decamped, went four and an eighth kos, and stopped in Bil. Raja Chamba, one of the important landholders of the area, sent two elephants as an offering, and they were inspected. At this same station many melons were brought from Kariz, which is in the vicinity of Herat. Khan Alam had also sent fifty camel [load]s. In past years so many [melons] had not been brought. On one tray several varieties of fruit were offered—melon from Kariz, melon from Badakhshan and Kabul, grapes from Samarkand and Kabul, sweet pomegranates from Yazd, apricots from Farah, pears from Badakhshan, apples from Samarkand, Kashmir, Kabul, and Jalalabad (a dependency of Kabul), and pineapple, which is a fruit that comes from the Franks' ports. Pineapple bushes were planted in Agra, and every year they produce several thousand in the Agra orchards attached to the royal demesne. There was also a *kaunla*, in size and shape like an orange but smaller, and in taste rather inclined to the sweet side. It grows well in Bengal. How can one express one's gratitude for such abundance? My exalted father was very fond of fruit, particularly melons, pomegranates, grapes, and mangoes. Since in his day they had [not] yet brought to India Kariz

24. The *qarisha* has not been identified, though it may be a variant of *qarcha*, swallow. The word occurs again below (page 234). Whatever it is, it is a small bird, since this particularly large one weighed only 234 grams, or 8 1/4 ounces.

25. Emending the incorrect Mandu of the text to Bandhu, which is what is meant here.

26. The territory of Malwa is now located in the western part of the state of Madhya Pradesh.

27. 240,700,000 dams = 6,017,500 rupees.

melons, the finest of their kind, Yazd pomegranates, which are renowned, or Samarkand grapes, every time I see these fruits I wish they had come in his time so that he could have tasted them.

On the fifteenth [January 24], a day of halt, the news was heard of the death of Faridun Khan Barlas's son Mihr-Ali, [**138a**] the son of one of the great amirs of this nation.

On the sixteenth [January 25], we decamped. After marching four and an eighth kos we stopped in the vicinity of the village of Ghiri. Along the way the scouts brought word of a lion in the area. I set out, intending to hunt it down, and polished it off with one shot.

❁ *A Scientific Experiment*

Inasmuch as the bravery and valor of lions and tigers are established facts, I wanted to open it up and have a look. After it was cut open it was apparent that, unlike other animals, whose gall bladders are outside the liver, lions' and tigers' gall bladders are located inside their livers. It occurs to me that lions' and tigers' courage is due to this fact.

On the eighteenth [January 27], after traveling two and seven-eighths kos, we camped in the village of Amriya.

On the nineteenth [January 28], a day of halt, I rode out hunting. After traveling two kos a spot of the utmost delight and beauty came into view. In an orchard there were a hundred mango trees of a size, greenness, and lushness that had seldom been seen. In the same orchard I saw a banyan tree so huge that I ordered it measured. From the ground to the top branch it was seventy-four cubits tall. The circumference of the trunk was forty-four and a half cubits. In breadth it was $175\frac{1}{2}$ ells. Since it was so extremely strange, it has been recorded.

On the twenty-first [January 30], a day of halt, I rode out hunting toward the end of the day. When I returned I went to I'timaduddawla's quarters for the celebration of Khwaja Khizr's feast, which is called the Khizri.[28] I remained there through the first watch of the night, partook of some food, and returned to the royal tent. On this day I honored I'timaduddawla by making him an intimate, and I told the inmates of the harem not to veil their faces from him, a favor by which he was very honored.

On the twenty-second [January 31], a march was ordered, and we proceeded three and an eighth kos and stopped in the village of Borkheri. [**138b**] I hunted along the way.

On the twenty-third [February 1], also a day of halt, I shot a nilgai.

On the twenty-fourth [February 2], we traveled five kos and stopped outside the village of Qasimgarh.[29] Along the way I hunted a white animal something like a hog deer, but it had four horns. The two horns opposite the corners of its eyes were two fingers long, and the other two were four fingers behind the first two and four fingers long. The people of India call this animal a *dudhara*. It is an established fact that the males have horns and the females do not. It is often said that the antelope species does not have a gall bladder, but when the insides of this one were examined, a gall bladder was plainly there, so the report has no basis in fact.

On the twenty-fifth [February 3], a day of halt, a hunt was held toward the end of the day. I shot a nilgai doe. I promoted Qilich Khan's nephew Balju, who had the rank of 1000/750 and held a jagir in Oudh, to 2000/200, gave him the title of Qilich Khan, and assigned him to the souba of Bengal.

We decamped, marched four and three-quarters kos, and stopped in Dih-i-Qazian

28. Khwaja Khizr is a legendary immortal of enormous popularity throughout the Islamic world. His persona resulted from a melding of various strains, including the post-Biblical figure of Elijah (Elias), who never died, and, from pseudo-Callisthenes' version of the Alexander romance, Alexander the Great's cook, Andreas, who accidentally fell into the fountain of eternal youth and became immortal. Always associated with water, fish, and rejuvenation, Khwaja Khizr roams the world unseen, occasionally appearing to mortals to impart wisdom. For Sufis he was the repository par excellence of the mysteries of the universe.

29. Probably the Kishangarh of modern maps.

in the vicinity of Ujjain. Many mango trees had blossomed in the area. Camp had been pitched beside a stream, and it was a very pleasant spot. Ghazni Khan's son Pahar was executed here. After his father's death I had patronized the wretch and given him the fortress and province of Jalaur, the place of his ancestors. Since he was young, his mother forbade him to engage in certain evil practices, and one night he (may he be eternally damned) and some of his liege men went into his mother's quarters, and he killed his mother with his own hand. When I heard this I ordered him brought, and after his guilt was proven, [**139a**] I commanded that he be executed.

A Strange Palm Tree

At this station I saw a palm tree that had a very strange shape. It originally had only one trunk, but when it had grown to a height of six ells, it had forked into two branches, one ten ells and the other nine and a half ells. The distance between the two branches was four and a half ells. The distance from the ground to the place where the branches and leaves had come out was sixteen ells for the larger branch and fifteen and a half ells for the other. From the place where the branches and leaves were green to the top of the tree was two and a half ells, and the circumference was two and an eighth ells.

I ordered a terrace three ells high made around it. Since it was so very straight and harmonious, I ordered the painters to draw a picture of it for the *Jahangirnama*.[30]

30. The painting of which Jahangir speaks is in the Raza Library at Rampur (Album 1, folio 8a).

On the twenty-seventh [February 5], we decamped, covered a distance of two and an eighth kos, and camped outside the village of Hindwal. A nilgai was taken along the way.

On the twenty-eighth [February 6], we traveled two kos and camped at Kaliadeh.

Nasiruddin's Kaliadeh

The Kaliadeh is a building constructed by Nasiruddin, son of Sultan Ghiyasuddin, son of Sultan Mahmud Khalji, the ruler of Malwa.[31] He built it during his reign in the vicinity of Ujjain, one of the best-known and most famous cities of Malwa. They say he was so hot-natured that he had to live in water. He built this building in the middle of the river, diverted the river water into canals, and channeled it all around and inside and outside the building to fill pools large and small in proportion to their locations. It is a very pleasant and delightful place and one of the major attractions of Hindustan. Before stopping here I sent architects to restore it. We stayed here three days because it was so nice. While we were here Shaja'at Khan came from his jagir and paid homage.

31. Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa reigned 1436–1469; Sultan Ghiysuddin ruled 1469–1500; and Nasiruddin ruled 1500–1511.

A Description of Ujjain

Ujjain is one of the ancient cities of India and one of the seven major sites of Hindu worship. Raja Vikramaditya, who cataloged the stars in Hindustan, [**139b**] was in this city and province. From the time of his catalog until the present, which is the year 1026 of the Hegira and the eleventh year of my reign, it has been 1,675 years. Indian astronomy is based on his observations. The city is situated on the banks of the River Sipra.

The Hindus believe that once a year, but not at any particular time, the water of this river turns to milk. During my exalted father's time, when Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl had been dispatched to rectify my brother Shah-Murad's ways, the shaykh wrote a report from this town to say that a large group of Hindus and Muslims had testified that several days prior to then the river had turned to milk since those who had drawn water

from the river in the evening found their containers full of milk the next day. This tale is recorded because it is so very well known, but my mind refuses to accept that it could be true. God only knows.

On the second of Isfandarmudh [February 10], we got into a boat at Kaliadeh and set out for the next station.

A Visit to the Hermit Jadrup

It had been repeatedly heard that near the town of Ujjain an ascetic sanyasi named Jadrup Ashram had been living for several years in an out-of-the-way spot in the country far from civilization, where he worshiped the true deity. I very much desired to meet him and had wanted to summon him and see him while I was in Agra, but in view of the trouble it would have caused him I didn't do it. Now that we were in the vicinity, I got out of the boat and went an eighth of a kos on foot to visit him.

The place he had chosen for his abode was a pit dug out in the middle of a hill. The entrance was shaped like a mihrab, one ell tall and ten *girih*s in width.[32] The distance from the entrance to the hole in which he sat was two ells five girihs long, eleven and a quarter girihs wide, and one ell three girihs high from the ground to the roof. The hole that gave entrance to his sitting place was five and a half girihs tall and three and a half girihs wide. A skinny person would have great difficulty getting in. The length and width of the pit were the same. [**140a**] He had neither mat nor straw strewn underfoot as other dervishes do. He spends his time alone in that dark, narrow hole. In winter and cold weather, although he is absolutely naked and has no clothing except a piece of rag with which he covers himself in front and behind, he never lights a fire. As Mulla Rumi says, speaking in the idiom of dervishes: "Our clothing is the heat of the sun by day, and moonlight is our pillow and quilt by night."

32. The *girih* is the sixteenth part of the ell, or just about two inches (five centimeters).

Twice a day he goes to make ablutions in the river nearby, and once a day he goes into Ujjain, enters the houses of only three Brahmins out of the seven married persons with children he has chosen and in whose asceticism and contentment he has confidence, takes in his hand like a beggar five morsels of food they have prepared for themselves, and swallows them without chewing lest he derive any enjoyment from the taste—this provided that no calamity has occurred in any of the three houses, no birth has taken place, and there be no menstruating women. This is how he lives.

He desires no intercourse with people, but since he has acquired a great reputation, people go to see him. He is not devoid of learning and has studied well the science of the Vedanta, which is the science of Sufism.

I held conversation with him for six gharis, and he had such good things to say that he made a great impression on me. He also liked my company. When my exalted father had conquered the fortress of Asir and the province of Khandesh and was on his way back to Agra, he also paid him a visit in this very place and often mentioned it with fondness.

The Life of the Brahmins of India

The wise men of India have established four ways of living for the Brahmins, who are the noblest of the castes of the Hindus, and they have divided life into four parts, which they call the four *ashram*s. When a son is born into a Brahmin house, they don't call him a Brahmin for the first seven years, the period of infancy, or oblige him to do anything. When he reaches the age of eight a meeting is held and Brahmins are gathered. They make a cord two and a quarter ells long of *munj* grass, which they call a *munji*, [**140b**] recite prayers and incantations over it, make three knots in it in the

names of three saints in whom they believe, and tie it around the boy's waist. Over his right shoulder they drape a girdle of loose strands, and into his hands they place a stick a little over an ell long with which to defend himself from harm and a copper vessel for drinking. Then they turn him over to a wise Brahmin in whose house he lives for twelve years to study the Veda, which they believe to be a divine book. From this day they call him a Brahmin, and during this period he must absolutely not indulge in any bodily pleasures. Once it is past noon he goes to another Brahmin's house as a beggar, brings what he is given back to his master, and, with his permission, eats it. For clothing he has only a coarse cotton lungi to cover his private parts and another length of cotton two or three ells long to throw over his shoulder. They call this stage *brahmcharj*,[33] meaning occupation with the divine book.

33. *Brahmcharj* is the Persian rendering of the medieval Hindi pronunciation of the Sanskrit *brahmacharya*, the stage of life described by Jahangir.

After this period has passed, he may marry with the permission of his master and father. During this period he is allowed to enjoy all the pleasures of the five senses until he has a son who has reached the age of sixteen. If he doesn't have a son he will stay in the garb of worldly attachment until the age of forty-eight. This period is called *girhast*, meaning master of a house.

Then he separates himself from his friends and relatives, gives up all forms of enjoyment and pleasure, retires from the abode of material attachment into solitude, and goes to live in the forest. This stage is called *banprasth*, meaning dwelling in the woods. Because it is a rule of the Hindus that no good deed can be performed by men in the state of material attachment without the cooperation and presence of a wife, whom they call a man's other half, since he still has deeds and religious acts to perform, he takes his wife along into the forest. If she is pregnant he puts off going until after the child is born and attains the age of five. Then he entrusts the child to his eldest son or other relatives and gets on with it. [**141a**] So too if the wife is menstruating, he delays until she is purified. Thereafter, however, he does not have sexual relations with her and does not pollute himself by touching her, and at night he sleeps with his member flaccid. He lives in this stage for twelve years, eating plants that grow wild in the fields and forests. He keeps his girdle on and worships fire, and he does not waste time cutting his fingernails or hair or trimming his beard or mustache.

When this stage is completed in the manner described, he goes back home again, entrusts his wife to his sons, brothers, or other relatives, and goes off to a perfected guide, in whose presence he casts his girdle and his hair into the fire and says, "What attachments I had, even to asceticism and worship, I have voluntarily given up." Closing his mind to other thoughts, he concentrates always on the divinity and thinks of nothing but the absolute existing one. If he speaks of science, it is that of the Vedanta, which Baba Fighani has encapsulated in this line of poetry: "There is one lamp in this house, and from its rays, in every direction I look, an assembly has been formed."[34] This stage is called *sarb nyas*,[35] meaning abandoning everything. A person who is at this stage is called a *sarbnyasi*.

34. The line of poetry is, as Jahangir says, by Baba Fighani, *Divan*, 214, line 2837.

35. Reading *SRB NYAS* (*sarbnyas*) for the text's misdotted *SRB BYAS*. *Sarbnyas* is for the Sanskrit *sarvanyasa*, a synonym for the normal name of this stage, *samnyasa*, from which *sanyasi* is derived.

After meeting Jadrup I got on an elephant and passed through the town of Ujjain, tossing left and right 3,500 rupees in small coins. After proceeding one and three-quarters kos, I dismounted outside the village of Daudkheri, where the imperial camp had been pitched.

On the third [February 11], a day of halt, I was so anxious to see Jadrup again that I went out to see him after noon and was delighted by being with him for six gharis. This day too we had a nice chat. Near supper time I entered the royal tent.

On the fourth [February 12], we traveled three and a quarter kos and stopped in the vicinity of the village of Jarao Paraniya. This place was also wonderfully verdant and full of trees.

On the sixth [February 14], we decamped and after traversing a distance of four and three-quarters kos, stopped at the edge of Lake Depalpur-Banera. **[141b]** The place was so nice and the lake so fine we stayed for four days. I went hunting waterfowl and aquatic animals in a boat at the end of each day. At this station some *fakhri* grapes were brought from Ahmadnagar. Although they weren't so large as the fakhri grapes in Kabul, they were no less delicious. At Baba Khurram's request Mirza Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman's rank was set at 1500/1000.

On the eleventh [February 19], we decamped. After traveling three and a quarter kos we stopped in the vicinity of the pargana of Daulatabad.

On the twelfth [February 20], a day of halt, we went hunting. In the village of Shaykhupur, which belongs to the above-mentioned pargana, I saw an extremely large and massive banyan tree. The circumference of the trunk was eighteen and a half ells, and from the roots to the top of the branches was twenty-eight and a quarter cubits. The circumference of the area shaded by the branches spreading out from the trunk was $203\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. One branch, on which someone had carved an elephant's tusk, was forty ells long. When my exalted father was passing by here he had a hand print made three and three-quarters ells over a root that was going down into the ground. I also ordered a print of my hand carved eight ells above another root stalk. Lest the carving be worn away with the passage of time, I ordered a likeness of both hand prints carved in marble and set up against the trunk. I also ordered a nice terrace made around the the tree.

When I was a prince I had promised Mir Ziya'uddin Qazwini, a Sayfi sayyid entitled Mustafa Khan during my reign, that with the al tamgha I would bestow upon him and his descendants the pargana of Malda,[36] one of the famous parganas of Bengal. At this station I fulfilled the promise of this magnificent gift.

On the thirteenth [February 21] we decamped. I set out from the above-mentioned station in the direction of Haselpur, separating myself from the camp to tour and hunt with some of the ladies of the harem and a few intimates and servants. **[142a]** The camp stopped in the vicinity of Nalchha, but we pitched our tents in the village of Sarangpur.[37] What can one write of the beauty and delights of this place? There were many mango trees and green fields. It was so green and pleasant that we stayed there three days. With the transfer of Keshav Maru I gave the village to Kamal Khan Qaravul, ordering that henceforth it was to be called Kamalpur. At this same station the night of Shivrat occurred.[38] Many yogis had gathered, and they celebrated the rites of the night. Conversations were held with the learned men of this group. During these days I hunted three nilgais.

36. For the al tamgha, see page 32. Malda is just north of English Bazar in West Dinajpur

37. This is the Sarangpur on the Kali Sind in Dewas State, 80 miles (129 km) from Indore. It was in ruins in the nineteenth century. See Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 1:300, note 2.

38. Shivrat, or Shiuratri, is a popular festival in honor of Shiva. It is observed on fourteenth of the dark half of the month of Magh (January–February).

Raja Man is Killed

It was here that I received the news that Raja Man had been killed. I had appointed him to head the expedition against Kangra Fortress. When he reached Lahore he heard that Sangram, a landholder of the hill country, had attacked Raja Man's territory and usurped some of his lands. Considering the repulsion of Sangram to have greater priority, he went out to attack him. Sangram did not have the strength to ward off an attack by Raja Man, so he abandoned the occupied territory and took refuge in difficult mountainous terrain and unreachable bastions. In pursuit, Raja Man headed for the same strongholds. He was so sure of himself that he neglected to guard his front and rear or ensure passage



THE DESCENT OF THE GANGES, attributed to Manohar. India, Mughal period, ca. 1600. Opaque watercolor on paper. 15.2 x 9.8 cm. Courtesy of Terence McInerney, New York

and retreat but got himself there with only a small contingent of soldiers. When Sangram saw that Raja Man had not left himself a way to get out, he came out to defend himself. As the line of poetry says, "In time of necessity, when no escape remains, the hand will grab the sharp tip of a sword."[39] Fatefully, Raja Man was hit by a rock and died on the spot. His men were defeated, many were killed, and the rest, wounded, abandoned their horses and arms and only managed with great difficulty to save themselves.



MANDU, built second half 15th century, modified for Jahangir 1615–17

❁

On the seventeenth [February 25], we decamped from Sarangpur and, after traveling three kos, came to the village of Haselpur. Along the way a nilgai was hunted. The village is one of the outstanding places in Malwa, **[142b]** with abundant grapes and mango trees beyond enumeration with rivers flowing throughout. When we arrived, the grapes there, unlike the vilayat, were ripe, and they were so cheap and plentiful that anyone could buy as many as he wanted. The poppies were also in bloom, stretched out in groups of every color before one's view. Seldom has such a delightful village been seen. We stayed there three days, during which three nilgais were shot.

On the twenty-first [March 1], we decamped from Haselpur and in two marches reached the main camp. Along the way a nilgai was hunted.

On Sunday the twenty-second [March 2] we decamped from Nalchha and came to a lake situated at the foot of the Mandu fortress. At this time the scouts brought word that a lion had been cornered three kos away. Although it was a Sunday, and I don't hunt with guns on Sundays and Thursdays, it occurred to me that since it was a harmful animal it should be taken care of. I set forth, and when I reached the spot, there it was sitting under the shade of a tree. From atop the elephant I took aim at its half-opened mouth and fired. By lucky chance the bullet went into its mouth and lodged in its head and brain. I polished it off with this single shot! After that those who were along tried hard to discover the wound, but they couldn't because externally there wasn't a trace of a bullet wound anywhere on its body. Finally I told them to examine its mouth. Then it was obvious that the bullet had gone in the mouth and that was the wound that brought it down.

Mirza Rustam had hunted down a male wolf and brought it to me. I wanted to examine it to see whether its gall bladder was located inside the liver like a lion's or outside like other animals'. Upon examination it was obvious that its gall bladder was also inside the liver.

❁ *Arrival at Mandu*

On Monday the twenty-third [March 3], after the elapse of one ghari, I set out at an auspicious hour for the Mandu fortress, mounted on an elephant. **[143a]** One watch

39. Sa'di, *Gulistan* in *Kulliyyat*, 37.

and three gharis of the day had elapsed when I entered the quarters that had been prepared for the imperial descent. Along the way I scattered fifteen hundred rupees.

From Ajmer to Mandu was 159 kos. Over the four months and four days we had traveled with forty-six days of march and seventy-eight days of halt. On the forty-six marches the way stations all happened to be delightful places on the banks of lakes, streams, or large irrigation canals edged by trees, greenery, and poppy fields in flower. Not a day passed, whether marching or halting, without hunting. We had come the entire way on horseback or on elephant, seeing the sights and hunting. The arduousness of a journey was never felt. It was as if we were progressing from garden to garden. On the hunts Asaf Khan, Mirza Rustam, the Mirmiran, Ani Rai, Hidayatullah, Raja Sarang Deo, Sayyid Kasu, and Khawass Khan were always with me.

Since I had sent Abdul-Karim Ma'muri to repair the buildings of the previous rulers of Mandu before the imperial entourage arrived, while we were still camped in Ajmer he had repaired some of the buildings that were reparable and rebuilt others. In sum, he had made a site so wonderful and delightful that it is doubtful that there is anything like it anywhere. Nearly three lacs of rupees, which equals ten thousand Persian tumans, had been spent. This site really should be located in cities worthy of an imperial descent. The fortress is situated atop a tall hill ten kos in circumference. During the monsoon season there is no place so nice and pleasant as this fortress. At night during Leo [July–August] it gets so chilly that one can't sleep without a quilt and during the daytime there is no need for fans.

The Legend of Mandu Fortress

They say that before the time of Raja Vikramaditya there was a raja named Jai Singh Deo. During his reign a man went out into the fields to collect straw. While he was reaping, the sickle he was holding turned the color of gold. When he saw his sickle had changed he took it to a blacksmith named Mandan to fix. [**143b**] The blacksmith realized that the sickle had turned to gold, for he had heard that in the region there was a philosopher's stone, which turned iron and copper into gold on contact. Immediately he had the straw-gatherer take him to the spot. He found the stone and took the priceless gem to the raja.

By means of the stone the raja obtained gold, some of which he spent on constructing this fortress, which took twelve years to complete. At the blacksmith's request he had most of the stones used in the fortress wall cut into the shape of anvils.

Toward the end of his life, when he was sick of the world, he held an assembly on the banks of the Narbada River, one of the major sites of Hindu worship, and gathered Brahmins to whom he gave favors of cash and goods. When it came the turn of a Brahmin who was an old friend of his, he handed him the stone. The old friend didn't recognize what it was, grew angry, and pitched the priceless gem into the water. Then, when he was informed of its nature, he was afflicted with eternal regret, and no matter how hard they searched no trace of it was ever found. This tale is not written down; it has been heard orally. My mind cannot accept this story, and I think it is just a fable.

Tour of the Buildings of Mandu

Mandu is one of the major sarkars of the souba of Malwa, with an income of one crore, thirty-nine lacs of dams.[40] For a long time it was the capital of the sultans of this region, and many of their ancient buildings and monuments are still standing, untouched by ruination. On the twenty-fourth [March 4], I rode out to tour the buildings of the former rulers. First I entered the congregational mosque built by Sultan

40. 13,900,000 dams = 347,500 rupees.

Hoshang Ghori.[41] It appeared to be a superb building, made totally of hewn stone. Although it was built 180 years ago, it looks as though the builder finished it today.

Then I went to see the building housing the tombs of the Khalji rulers, where the grave of the eternally damned Nasiruddin Sultan son of Ghiyasuddin is located. It is well known that this wretch killed his own father, Sultan Ghiyasuddin, [**144a**] at the age of eighty. Twice he gave him poison, but Ghiyasuddin warded it off with an amulet against poison he wore on his arm. The third time he mixed poison in a bowl of sherbet and gave it to his father with his own hand, saying, "You must drink this." Since the father knew what his intent was, he first removed the amulet from his arm, tossed it to him, lifted his face to the creator's court, and said, "O Lord, I have reached the age of eighty, and I have spent all these years in more success and pleasure than any other king has ever had. As this is my last moment, I hope that you will not blame Nasir for my death but attribute my demise to natural causes and not requite him for it." After speaking these words, he downed the sherbet laced with poison and died.

The reason for his saying that he had spent his reign in more success and pleasure than any other ruler was that when he attained the throne at the age of forty-eight, he said to his intimates and comrades, "I have led the army in my father's service for thirty years, and I have left nothing undone in showing bravery and commanding the soldiers. Now that it is my turn, I have no desire to conquer territory. I want to spend the rest of my life in enjoyment and pleasure." They say he had fifteen thousand women in his harem who formed a veritable city with all sorts of artisans, governors, judges, kotwals, and to all posts that are necessary to run a city he appointed women. Whenever he heard of a beautiful young girl he couldn't rest until he had acquired her, and he had his slave girls taught various arts and skills. He was also very fond of hunting. He had game preserves built where all sorts of animals were kept, and he spent most of his time hunting with the women there. [**144b**] In short, during his reign of over thirty-two years, just as he had promised, he never once rode against an enemy but spent the entire time in luxury and repose. Likewise, no one attacked his territory.

They say that while Sher Khan the Afghan reigned, despite his bestiality, he came to Nasiruddin's grave and ordered those with him to strike the grave with their staffs for his hideous deed. When I came to his grave I kicked it several times and ordered those who were in the retinue to kick it too. Since this didn't satisfy me, I said the grave should be opened and his unclean body thrown into the fire, but then it occurred to me that since fire originates with divine light, it would be a shame to sully that subtle essence by burning his filthy body in it. Also, lest there be any diminution of his torment by being burnt into another form, I ordered his crumbling bones and decayed body thrown into the Narbada River.

During his lifetime he always lived in water because of his hot-naturedness. It is well known that once while drunk he threw himself into a very deep pool in the Kaliadeh. Several palace servants ran forward, grabbed him by the hair, and pulled him out of the water.When he came to, they told him what had happened. When he heard that they had pulled him out by the hair, he flew into a rage and ordered the servants' hands cut off. The next time it happened no one dared to pull him out and he drowned. As it turned out, 110 years after his death his decayed body rejoined the water.

On the twenty-eighth [March 8], I promoted Abdul-Karim to the rank of 800/400 and gave him the title Ma'mur Khan as a reward for the reconstruction of Mandu, which was carried out under his supervision. [**145a**]

41. Sultan Hoshang Ghori ruled in Malwa 1405–35.

Khurram Enters Burhanpur, and Reports from the Deccan Campaign

On the same day the imperial banners entered the Mandu fortress, my lucky son Sultan Khurram was entering the city of Burhanpur, the governor's seat of Khandesh, with his victorious soldiers.

Four days later reports came from Afzal Khan and Rai-Raian, whom my son had sent to escort the Adil Khan's emissaries when he left Ajmer. The contents were as follows: "When the news of our arrival reached the Adil Khan, he came out seven kos to receive the prince's command and decree, prostrating himself and leaving nothing of the usual rituals of court undone. During this meeting he offered his full support and alliance and guaranteed that the territories that had left the control of the friends of the empire would all be wrenched from the grasp of the wretched Ambar and restored to the emperor's servants. He also promised that he would send a suitable offering to court with his emissaries. After these preliminaries he had us ambassadors dismount with all dignity in quarters specially arranged, and that very day a messenger was sent to Ambar to announce to him what had to be said." This news was told to me along with the reports of Afzal Khan and Rai-Raian.

From the time we left Ajmer until Monday the twenty-third [March 3], a period of four months, the following animals were hunted: lion, 2; nilgai, 27; spotted deer, 6; antelope, 60; hare and fox, 23; ducks et cetera, 1,200. At night I told stories of former hunts and of the yearning and desire I had for this occupation to those who were in attendance. I then wondered whether or not it might be possible to make a list of all the animals hunted from my onset into the age of discrimination to the present. I therefore ordered the recorders and overseers of the hunt, scouts, and others employed in this service to investigate, make a list of all the animals of every sort that had been hunted, **[145b]** and report to me. It turned out that from the beginning of my twelfth year, A.H. 988 [1580–81], until the end of the present year, the eleventh of my reign and fiftieth lunar year of my age, 28,532 animals were taken in my presence. Of this total I shot with my own hand 17,16[7] animals as follows: quadrupeds, 3,203: lion, 86; bear, cheetah, fox, otter, hyena, 9; nilgai, 889; *maha*, a species of deer as large and bulky as a nilgai, 35; buck and doe antelope, chikara, spotted deer, mountain goat, et cetera, 1,672; ram and red deer, 215; wolf, 64; wild ox, 36; boar, 90; ibex, 26; mountain ram, 22; [argali sheep, 32]; wild ass, 6; hare, 23. Birds, 13,964 as follows: pigeon, 10,348; *lagar-jbagar* hawk, 3; eagle, 2; kite, 23; *jughd* [owl], 39; pelican, 12; mouse-eater, 5; sparrow, 41; dove, 25; *bum* [owl],[42] 30; duck, goose, heron, et cetera, 150; crow, 3,473. Aquatic animals: *magarmacchh*, which means crocodile, 10.

42. Both *jughd* and *bum* are Persian words for owl. Jahangir obviously has some difference in mind, but what it could be is not known.

The Twelfth Regnal Year: March 11, 1617–March 9, 1618

The Twelfth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

With one ghari left of Monday the thirty-first of the month, corresponding to the twelfth of Rabi' I 1026 [March 10, 1617], the sun transited from Pisces into its house of ascendance and culmination. At the very hour of transit, the hour of auspiciousness, I sat upon the throne, [**146a**] commanded the Hall of Public and Private Audience decorated as usual with expensive textiles, and ordered a celebration held. Even though most of the amirs and dignitaries of the empire were with my son Khurram, an assembly was held that was in no way inferior to past years.

I awarded the offerings on [Tues]day to Anand Khan. This same day, the first of Farvardin of the twelfth regnal year [March 11], Sultan Khurram's report arrived saying, "A Nawroz celebration will have been held as in past years, but since these are days of march and campaign, I have exempted the court servants from annual offerings." This pleased me greatly, and I prayed to the divine court for my son's continued health and welfare. I also ordered that this Nawroz no one was to present offerings.

Prohibition of Tobacco

Because of the evil effect tobacco has on most constitutions and natures, I ordered that no one was to consume it. My brother Shah Abbas is aware of its deleterious effects and has ordered that in Iran no one is to smoke it. Since Khan Alam had become addicted to tobacco, he smoked it almost all the time. Yadgar-Ali Sultan, the ambassador of the ruler of Iran, reported to Shah Abbas that Khan Alam couldn't stand to be without tobacco for an instant, and the shah replied to his report with the following line of poetry: "The beloved's messenger wants to give notice of tobacco. I will light the tobacco market with the candle of fidelity."

Khan Alam responded with this line and sent it: "Poor me, I was devastated by the tobacco notice, but the tobacco market became brisk thanks to the just shah's kindness."

On the third of the month [March 13], Husayn Beg the divan of Bengal attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold and offered twelve male and female elephants. Tahir, the bakhshi of Bengal, who had been reproached for several shortcomings, also attained the felicity of körünüsh, and the twenty-one elephants he presented were viewed. I liked twelve of them, but I gave him back the rest.

On this day I gave a wine party [**146b**] and gave wine to most of our servants who were in attendance, making them all intoxicated on the wine of loyalty.

On the fourth [March 14], the scouts brought word that a tiger had been cornered in the vicinity of the Shankar tank outside the fortress of the rulers of Malwa. I mounted that very instant and set out to hunt it down.When the tiger appeared, it attacked the ahadis and those who were out in front, injuring twelve of them. In the end I polished it off with three shots and eliminated the menace to the people.

On the eighth [March 18], the Mirmiran's rank of 1000/400 was increased to 1500/500.

On the ninth [March 19], at my son Khurram's request Khan Jahan's rank was increased by 1000/1000 to 6000/6000. Ya'qub Khan was promoted from the rank of 1500/1000 to 2000/1500. Bahlul Khan Miyana'i was promoted from 500/300 to 1500/1000. Mirza Ashrafuddin Husayn Kashghari, who had performed meritorious service in the Deccan along with his son, was promoted to 1500/1000.

Lunar Weighing

On the tenth [March 20], corresponding to the twenty-third of Rabi' I 1026, the lunar weighing ceremony was held. On this day I awarded my son Khurram two Persian horses from the royal stable and a robe of honor and sent them to him by Bayram Beg. I increased I'tibar Khan's rank by 1000 suwar to 5000/3000.

On the eleventh [March 21], Hasan Beg Tabrizi paid homage together with the emissary of the ruler of Golconda, presenting two horses and several bolts of Deccani and Gujarati cloth. Hasan Beg had been sent as an emissary by the ruler of Iran to the ruler of Golconda, but as a consequence of a dispute between the Franks and the Qizilbash, the way via Hormuz was blockaded. [**147a**] On the same day I awarded the Khankhanan a Persian horse from the royal stable.

On the fifteenth [March 25], 1000 zat were added to Mirza Raja Bhao Singh's rank, making 5000/3000.

On the seventeenth [March 27], I added another 500 to Mirza Rustam's rank, making 5000/1000. Sadiq Khan's rank was set at 1500/700, and Iradat Khan's was similarly increased to 1500/600. Ani Rai's rank was increased by 500/100 to 1500/500.

With three gharis left of Saturday the nineteenth [March 29], the culmination began. At this time I again sat on the throne.

I had entrusted to I'tiqad Khan one of the thirty-two captives who had been taken from the damn Ambar's army in battle with Shahnawaz Khan. The guards he had assigned to watch him had been negligent and let the captive escape. This had displeased me greatly, and I had forbidden I'tiqad Khan to come for körünüsh for three months. Inasmuch as the prisoner had been nameless, no matter how much they searched for him he couldn't be found. In the end I ordered the captain of the squad that had been negligent in guarding him to be executed. On this day, by request of I'timaduddawla, I'tiqad Khan attained the felicity of körünüsh.

Since nothing good had been heard of Bengal and Qasim Khan for a long time, it occurred to me to send to Bengal Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang, who had done such a good job in Bihar by gaining control of a diamond mine, sending to Bihar in his stead Jahangir-Quli Khan, who held a jagir in the souba of Allahabad, and summon Qasim Khan to court. At that very hour on the auspicious day an order was issued for decrees to be penned, and sazavuls were assigned to escort Jahangir-Quli Khan to Bihar [**147b**] and send Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang to Bengal. I honored Sikandar Jawhari with the rank of 1000/300.

On the twenty-first [March 31], I gave Muhammad-Riza, the emissary of the ruler of Iran, leave to depart and awarded him sixty thousand drabs, which is thirty thousand rupees, and a robe of honor. In return for the memento my brother Shah Abbas had sent me, I sent with the emissary several of the novel jeweled implements the rulers of the Deccan had sent and other fine textiles of all sorts that were suitable as gifts, worth in all about a lac of rupees. One of the items was a crystal drinking bowl Chelebi had sent from Persia. The shah had seen the bowl and said to the emissary, "If my brother drinks wine from this bowl and sends it to me, it would be a great token of affection." When the emissary told me this, I drank wine from it several times in his presence and ordered a cover and saucer made for it. It was included among the gifts to be sent. The cover was enameled. I had ordered the scribes to write an appropriate response to the letter the emissary had brought.

On the twenty-second [April 1], the scouts brought word of a lion. I set out immediately, got myself there, and with three shots delivered the people of its evil menace and it of its own evil nature.

Masihu'z-Zaman brought a cat for my inspection, saying, "It is a hermaphrodite. In my own house it has both engendered young and, coupling with another cat, given birth to kittens."

On the twenty-fifth [April 4], I'timaduddawla's troop passed for review in the field beneath the jharoka. There were two thousand fine horsemen, mostly Moghuls, five hundred foot soldiers armed with bows and guns, and fourteen elephants. The bakhshis counted them and reported that the troop was fully equipped and appeared to be formed according to regulation.

On the twenty-sixth [April 5], a lioness was hunted.

On Thursday, the first of Urdibihisht [April 10], a diamond Muqarrab Khan had sent by messenger was viewed. **[148a]** It weighed twenty-three surkhs,[1] and the jewelers valued it at thirty thousand rupees. It was a superb diamond, and I liked it a lot. I ordered a ring made of it.

1. I.e., just over twenty carats.

On the third [April 12], Yusuf Khan was promoted to the rank of 3000/1500 at Baba Khurram's request. Several other amirs and officers were promoted at my son's suggestion.

Nurjahan Begam's Marksmanship

On the seventh [April 16] after the elapse of two watches and three gharis, the scouts had cornered four lions. I set out with the ladies of the harem to hunt them. When the lions came into view, Nurjahan Begam said, "If so commanded, I will shoot the lions." I said, "Let it be so." She hit two of them with one shot each and the other two with two shots, and in the twinkling of an eye the four lions were deprived of life with six shots. Until now such marksmanship had not been seen—from atop an elephant and from inside a howdah she had fired six shots, not one of which missed, and four such adversaries had not even had a chance to budge. As a reward for such marksmanship I scattered a thousand ashrafis over her head and gave her a pair of pearls and a diamond worth a lac of rupees.

This day Ma'mur Khan was dispatched to Lahore for construction of imperial buildings.

On the tenth [April 19], news came of the death of Sayyid Waris, the garrison commander of the souba of Oudh.

On the twelfth [April 21], since Mir Mahmud Sherdunim had asked to be a garrison commander, I gave him the title of Tahawwur Khan and a promotion and assigned him the office of garrison commander for several parganas in Multan souba.

On the twenty-second [May 1], Tahir the bakhshi of Bengal, who had been forbidden körünüsh, paid homage, presenting the vow and offering he had. This same day the offering of eight elephants from Qasim Khan, the governor of Bengal, and two elephants from Shaykh Mawdud were viewed.

On the twenty-eighth [May 7], at Khan Dawran's request, 500 was added to Abdul-Aziz's rank.

On the fifth of Khurdad [May 15], the office of divan of Gujarat souba was assigned to Mirza Husayn with the transfer of Keshav, [**148b**] and I gave him the title of Kifayat Khan.

On the eighth [May 18], Lashkar Khan, who had been assigned to be bakhshi to the Bangash campaign, paid homage. He presented a vow of a hundred mohurs and five hundred rupees.

Several days prior to this Ustad Muhammad the flute player, who is without equal in his art, had been sent to court by my son Khurram as he had been requested. Since I had heard several pieces played by him, and now he played a tune on a *ghazal* he had composed for me,[2] on the twelfth [May 22] I ordered him weighed against rupees. It came to six thousand three hundred rupees. I awarded him an elephant with a howdah and ordered him to mount the elephant and ride it home with the coins stacked all around him.

2. A *ghazal* is a Persian love poem consisting of five to twelve lines in monorhyme.

Mulla Asad the storyteller, a liege man of Mirza Ghazi's, came this day from Thatta and paid homage. Since he was full of stories that were very amusing and I liked his company, I gave him the title of Mahzuz Khan, a thousand rupees, a robe of honor, a horse, an elephant, and a palanquin. Several days later I ordered him weighed against rupees. It came to four thousand four hundred rupees. I raised him to the rank of 200/20 and ordered him always to be present when people were gathered for chats.

On the same date Lashkar Khan paraded his troop before the Jharoka-i-Darshan. He had five hundred horsemen, fourteen elephants, and a hundred musketeers.

On the twenty-fourth [June 3], news arrived that Maha Singh, the grandson of Raja Man Singh and one of the great amirs, had died of excessive drink in Balapur in the province of Berar. His father had also died at the same age of thirty-two from drinking too much.

Around this time many mangoes were brought to the imperial fruit-storage house from all over the Deccan, Burhanpur, Gujarat, and the Malwa countryside. Although this area is renowned for its good mangoes, it cannot hold a candle to those other regions for large, sweet mangoes with few strings. More than once I ordered mangoes weighed in my presence. [**149a**] They came to a seer and a quarter, sometimes even more. Anyway, for juiciness, tastiness, and digestibility, the mangoes of Chapramau in the Agra vicinity are the best of this or any other area in Hindustan.

On the twenty-eighth [June 7], I sent my son Baba Khurram a royal nadiri; its equal in expensive gold embroidery has not been sewn in my establishment before. I ordered the bearer to make mention of the fact that this nadiri had the distinction of having been worn by me on the day he left Ajmer to conquer the Deccan, and therefore I was sending it to him. On the same day I removed a turban I had on my head and placed it, wrapped as it was, on I'timaduddawla's head as a sign of particular favor.

Mahabat Khan had sent as an offering three emeralds, a jeweled *urbasí* [breast ornament], and a ring with a carnelian bezel, and they were presented for my view.

They were worth seven thousand rupees. On the same day rain poured down of divine favor and grace. Water in Mandu had become so very scarce, and the people had been so worried that an order had been given for most of our servants to go off to the banks of the Narbada River. There was no hope of rain during these days, but because of the people's concern I turned in all humility to the divine court. God, in his graciousness, bestowed such a rain that within a day and a night all the tanks, ponds, and nullahs were full and the people's concern was relieved. How can one adequately express one's gratitude?

On the first of the month of Tir [June 11], a banner was awarded to Wazir Khan, and the Rana's offering—two horses, some Gujarati textiles, and several jars of pickles and marmalade—was viewed.

On the third [June 13], news was brought of the capture of a man named Abdul-Latif, a scion of the rulers of Gujarat who had been constantly causing trouble there. Since his capture was a cause for the people's relief, thanks and gratitude were offered. I ordered Muqarrab Khan to send him to court with one of the officers assigned there. **[149b]**

Most of the landholders of the region of Mandu came to pay homage and present their offerings.

On the eighth [June 18], I drew the ticka of rajaship on Raja Raj Singh Kachhwaha's son Ram Das and awarded him the title. Yadgar Beg, who was known in Transoxiana as Yadgar Qorchï and who was not without connections to the rulers of that area, came to pay homage. Of his offering I liked a white Chinese drinking bowl with a pedestal. The offering of Bahadur Khan, the governor of Kandahar, consisting of nine horses, nine *toquz*es of fine textiles,[3] two black fox pelts, and some other things, was viewed.

On this same day the Raja of Gadhi, Bhim Narayan by name, attained the felicity of paying homage and presented an offering of seven elephants.

On the tenth [June 20], a robe of honor and a horse were given to Yadgar Qorchï.

The thirteenth [June 23] was the festival of rose water spraying, and the activities of that day were held. Shaykh Mawdud Chishti, who was assigned to Bengal, was given the title of Chishti Khan and a horse.

On the fourteenth [June 24], Rawal Samarsi, the son of Rawal Udai Singh the Zamindar of Banswala, paid homage. He presented an offering of thirty thousand rupees, three elephants, a jeweled betel box, and a jeweled belt.

On the fifteenth [June 25], nine diamonds were viewed. They were from the mine and the stores of the zamindars of the area and had been sent by Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang, the governor of Bihar, with Muhammad Beg. One of the diamonds weighed fourteen and a half tanks and was worth a lac of rupees. The same day fourteen thousand drabs were given to Yadgar Qorchï as a bonus, and I gave him the rank of 500/300. I promoted Tatar Khan Bökäülbegi to 2000/300. Each of his sons was given a separate rank. At Prince Sultan Parvez's request 500 was added to Wazir Khan's rank.

3. *Toquz* is the Turkish word for nine. By Turkic custom gifts are given in sets of nine, an auspicious number. In the Turco-Persian culture of Central Asia, the word entered Persian for such a set of gifts. From there it was brought to the subcontinent.

❁ *Reports of Triumph from the Deccan*

On the twenty-ninth [July 9], a Thursday, Sayyid Abdullah Barha, my son Baba Khurram's emissary, paid homage **[150a]** and delivered my son's reports. They contained news of the conquest of the Deccan, all the rulers of which had surrendered and turned over the keys to their fortresses and strongholds, particularly the Ahmadnagar fortress. In thanks for this great stroke of luck I turned my face in humility to the divine court, and then I ordered the drums of rejoicing beaten. Thank God, the provinces

that had been lost were now restored to the servants of the all-conquering empire, and the troublemakers who had dared to rebel had admitted their inability and powerlessness by submitting to pay tribute and taxes.

Since this news was given to me by Nurjahan Begam, I awarded her the pargana of Toda, the revenue of which is two lacs of rupees. God willing, when the imperial troops reach the province of the Deccan and its fortresses and my dear son Baba Khurram is satisfied with arrangements, he will take the offerings of the rulers of the Deccan, which is more than they have ever given to any ruler in their times, and bring the emissaries to court. It is also ordered that he bring the amirs who will have jagirs in that souba. When they have paid homage they will receive permission to depart, and the imperial banners will proceed in glory and triumph to the capital.

Several days prior to receiving the news of victory, I took an augury one night from the divan of Khwaja Hafiz to see what the outcome would be. This ghazal came up: "The day of absence and the night of separation from the beloved came to an end. I took this augury, the star passed, and my labor came to an end."[4] Since the "Tongue of the Unseen" Hafiz had so spoken,[5] I felt very hopeful. Twenty-five days later the news of victory came. I have had recourse to the divan of Hafiz on many an occasion, **[150b]** and the way things have turned out have usually been in accordance with the results he predicts. Rarely has it been otherwise.

4. Hafiz, *Divan*, 83.

5. *Lisan al-ghayb* (Tongue of the Unseen) is the epithet commonly given to the poet Hafiz for the ability his poetry is supposed to have to predict the future.

This day I increased Asaf Khan's rank by 1000 suwar to 5000/5000. Toward the end of the day I went with the ladies of the harem to tour the Haft Manzar building,[6] returning to the palace in the early evening. This structure was built by one of the past rulers of Malwa, Sultan Mahmud Khalji. It has seven stories, and on each floor it has four chambers, each with four small windows. The height of the tower is $54\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, it is 50 ells in circumference, and it has 171 stairs from the ground to the seventh floor. Going and coming, I scattered fourteen hundred rupees.

6. Haft Manzar means "seven views," a reference to the seven stories it contained.

On the thirty-first [July 11], I gave Sayyid Abdullah the title of Sayf Khan and awarded him a robe of honor, a horse, an elephant, and a jeweled dagger. I also gave him permission to withdraw and return to my lucky son. I sent with him a ruby worth more than thirty thousand rupees for my lucky son. Since I had long worn it on my head, disregarding its value, I sent it because I considered it a good luck charm.

I assigned Mahmud, Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan Bakhshi's son-in-law, as bakhshi and reporter to Bihar. As I was giving him permission to leave, I awarded him an elephant.

Toward the end of the day on Thursday, the [fifth] of Amurdad [July 16], I went with the ladies of the harem to see Nil Khanth, one of the most pleasant sites in the Mandu fortress. When Shah-Budagh, one of my father's most important amirs, held this province as a jagir, he had a palace constructed there. **[151a]** It was so delightful and pleasant that I stayed for two or three gharis before returning to the palace.

Since certain indiscretions had been reported of Mukhlis Khan, the divan and bakhshi of Bengal, I demoted him by 1000/200.

On the seventh [July 18], a war elephant the Adil Khan had presented named Adil Gaj was sent to Rana Amar Singh.

On the fifteenth [July 26], I went out hunting. I went one stage down from the fortress, but there was so much rain and mud that it was impossible to move. In order not to trouble the men and animals, I cancelled the hunt.

On Thursday I stayed inside, and on Friday I went back out. On this day

Hidayatullah, who has made several brave showings in my presence, was awarded the title of Fidai Khan.

During this monsoon it has rained so much that old men say they don't remember it ever raining so much before. It has been cloudy and rainy for nearly forty days, and the sun has only occasionally appeared. There has been so much wind and rain that most of the buildings, both old and new, have fallen in. The first night there was rain, lightning, and thunder the likes of which has seldom been heard before. Nearly twenty men and women were killed. Some of the stone buildings were struck by lightning and cracked. There is no more terrifying sound. The wind and rain kept increasing until the middle of the month, but thereafter it gradually subsided. What now can one write of the greenery and wild herbs? Plains, mountains, and fields are covered. It is not known if there is any other place in the whole world with a climate and situation as good as Mandu, particularly during the monsoon. During this season, the months of heat, one can't sleep inside at night without a cover, and during the day there is absolutely no need for fans or changing one's place. [**151b**] What has been written does not convey even a fraction of its attractiveness.

Two things have been seen here that I hadn't seen anywhere else in Hindustan. One is the wild plantain tree, which grows in most of the open spaces in the fortress. The other is the nest of the wagtail, which is called *dumsicha* in Persian.[7] Until now no huntsman had ever told me about its nest. By chance there was one in the palace where we were living. It had produced two chicks.

7. Although Jahangir is writing in Persian, he uses the Hindi name for the wagtail, *mamula*

Three watches of Thursday the nineteenth [July 30] had elapsed when I mounted with the ladies of the harem to go sight seeing in the pavilions on Shankar Tank built by former rulers of Malwa. Since an elephant had not been given to I'timaduddawla when he was appointed governor of the Punjab, along the way I awarded him one of my private elephants named Jagat Jot. We remained among the pavilions until evening, and I was totally entranced by the greenery of the open spaces around. After performing my devotions for the evening, I returned to the palace.

On Friday an elephant named Ran Baola, which Jahangir-Quli Khan had presented, was viewed.

Exclusive Articles of Clothing

I had had several articles of clothing made for myself, and I ordered no one else to wear them unless I granted the privilege. One was the nadiri jacket, which is worn over the *qaba*.[8] In length it comes down below the waist and has no sleeves. It is fastened up the front with buttons. The people in Persia call it a *kurdi*. I named it nadiri.

8. The *qaba* is the common garment of Jahangir's time. It is a long robe, slit in the front, wrapped and fastened on the side. The nadiri is the short, sleeveless jacket Jahangir wears in the illustration on page 392, *Jahangir Triumphant Holding a Globe*

Another garment is the Tusi shawl, which my exalted father adopted exclusively for himself. Another is the qaba with a woolen collar and embroidered sleeves. He also adopted this to his own exclusivity. Another is the qaba with a border from which the fringes are cut off and sewn onto the hem, collar, and sleeves. Another is the vest of Gujarati satin. Another is the turban and cummerbund of woven silk shot with gold and silver threads.

Since a portion of Mahabat Khan's cavalry had been increased to duaspa-seaspa while serving in the Deccan, [**152a**] but then the service had not been performed, I ordered the divanis to recover the difference from his jagir.

A Splendid Party

Toward the end of the day on Thursday the twenty-sixth [August 6], corresponding to the fourteenth of Sha'ban, the Shab-i-Barat,[9] I held a celebration in one of the pavilions occupied by Nurjahan Begam in the middle of a large lake. The amirs and intimates were invited to the assembly arranged by the begam, and I ordered wine bowls and all sorts of intoxicants given to whoever wished. Many chose wine bowls. I ordered that all who drank wine should sit according to their ranks and stations. All sorts of roasted meats and fruits were placed before every one as relishes. It was a really good party. As night fell, lanterns and torches were lit around the lake and the pavilions. An illumination was achieved the likes of which has probably never occurred anywhere else since the custom of lighting lanterns began. All the torches and lanterns were reflected in the water and made it look as though the entire surface of the water was a field of flame. What an incredible party! The wine-drinkers took more bowls of wine than they could hold.

> An exhilarating banquet was held, as good as the heart could wish. / They cast before this dark castle a carpet as vast as the field of imagination. / The aroma of the banquet traveled so far that the celestial sphere turned into a musk bag from the vapors. / The coquettes of the garden displayed themselves, cheeks ablaze, each like a lamp.

After three or four gharis of the night had passed, I gave the people permission to depart, summoned the ladies of the harem, and stayed in that marvelous spot through the first watch of the night enjoying myself.

9. For the Shab-i-Barat, see note 10 on page 180.

On this Thursday several occasions were observed. One was that it was the day of my accession to the throne. Another was that it was the Shab-i-Barat. **[152b]** Another was that it was the day of Rakhi, which has already been explained as a day of importance to Hindus.[10] Because of all these happy coincidences, I named the day *mubarakshamba* [auspicious day]. To the extent that Thursday is an auspicious day for me, Wednesday is inauspicious, and that's why I named the ill-omened day *gumshamba* [day of loss]. Would that this day would always occur less often.

10. See page 146.

On the twenty-seventh [August 7], Sayyid Kasu was given the title of Parwarish Khan. The next day a jeweled dagger was given to Yadgar Qorchï, and I ordered him called Yadgar Beg henceforth. I had summoned Raja Maha Singh's eight-year-old son Jai Singh, and on this day he paid homage and presented an elephant.

When one watch and three gharis had elapsed of Thursday the second of Shahrivar [August 13], I mounted to go tour Nil Khanth and that vicinity. From there we went to the plain where the *idgah* was on top of an extremely green and lush hill. So many champa flowers and wild herbs were in bloom that no matter what direction you looked, there were worlds and worlds of greenery and flowers. One watch of the night had passed when I returned to the royal palace.

Since it had repeatedly been mentioned that there was a species of sweet wild plantain on which the poor and needy nourished themselves, I decided to have it investigated. Apparently the fruit is a hard, insipid thing, but around the base is a pinecone-shaped thing from which the fruit of the plantain emerges. It forms a sweet clump that tastes exactly like *paluda*. That, it seems, is what people eat, and they enjoy the taste very much.

Carrier Pigeons

Much has been heard of the Baghdad pigeons that were called carrier pigeons during the time of the Abbasid caliphs.[11] Carrier pigeons are actually a third larger than wild pigeons. **[153a]** I ordered the pigeon raisers to teach them, and they trained several pairs so that when we let them fly from Mandu at the beginning of the day, if there was a lot of rain, they reached Burhanpur in a maximum of two and a half watches, or even one watch and a half.[12] If the weather was very clear, most arrived in a watch and others arrived in four gharis.

11. The Abbasid caliphs ruled, mostly from Baghdad, from A.D. 749 until the house was extinguished by the Mongols in 1258.

12 Text is corrupt here. Translation is based on Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (trans. Rogers).

On the third [August 14] Baba Khurram's report came saying that Afzal Khan and Rai-Raian had arrived, and the Adil Khan's emissaries had come and brought suitable offerings of gems, jeweled utensils, elephants, and horses—more than had ever come as an offering at any time before. He also expressed his gratitude to the Adil Khan for his services, his support, and his loyalty to his word and asked that a decree be issued for the Adil Khan in which he was addressed as "son" and by other favorable titles not previously accorded him. Since I wanted to curry favor with my son, and since his request was reasonable, I ordered the scribes to make a decree addressed to the Adil Khan filled with expressions of affection and favor and to increase his titles by a ratio of ten to twelve over what had been used before. It was also ordered that henceforth he was to be called "son" in imperial decrees, and at the top of decrees the following line of poetry was to be written: "By request of Shah Khurram, you have become known throughout the world as our son."

On the fourth [August 15] the decree was sent with a copy so that my son Shah Khurram could see the copy and send the original.

On Thursday the ninth [August 20] I went to Asaf Khan's quarters with the ladies of the harem. His quarters were in the vicinity of an exceedingly pleasant and lovely valley. There were several other valleys around, and a few of them had waterfalls with lush mango trees providing shade. In one valley around two hundred keora bushes were growing. **[153b]** In short, the day was spent very pleasantly, and a wine party was held at which the amirs and intimates were given wine bowls. Asaf Khan's offering was viewed, and most of it was quite valuable. I took what I liked and gave him back the rest.

The same day Sultan Khwaja's son Khwaja Mir, who had been summoned from the Bangash campaign, paid homage. He presented a ruby, two pearls, and an elephant. Raja Bhim Narayan, the Zamindar of Gadhi, was given the rank of 1000/500, and an order was given for him to receive a jagir in his homeland.

On the twelfth [August 23] a letter came from my son Khurram saying that Raja Baso's son Raja Suraj Mal, whose land was adjacent to the Kangra fortress, had undertaken to subdue the fortress within a year and had sent a written pledge to that effect. An order was given that he should make the raja understand exactly what he had undertaken and what was involved and then send him to me so that he could make arrangements and set off on the campaign.

The same day, which was Sunday the twelfth, corresponding to the first of Ramadan [August 23], after the elapse of four gharis and seven pals, a daughter was born to my aforementioned son [Khurram] by Asaf Khan's daughter, the mother of the other princes.[13] The child was named Rawshanara Begam.

13. For Asaf Khan's daughter see note 7 on page 195.

Since the Raja of Jaitpur, which is located in the Mandu vicinity, had not paid

homage because of certain vilenesses, I ordered Fidai Khan to take several officers and four or five hundred musketeers, attack him, and sack his province.

On the thirteenth [August 24], an elephant was given to Fidai Khan, and another was given to Mir Murad's son Mir Qasim.

On the sixteenth [August 27], Raja Maha Singh's ten-year-old son Jai Singh was given the rank of 1000/500. Mir Khalilullah's son the Mirmiran was given an elephant he had liked. **[154a]** I also gave Mulla Abdul-Sattar an elephant. Raja Bikramajit Bhadauriya's son Bhoj came from the Deccan after his father's death and paid homage, presenting a vow of a hundred mohurs.

On the [eight]eenth [August 29] I was told that Raja Kalyan had come from Orissa and wanted to kiss the imperial threshold. Since a displeasing tale had been heard about him, it was ordered that he and his son be turned over to Asaf Khan until an investigation could be made.

On the nineteenth [August 30] an elephant was given to Jai Singh.

On the twentieth [August 31], 200 suwar were added to Keshav Maru's rank, making 2000/1200 in all.

On the twenty-third [September 3], I awarded Allahdad Khan Afghan the title of Rashid Khan and gave him a personal cashmere shawl. Raja Kalyan's eighteen elephants were viewed. Sixteen of them were sent to the imperial elephant stable, and I gave two of them back.

Since news had come from Persia of the death of the Mirmiran's mother, the daughter of the Safavid Shah Isma'il II, I sent him a robe of honor to get him out of mourning.

On the twenty-fifth [September 5], Fidai Khan was given a robe of honor and sent, with his brother Ruhullah and other officers, to chastise the zamindar of Jaitpur.

On the twenty-eighth [September 8] I rode out of the fortress with the ladies of the harem to tour the Narbada and hunt in the area. Camp had been made two stages away on the banks of the river. We didn't stay more than one night because there were so many flies and mosquitoes. The next day we went to Tarapur, and on Friday the thirty-first [September 11] we returned.

On the first of the month [September 12] a robe of honor and five thousand rupees were given to Muhsin Khwaja, who had recently come from Transoxiana.

On the second [September 13], after a thorough examination of the things told about Raja Kalyan, Asaf Khan was put in charge of the investigation. Since his guilt was not obvious, he was allowed to kiss the imperial threshold and present a vow of a hundred mohurs and a thousand rupees. **[154b]** His offering of a string of eighty pearls and two rubies, a *pabunchi* [bracelet] with a ruby and two pearls, and a golden statue of a horse studded with jewels was viewed.

Fidai Khan's report arrived, as follows: "When the imperial forces entered the province of Jaitpur, the zamindar took flight, unable to offer resistance, and his province has been plundered. Now he regrets his action and desires to come to court in submission. I have sent Ruhullah and a troop in pursuit either to capture him and bring him to court or to turn him into a wanderer in the valley of misfortune and to get hold of his women and household who have gone into the territory of the neighboring zamindar."

On the eighth [September 19], Khwaja Nizam brought fourteen pomegranates from the port of Mocha and presented them for my inspection. He had brought them from that port to Surat in fourteen days, and from Surat he had come to Mandu in eight days. The pomegranates are as large as Thatta pomegranates. Although Thatta

pomegranates do not have seeds and these do, they have a delicate flavor and surpass Thatta pomegranates in juiciness.

On the ninth [September 20], news arrived that Ruhullah had come to a village in the area and was informed that Jaitpur's women and household were there. He dismounted outside the village to make a search and sent some men in to bring the people of the village out to him. During the search one of the zamindar's zealots joined in with the people of the village. His men having dismounted here and there, Ruhullah and some others unpacked their baggage and sat down on a rug. The zealot sneaked up behind him and plunged a dagger into him, and the dagger sank in so deep that the point came out through his chest. The stab and Ruhullah's death were simultaneous. **[155a]** The few who were there dispatched the servant to hell, and then the entire dispersed troop rearmed themselves and attacked the village. The rebellious murderers were all killed within the hour, their women and children were taken prisoner, and the village was torched so that no more than a pile of ashes remained. Then they picked up Ruhullah's body and took it to Fidai Khan. There was no questioning Ruhullah's bravery or courage; it was negligence that brought this turn of fortune. Since there was no trace of habitation left, the zamindar fled into the mountains and forests and hid himself. Then he sent a messenger to Fidai Khan begging to be forgiven. An order was given for Fidai Khan to give him his word and bring him to court.

Muruwwat Khan's rank was fixed at 2000/1500 on condition that he annihilate Hari Bhan, the zamindar of Chandrakota, who had been harassing travelers.

On the thirteenth [September 24], Raja Suraj Mal came, accompanied by Baba Khurram's bakhshi, Muhammad-Taqi, paid homage, and delivered the reports he had. He had performed satisfactorily the service for which he had contracted. At my son's request he was awarded a banner and drums. Taqi, who had been assigned to accompany him, was given a jeweled khapwa and ordered to complete his mission and leave. Khwaja Beg, who was assigned to guard the Ahmadnagar Fortress, was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000. Elephants were given to Nuruddin-Quli, Khwajagi Tahir, Murtaza Khan's Sayyid Jan-Muhammad, and Wali Beg.

On the seventeenth [September 28], Hakim Beg's rank was increased to 1000/200. The same day Raja Suraj Mal was given a robe of honor, an elephant, and a jeweled khapwa, and Taqi was given a robe of honor and leave to depart for service at Kangra.

Since Shah Khurram's envoys had entered Burhanpur with the Adil Khan's emissaries and the offerings he had sent, **[155b]** and my son was completely at ease with the arrangements for the Deccan, he requested the governorship of the soubas of Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmadnagar for the Sipahsalar Khankhanan, and sent his son, Shahnawaz Khan, who is really a younger version of the Khankhanan, with twelve thousand of the horsemen who were there to consolidate the conquered territory. Every place and every estate was assigned as a jagir to reliable men, and suitable arrangements were made for the administration. Of the troops that accompanied my son, he stationed thirty thousand cavalry and seven thousand infantry musketeers there, and he took the rest, twenty-five thousand cavalry and two thousand musketeers, and set out for court.

❀ *Shah Sultan Khurram Pays Homage*

On Thursday, the twentieth of the Ilahi month of Mihr of the twelfth regnal year [October 1], corresponding to the eleventh of Shawwal 1026,[14] after the elapse of three watches and one ghari, he attained the happiness of paying homage in the fortress of Mandu with auspiciousness and felicity. The length of our separation had

14. Emending the text's *panzdahum* (fifteenth) to *yazdahum* (eleventh) The eleventh of Shawwal converts by algorithm to October 2, 1617, close enough to the solar calculation. Khurram departed from Jahangir in Ajmer on the last of Shawwal of the previous lunar year (see above, page 201). Therefore his arrival on the eleventh of Shawwal makes the eleven months and eleven days by lunar calculation given below. Like "eighth" (*bashtum*) and "twentieth" (*bistum*), "eleventh" and "fifteenth" are commonly confused in manuscript.



Jahangir Receives Prince Khurram on His Return from the Deccan, by Murar. India, Mughal period, ca. 1640. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. 30.8 x 20.9 cm. From the Windsor Castle *Padshahnama*, folio 49a. By gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen

been eleven months and eleven days. After he performed the ritual of körünüsh and kissed the ground, I summoned him up into the jharoka, and, out of sheer love and yearning, I involuntarily rose from my place and embraced him. The more he exaggerated the etiquette of humility, the more I increased my show of favor and affection by ordering him to sit near me. He presented a thousand ashrafis and a thousand rupees in fulfillment of a vow and another thousand ashrafis and rupees as alms.

Because there was not enough time for him to display his offerings for my view, at this time he showed only the elephant Sirnag, the finest of the elephants of the Adil Khan's offering, and a small chest of precious gems. After that, an order was given to the bakhshis for the amirs who had accompanied my son to pay homage in order of rank.

The first to pay homage was Khan Jahan. I summoned him up and allowed him to prostrate himself. He presented an offering of a thousand mohurs and a thousand rupees as a vow and a small chest of gems and jeweled objects. What was accepted of his offering was worth forty-five thousand rupees. [**156a**] After him, Abdullah Khan prostrated himself and gave his vow of a hundred mohurs. Then Mahabat Khan was honored to prostrate himself. He offered a hundred mohurs and a thousand rupees as a vow and a *gathri* [parcel] of gems and jeweled objects worth a hundred twenty-four thousand rupees. Among the items was a ruby weighing eleven mithcals a Frank had offered for sale last year in Ajmer. He had priced it at a lac of rupees, but the jewelers valued it at eighty thousand rupees. Therefore the transaction did not take place, and he was sent back to where he came from. When he reached Burhanpur, Mahabat Khan bought it from him for a lac of rupees.

After him Raja Bhao Singh paid homage. He offered a vow of a thousand rupees and some jeweled items. Similarly, the Khankhanan's son Darab Khan, Abdullah Khan's brother Sardar Khan, Shaja'at Khan Arab, Darbar Khan, Shahbaz Khan, and Mu'tamad Khan Bakhshi paid homage. Udai Ram,[15] one of the Nizamulmulkid commanders, had come under my son Shah Khurram's word to enroll as an ally. The other amirs also paid homage by rank. After that, the Adil Khan's deputies were allowed to kiss the ground and present his message.

15. Udai Ram's name occurs throughout and indifferently as Uda Ram and Udai Ram. For consistency throughout this translation, it will be Udai Ram.

The Title of Shahjahan is Given to Khurram

Prior to this, as a reward for the Rana campaign my lucky son had been given the rank of 20,000/10,000. When he departed to conquer the Deccan, he was awarded the title of shah. Now, as a reward for this worthy service I awarded him the rank of 30,000/20,000 and the title of Shahjahan and ordered that henceforth at court assemblies a chair was to be placed near the throne for my son to sit on. This was a special favor for my son, for prior to this there had been no such custom in our dynasty. He was also given a robe of honor, an gold-embroidered charqab edged with pearls on the collar, cuffs, and hem worth fifty thousand rupees, a jeweled sword with a jeweled strap, and a jeweled dagger. In order to honor him I went down from the jharoka and scattered a tray of gems and another of gold brocade over his head. I had the elephant Sirnag brought near so I could have a look. Without exaggeration, everything that I had heard about it was true. **[156b]** In size, proportion, beauty, and behavior it was perfect. Rarely had such a beautiful elephant been seen. I liked it so much I mounted it and rode into the private palace. I scattered a bit of gold on its head and ordered it tied inside the palace, and for this reason it was named Nur Bakht.[16]

On Friday the twenty-fourth,[17] Raja Bharjiu, the Zamindar of Baglana, came and paid homage. His name is Pratap, but all who become rajas there are called Bharjiu. He has nearly fifteen hundred horsemen on his payroll. In wartime he can muster up to three thousand horsemen. The province of Baglana is situated in the midst of Gujarat, Khandesh, and the Deccan. It has two strong fortresses, Saler and Maler. Since Maler is located in the midst of an inhabited area, he lives there. [The region of Baglana has pleasant springs and running waters. The mangoes of that region are very sweet and large, and they are gathered for nine months][18] from the time they are green until the end of autumn.[19] The grapes are abundant but not the best kind. The raja has never failed to act with gentle caution with the rulers of Gujarat, the Deccan, and Khandesh, but he has never gone to see any of them. Whenever one of them has desired to stretch forth a hand to usurp his territory, he has availed himself of the protection of one of the others. After Gujarat, the Deccan, and Khandesh entered His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's dominion, the raja went to Burhanpur, where he attained the felicity of submitting and enrolling as an ally of the court, obtaining the rank of 3000. When Shahjahan reached Burhanpur, he brought an offering of fifteen elephants and paid homage. Accompanying my son to court and found to be loyal and sincere, he was shown princely favors and awarded a jeweled sword, an elephant, a horse, and a robe of honor. Several days later I gave him three carnelian and diamond rings. **[157a]**

On Thursday the twenty-seventh [October 8], Nurjahan Begam gave a celebration for my son Shahjahan, and she gave him the following items: an expensive robe of honor, a nadiri adorned with jeweled flowers and precious pearls, a jeweled turban ornament with rare gems, a turban with an aigrette of pearls, a cummerbund with pearl beading, a sword with a jeweled strap and a phul-katara, a band of pearls, two horses, one of which had a jeweled saddle, and a royal elephant with two females. She also gave his sons and the women of his harem robes of honor and toquzes of gold brocades. She gave his major servants horses, robes of honor, and jeweled daggers. In all three lacs of rupees were spent on this celebration.

The same day I awarded Abdullah Khan and his brother Sardar Khan robes of honor and horses and permitted them to withdraw to the district of Kalpi, where their jagir was. Shaja'at Khan was also given leave to go to his jagir in the souba of Gujarat

16. Here the text has Nur-i-Takht (light of the throne), but repeatedly elsewhere the name is given as Nur Bakht (bright luck).

17. If the twentieth was a Thursday, the twenty-fourth could not be a Friday. Friday should be the twenty-first; the twenty-fourth would be Tuesday. The next date given, Thursday the twenty-seventh, seems to be correct. There are no numbers involved that are commonly confused. I have no explanation for this discrepancy.

18. The section in brackets is missing from the text. It has been taken from Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (trans. Rogers) 1:396.

19. Text has *tir mah*. This could mean the month of Tir (June–July), but as a compound *tirmah* is ambiguous and sometimes, depending upon the locality, means autumn, and that is what it seems to mean here.



PORTRAIT OF JANSIPAR KHAN, by Balchand. India, Mughal period, ca. 1627. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 39 x 26.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.37v

and was awarded a robe of honor, a horse, and an elephant. I gave Sayyid Hajji, whose jagir was in the souba of Bihar, leave to depart and awarded him a horse.

Khan Dawran is Relieved of Command in Kabul

It had been repeatedly reported that Khan Dawran had gotten too old and weak to be fit for active service, yet the soubas of Kabul and Bangash were areas rife with sedition, and to keep the Afghans under control it was necessary to ride and be active. Inasmuch as precaution is a concomitant to world rule, I turned over the governorship of Kabul and Bangash to Mahabat Khan and gave him a robe of honor. Khan Dawran was then assigned to the governorship of Thatta.

The forty-nine elephants Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang had sent as an offering were viewed.

Around this time some *sona kelas* ["golden plantains," bananas] were brought to me. Until today I hadn't eaten this type of plantain. They are about a finger long, very sweet, good tasting. There is no comparison with other types of plantain. However, they are somewhat hard to digest. I ate two of them and felt very heavy. Others say they can eat seven or eight. **[157b]** Even though plantains are generically inedible, this is the one type than can be eaten.

This year Muqarrab Khan kept sending Gujarati mangoes by post until the twenty-third of the month of Mihr [October 4].

On this day it was heard that Muhammad-Riza, the ambassador of my brother Shah Abbas, had departed this life in Agra of dysentery. He had made the merchant Muhammad-Qasim, who had also come on my brother Shah Abbas's behalf, his executor. I ordered that, in accordance with his will, his belongings and goods be sent to the shah to be distributed to the heirs in his presence. Sayyid Kabir and Bakhtar Khan, the Adil Khan's agents, were given robes of honor and elephants.

On Thursday the eighteenth[20] of Aban [October 29], Jahangir-Quli Khan Beg Türkmän, who had been awarded the title of Jansipar Khan, came from the Deccan and paid homage. His father had been an amir in service to the ruler of Iran, and he came from Persia during His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign, was awarded a rank, and was sent to the Deccan, where he advanced. Although good things had constantly

20. Emending the text's *sizdahum* (thirteenth) to *bizhdahum* (eighteenth).

been heard of him from afar, now that my son Shah Khurram had come to court and reported Jahangir-Quli Khan's loyalty and zeal, I ordered him to come to court unencumbered, pay homage, and then return.

❁ *The History of Udai Ram*

On this day I promoted Udai Ram to the rank of 3000/1500. He is a Brahmin by caste and is very important to Ambar. When Shahnawaz Khan attacked Ambar, Adam Khan the Abyssinian, Jadun Rai, Babu Rai Kayath, Udai Ram, and several other Nizamulmulkid officers deserted and joined Shahnawaz Khan. After Ambar's defeat, they were once again taken in by the Adil Khan's reproaches and Ambar's deceitfulness and forsook their allegiance to the empire. Ambar swore on a Koran to Adam Khan, but he ambushed him nonetheless, captured him, and imprisoned him in the fortress at Daulatabad. In the end he had him killed. Babu Rai Kayath and Udai Ram also deserted [**158a**] and went to the border of the Adil Khan's territory, but the Adil Khan would not allow them in. Shortly thereafter Babu Rai Kayath lost his life in a trap set by one of his acquaintances. Ambar then sent a troop against Udai Ram, but he put up a good defense and defeated Ambar's men. After that, he couldn't remain there any longer, so he got himself to the frontier of the imperial realm, was given a safe pass, and joined my son Shahjahan along with his family and relatives. My son rewarded him with all sorts of favors and, encouraging him by giving him the rank of 3000/1000, brought him to court. As he was a useful servant, I increased his rank another 500 suwar.

❁

I promoted Shahbaz Khan, who held the rank of 2000/1500, by another 500 suwar and made him garrison commander of the Sarangpur sarkar and several other localities in Malwa. Khan Jahan was given a personal horse and an elephant.

❁ *Shahjahan's Offering*

On Thursday the 1[1]th of the month [October 22], my son Shahjahan presented his offerings for my inspection. In the courtyard below the jharoka were arranged gems, jeweled items, fine textiles, and other novel and rare things. Facing these were elephants, and horses with gold and silver trappings. To please him I went down from the jharoka and inspected them in detail. Among them was a precious ruby that had been purchased for him in the port of Goa for two lacs of rupees. It weighed nineteen tanks, which is seventeen mithcals and five and a half surkhs. In my estate there was no ruby more than twelve tanks. The jewelers also concurred on the value. There was also a sapphire from the Adil Khan's tribute that weighed six tanks and eight surkhs, worth a lac of rupees. No sapphire so large or valuable with such good color and brilliance had been seen. There was also the Jamkura diamond, also from the Adil Khan. It weighed one tank and six surkhs and was worth forty thousand rupees. The reason it is called Jamkura is as follows. There is a plant in the Deccan called *sag jamkura*. [**158b**] When Murtaza Nizamulmulk conquered Berar, he was out walking with the ladies of the harem one day. One of the women found this diamond among some sag jamkura and took it to the Nizamulmulk. From that day on, it has been known as the Jamkura diamond. During the interregnum in Ahmadnagar it fell into the hands of the Ibrahim Adil Khan who is no more. Another was an emerald, also from the Adil Khan's tribute. Although it is from a new mine, it is of extremely good color and valuable. Until now nothing like it has been seen. There were also two pearls, one weighing sixty-four surkhs, which is two mithcals and eleven surkhs, and worth twenty-five thousand

rupees. The other weighs sixteen surkhs, is perfectly round and flawless, and has been valued at twelve thousand rupees. There was also a diamond from Qutbulmulk's tribute weighing one tank and worth thirty thousand rupees.

There were 150 elephants, three accoutred with golden chains, et cetera, and nine with silver accoutrements. Although twenty elephants were sent to the royal stables, only five were extremely large and worthy of renown. First, among the Nizamulmulk's tribute, was Nur Bakht, which my son had presented on the day he paid homage. It was worth one hundred twenty-five thousand rupees. Second was Mahupat, from the Adil Khan's tribute, worth a lac of rupees. I named it Durjan Sal. Next was Bakht Buland, also of the Adil Khan's tribute, worth a lac of rupees. I named it Giranbar. Next were the elephants Quddus Khan and Imam Riza, from Qutbulmulk's tribute, worth a lac of rupees each. There were a hundred Arabian and Persian horses, all of which were good. Of them, three had jeweled saddles.

If all my son's offerings, both what he gave himself and what was from the rulers of the Deccan, were to be detailed, it would take too long. In sum, his offerings were acceptable.

He offered twenty-[two] lacs of rupees' worth to his stepmother Nurjahan Begam and sixty thousand rupees' worth to his other stepmothers and begams for a total of 2,260,000 rupees, which would be 75,000 tumans in Iranian currency and 6,780,000 Turanian khanis. [**159a**] No such presentation had ever been made before in this eternal empire, and I showed him great favor. Truly he is a son worthy of kindness and affection, and I am highly pleased with him. May God grant him long life and success.

The Imperial Retinue Heads for Gujarat

I had never hunted elephants, and I wanted to see Gujarat and the ocean. Since the scouts had repeatedly gone out and seen wild elephants and brought back reports of where they could be hunted, it occurred to me that I could go see Ahmadabad and have a look at the ocean on the return journey to Agra while the weather was warm and it was the season for hunting elephants. Having made this determination, I dispatched Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani and the other begams and members of the harem with all the paraphernalia and workshops while I myself set out for Gujarat on a tour and hunt, accompanied by only those who were necessary.

On the eve of Friday the [fourth] of Aban [October 4], we decamped from Mandu at an auspicious hour and then dismounted on the edge of the tank at Nalchha. The next morning I went hunting and shot a nilgai.

On the eve of Saturday [the fifth, October 18], I gave Mahabat Khan a horse and an elephant and sent him to be governor in Kabul and Bangash. At his request I gave Rashid Khan a robe of honor, a horse, an elephant, and a jeweled dagger and assigned him as an auxiliary to Mahabat Khan. I made Ibrahim Husayn bakhshi to the Deccan, and Mirak Husayn was made reporter to the same place. Raja Todar Mal's son Raja Kalyan, who had come from the souba of Orissa, had been forbidden to appear at court for a few days because of certain crimes that had been reported of him; however, after his innocence was established, I gave him a horse and a robe of honor and assigned him to accompany Mahabat Khan on the Bangash campaign.

On Monday [the seventh, October 20], the Adil Khan's deputies were given jeweled aigrettes in the Deccani fashion. One was worth five thousand rupees, and the other was worth four thousand rupees.

Because Afzal Khan and Rai-Raian, my son Shahjahan's deputies, had performed their duties satisfactorily, **[159b]** I promoted them both. I gave the Rai-Raian the title of Raja Bikramajit,[21] which is an important title among the Hindus. He is truly a suitable servant and worthy of patronage.

On Saturday the twelfth [October 25], I went hunting and shot two nilgai does. Since the hunting ground was far from the camp site, on Monday the fourteenth [October 27] I proceeded three and three-quarters kos and stopped in the village of Kayd Hasan.

On Tuesday the fifteenth [October 28], I shot three nilgais. The largest weighed twelve maunds.

Mirza Rustam has a Narrow Escape

This day Mirza Rustam had a narrow escape. Apparently during target practice he fired once. Then he filled the musket again, but since the ball was quite out of shape, he rested the end of the musket against his chest and took the ball between his teeth to get it right. By chance, just then the wick made contact with the fire chamber and went off, scorching the upper part of his chest where the end of the musket was resting, an area the size of the palm of the hand, and leaving powder burns on his skin. He was severely injured and suffered a great deal of pain.

On Sunday the sixteenth [October 29], four nilgais were shot, three does and one buck.

On Thursday the seventeenth [October 30], I went to a mountain valley that had a waterfall, near the camp. There was little water in this season, but because the water had been blocked upstream two or three days previously and then released as I approached, the water cascaded nicely from a height of twenty ells. It pours down from a cliff above. To chance on such a site is an opportunity not to be missed: the accustomed wine cups were quaffed on the edge of the stream in the shade of the mountain. That night I went to the camp.

This day the zamindar of Jaitpur, whose offense had been forgiven at my son Shahjahan's request, came to pay homage.

On Friday the eighteenth [October 31] a large nilgai and a buck, **[160a]** and on Saturday the nineteenth [November 1] two does were shot. Since the scouts had reported that there was much game in the pargana of Haselpur, I stationed the large camp at this site and went, on Sunday the twentieth, with a group of intimates to Haselpur, three kos away. Mir Husamuddin, the son of the Mir Jamaluddin Husayn Injü who holds the title of Azududdawla, was promoted to the rank of 1000/400. I gave an elephant to Yadgar Husayn Qushbegi and Yadgar Qorchï, both of whom had been assigned to the Bangash campaign.

On this day seedless husayni grapes came from Kabul. They were very fresh and ripe. The tongue of this supplicant at the divine court is incapable of rendering thanks for such bounty, i.e. despite the fact that they had been on the road for three months, these grapes from Kabul arrived in the Deccan as fresh as could be.

On Monday the twenty-first [November 3] three leopards were shot; and on Tuesday the twenty-second [November 4] one buck nilgai and three does; and on [Wednes]day the twenty-third [November 5] a doe.

On Thursday the twenty-fourth [November 6], a drinking party was convened on the edge of the lake at Haselpur. Cups were given to my son Shahjahan and several of

21. See note 44 on page 31.



THE EMPEROR JAHANGIR WITH A FALCON, probably by Abu'l-Hasan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Ink and color on paper. 18 x 9.8 cm. Private collection, New York

the great amirs and intimate servants. I promoted Husayn Khan's son Yusuf Khan, a khanazad worthy of patronage, to the rank of 3000/1500 and gave him leave to depart as garrison commander of Gondwana with a bonus of a robe of honor and an elephant. Rai Bihari Das, the divan of the souba of the Deccan, attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold.

On Friday the twenty-fifth [November 7], I awarded Jansipar Khan the privilege of a banner, gave him a robe of honor and a horse, and dismissed him to the Deccan. On this day I made a remarkable shot. By chance, a qarisha came and sat on a large branch of a *khirni* tree outside the royal quarters.[22] I took aim at the middle of its breast, fired the musket while holding it up with my arm, and hit it smack in the middle of the breast. From the place I was standing **[160b]** to the branch was twenty-two ells.

On Saturday the twenty-sixth [November 8], we traveled nearly two kos and stopped in the village of Jamalpur. On this day I shot a leopard. Also on this day Rustam Khan came to pay homage. He was one of my son Shahjahan's most important servants. He had been assigned a troop from Burhanpur to go against the zamindars of Gondwana, from whom he had taken tribute of two hundred ten elephants and one hundred twenty thousand rupees.

Shaja'at Khan's son Zahid was promoted to the rank of 1000/400.

On Sunday the twenty-seventh [November 9], I went hawk- and falcon-hunting.

On Monday the twenty-eighth [November 10], a large nilgai and a buck were shot. The nilgai weighed twelve and a half maunds.

On Tuesday the twenty-ninth [November 11], three hawks were hunted. Bahlul Miyana'i and Allahyar Koka came from the Gondwana expedition and paid homage. Bahlul, the son of Hasan Miyana'i, is a tribal Afghan. Hasan was formerly a liege man of Sadiq Khan's, but since he was worthy of imperial patronage, he was finally enrolled as a servant of the empire. He died during the Deccan campaign, and his sons were given ranks. Although he had eight sons, only two were recognized for their prowess with the sword. The elder brother died young, and Bahlul gradually advanced to the rank of 1000. When my son Shahjahan arrived in Burhanpur, he found him worthy of patronage and promoted him to the rank of 1500/1000. Since he had not come

22. For *qarisha* see page 206. The *khirni* tree is the *Mimusops kauki*.

to me before, he was most anxious to pay homage. I summoned him to court, and without exaggeration he is a fine khanazad. Just as inwardly he is adorned by courage and bravery, his external appearance is also good. He was given the rank my son had recommended, and he was awarded the title of Sarbuland Khan. **[161a]**

Allahyar Koka is also a valiant young man and a servant worthy of patronage. Having found him to be suitable for service in my presence, I summoned him to court.

On Wednesday the first of the month of Azar [November 12], I went hunting and shot a nilgai. On this day reports came from Kashmir. They had written that in a silk-seller's house two girls had been born with teeth, and their backs were joined down to the waist while their heads, arms and legs were separate. They did not live long.

On Thursday the second [November 13], a wine party was held on the edge of a lake where camp had been pitched. I awarded Lashkar Khan a robe of honor and an elephant and sent him to serve as divan in the Deccan. I also promoted him to the rank of 2500/1500. I gave the Adil Khan's deputies two kawkab-i-tali' mohurs,[23] each of which weighed five hundred ordinary mohurs. I awarded Sarbuland Khan a horse and a robe of honor. Because Allahyar Koka had rendered pleasing services and displayed his bravery, he was awarded the title of Himmat Khan and given a robe of honor.

On Friday the third [November 14], we marched four and a quarter kos and stopped in the pargana of Digthan. On Sunday we also proceeded four and a quarter kos and stopped in the town of Dhar.

23. On page 27 the kawkab-i-tali' mohur is defined as a one-hundred-tola silver coin. The ones mentioned here are obviously presentation medallions.

❁ *The History of Dhar*

Dhar is an ancient city in which lived Raja Bhoj, one of the great rajas of Hindustan. It has been more than a thousand years since his reign. This city was also the capital for a long time during the era of the sultans of Malwa.

When Sultan Mahmud Tughluq [ruled 1351] set out to conquer the Deccan he built a fortress of hewn stone on a hill. The outside has an nice, imposing look, but the inside is devoid of buildings. I ordered it measured. The inside of the fortress is twelve tanabs, seven ells long and seven tanabs, thirteen ells wide. The fortress wall is nineteen and a half ells high. The height from the floor to the crenellations is seven and a half ells. The external circumference of the fortress is fifty-five tanabs.

During the time of Sultan Mahmud (the son of Sultan Firoz[shah] the padishah of Delhi), Amid Shah Ghori, entitled Dilawar Khan [ruled1401–5], held the governorship of Malwa in autonomy. **[161b]** In the town outside the fortress he built a congregational mosque, and opposite the door to the mosque he set up a square iron column. When Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat [ruled 1526–37] took over the province of Malwa, he wanted to take the column to Gujarat, but the laborers did not take the necessary precautions when they were taking it down and it fell on the ground and broke into two pieces. One is seven and a half ells, and the other is four and a quarter ells long. The circumference is one and a quarter ell. Since it had fallen neglected, I ordered the larger piece taken to Agra and set up in the courtyard of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's tomb so that a lamp could be lit atop it at night.

The above-mentioned mosque has two doors. Over the portal to one of them was an inscription on a stone tablet saying that Amid Shah Ghori had laid the foundation to the mosque in the year 807 [1404–5]. Over the portal to the other door these lines of poetry were written:

> Lord of the earth, star of the firmament of glory, focal point of the people of the age, sun of the apogee of perfection, / Asylum and protector of the

religious law, Amid Shah Daud, on whom Ghor prides itself, / Helper and succorer of the Prophet's religion, Dilawar Khan, chosen by the Lord God, / In the city of Dhar has founded this congregational mosque at an auspicious hour and day. / It was in the year eight hundred and seven that my wishes were granted by the divine court.

When Dilawar Khan died Hindustan had no independent monarch and it was a time of anarchy. Dilawar Khan's son Hoshang [ruled 1405–35], a brave and cunning youth, took the throne of Malwa. After his death the rule devolved upon Mahmud Khalji [ruled 1436–69], the son of the Khan Jahan who was Hoshang's vizier. From him it went to his son Ghiyasuddin [ruled 1469–1500]. After him Nasiruddin [ruled 1500–11], who poisoned his father Ghiyasuddin, sat on the throne. **[162a]** From him it went to his son Mahmud [ruled 1511–31]. Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat took Malwa from Mahmud, and the line of the sultans of Malwa came to an end.

❁

On Monday the sixth [November 17], I went hunting and shot a nilgai doe. I gave Mirza Ashrafuddin Husayn Kashghari an elephant and sent him to serve in the souba of Bangash. I gave Udai Ram a jeweled dagger, a hundred-tola mohur, and eight thousand drabs.

On Tuesday the seventh [November 18], I shot a *magarmacchh* in the lake at Dhar. Although only its snout was visible and the rest of the body was submerged, I calculated where the middle of the back would be and got it in one shot. A magarmacchh is a type of crocodile that occurs in most rivers in Hindustan. It gets extremely large, although this was not so big. I have seen magarmacchhes eight ells long and one and a quarter ells wide.

On Wednesday the eighth [November 19], we marched four and a half kos and camped in Sadalpur. At this site there is a stream over which Nasiruddin Khalji built a barrage and constructed sitting places. It is something like Kaliadeh, and both buildings are his monuments. The building is not worth mentioning, but because it is built in the middle of the river and has canals and pools, it looks very nice. That night I ordered torches lit around the canals and pools.

On Thursday the ninth [November 20], a drinking party was convened. On this day I gave my son Shahjahan a flawless ruby weighing nine tanks and five surkhs worth one hundred twenty-five thousand rupees, and two pearls. This was the ruby Her Majesty Maryam-Makani, His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's mother, gave me as a present at my birth. For years it was in his turban ornament, and thereafter I too kept it in my turban ornament for good luck. Aside from its monetary value and intrinsic worth, since it has been like a good luck charm for this eternal dynasty, it was given to my son. **[162b]**

I promoted Mubarak Khan to the rank of 1500/1500 and made him garrison commander of the Mewat sarkar, also giving him a robe of honor, a sword, and an elephant. To Himmat Khan and Rustam Khan swords were given. I awarded Kamal Khan Qaravul, an old servant who is always with me on hunts, the title of Shikar Khan. Udai Ram, who had been assigned to the Deccan, was given a robe of honor, an elephant, and a Persian mare, and a gilt dagger was sent with him for the Sipahsalar Khankhanan, my ataliq.

On Friday the tenth [November 21] there was a halt.

On Saturday the eleventh [November 22], we went three and three-quarters kos and stopped in the village of Jalodia.



JAHANGIR PRESENTS PRINCE KHURRAM WITH A TURBAN ORNAMENT, by Payag. India, Mughal period, ca. 1640. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. 30.6 x 20.3 cm. From the Windsor Castle *Padshahnama,* folio 195a. By gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen

On Sunday the twelfth [November 23] we proceeded five kos and stopped in the pargana of Badnawar. This pargana has been Keshav Das Maru's jagir since my father's time. It has become his home, and he has built buildings and made orchards. One of the things he has built is a very nicely designed and laid-out step well by the roadside. It occurred to me that wherever step wells had to be built, they should be made according to this plan—but twice as large.

On Monday the thirteenth [November 24] I went hunting and shot a nilgai.

From the time the elephant Nur Bakht entered the royal stable it had been kept tied in the Public and Private Palace. Of all animals the elephant particularly likes water and loves to get into it, even during the cold weather of winter. If there is no water available, it will take water from a bag and spray it over its body. It therefore occurred to me that, no matter how much elephants enjoy water and are accustomed to it by nature, surely during winter they must be affected by the cold water. I therefore ordered the water heated to lukewarm and poured into its trunk. On previous days when it sprayed cold water over itself, the effects of shivering and trembling could be seen, whereas, in contrast, it seemed to enjoy the warm water. Such treatment is peculiarly mine.

On Tuesday the fourteenth [November 25] we went six kos and camped at the Semalkhera station. **[163a]**

On Wednesday the fifteenth [November 26], we crossed over the Mahi River and stopped near Ramgadh [?]. Six kos had been covered.

On Thursday the sixteenth [November 27], a halt was observed. A wine party was held at a waterfall near the camp. I awarded Sarbuland Khan a banner, gave him an elephant, and dismissed him to the Deccan. He was also promoted to the rank of 1500/1200. Raja Bhim Narayan, the zamindar of Gadhi who held the rank of 1000, was given leave to depart to his jagir. I promoted Raja Bharjiu, the zamindar of Baglana, to the rank of 4000 and dismissed him to his homeland. It was ordered that when he reached his territory he was to send his eldest son and heir to court to remain in my presence. Hajji Baluch, the commander of the scouts who has a long history of service, was given the title of khan.

On Friday the seventeenth [November 28], we traveled five kos and stopped in the village of Dhawala [?].

On Saturday the eighteenth [November 29], the Feast of the Sacrifice, after performing the rituals of sacrifice, we proceeded three and a quarter kos and camped on the edge of the tank in the village of Bhagor.

On Sunday the nineteenth [November 30] we traveled nearly five kos and stopped beside the tank in the village of Samriya [?].

On Monday the twentieth [December 1], we went four and a quarter kos and stopped in the pargana of Dohad. The pargana of Dohad is situated between the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat. All the way from Badnawar the road is jungly, thick with trees, and rocky.

On Tuesday the twenty-first [December 2], we halted.

On Wednesday the twenty-second [December 3], we proceeded five and a quarter kos and stopped in the village of Rinao [?].

On Thursday the twenty-third [December 4], we halted, and a drinking party was held beside the tank in the village.

On Friday the twenty-fourth [December 5] we traversed two and a half kos, stopping in the village of Jalot [?]. Here some acrobats from the Carnatic came and displayed their skill. **[163b]** One of them put the end of an iron chain five and a half ells

long that weighed a seer and two dams down his throat and slowly, aided by water, swallowed the whole thing. It remained in his belly for a time, and then he pulled it back out.

On Saturday the twenty-fifth [December 6], we halted. On Sunday we went five kos and dismounted in the village of Nimdah [?].

On Monday the twenty-seventh [December 8] we also went five kos and stopped beside a tank called Miran [?].

On Tuesday the twenty-eighth [December 9] we went three and three-quarters kos and camped in the town of Sahra [?] next to the tank and stream. The water lily, which is called *kamodini* in Hindi, occurs in three colors: white, blue, and red. Before this I had seen blue and white ones, but I hadn't seen a red one. At this tank I saw a red flower that had a greenish tint. Without exaggeration, it is a rare and exquisite flower, as has been said: "It will drip with redness and wetness."

The lotus flower is larger than the water lily, and it is pink. I saw many lotuses in Kashmir with a hundred petals. It is a fact that the lotus opens by day and closes into a bud by night, whereas the water lily is a bud by day and opens at night. The black bee the people of India call *bhaunra* always alights on both these flowers and goes inside to suck the nectar inside them. The lotus flower often closes up and traps the bhaunra inside for the whole night. It also happens with the water lily. But when they open it comes out and flies away. Because the black bee is a constant visitor to these flowers, the Hindi poets consider it to be like the nightingale in love with the rose, and they produce marvelous poetic conceits based on it.

One such poet was Tan Sen Kalawant, who was in my father's service and without equal in his own time—or any other for that matter. In one of his songs he likened the face of a youth to the sun and the opening of his eye to the blossoming of the lotus and the emerging of the bhaunra. **[164a]** In another one he likened the beloved's wink to the motion of the lotus flower when the bhaunra alights on it.

At this stopping place figs came from Ahmadabad. Although Burhanpur figs are large and sweet, these had fewer seeds and were sweeter. You could say they were better by a ratio of ten to twelve.

We halted on Wednesday the twenty-ninth [December 10] and Thursday the thirtieth [December 11]. Here Sarafraz Khan came from Ahmadabad to pay homage. Of his offering a pearl rosary he had bought for eleven thousand rupees, two elephants, two horses, seven ox carts, and several toquzes of Gujarati textiles were accepted, and the rest was given back. Sarafraz Khan is the grandson of the Musahib Beg who was one of His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun]'s amirs. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani called him by his grandfather's name, Musahib Beg. At the beginning of my reign I promoted him in rank and assigned him to Gujarat. Since he was a hereditary khanazad to this court and had performed well in Gujarat, I found him worthy of patronage, entitled him Sarafraz Khan, and promoted him to the rank of 2000/1000.

On Friday the first of Day [December 12] we continued three and three-quarters kos and stopped beside the tank in Jhasor [?]. Here Rai Man, the commander of the foot soldiers in the retinue, caught a *rohu* fish. I like fish a lot, particularly rohu fish, which is the best kind of fish in Hindustan, but, although we had searched, none had been available since we crossed Ghati Chanda, a period of eleven months, and here one was caught today! I really enjoyed it and gave Rai Man a horse as a reward.

Although from the pargana of Dohad one is really inside Gujarat, it was only from here that a marked difference could be noticed. The lay of the land and the terrain are something else. The people have a different style, they speak another language,

[**164b**] and the jungles seen along the way had fruit trees like mango, khirni, and tamarind. They protect their fields by thorny plants. All around their fields the farmers plant thorns, and each separates his plot of land by this means, although they leave a narrow path in between for traffic. Since this entire land is sandy, the slightest movement stirs up so much dust that you can scarcely see a person's face. It occurred to me that henceforth Ahmadabad should be called Gardabad [Dustburg], not Ahmadabad.

On Saturday the second [December 13], we went three and three-quarters kos and stopped beside the Mahi River.

On Sunday the third [December 14] we also went three and three-quarters kos, stopping in the village of Wardala. Here a group of officers assigned to service in Gujarat souba paid homage.

On Monday the fourth [December 15], we marched five kos and stopped in Chetarsumba.

On Tuesday the fifth [December 16] we went five and a half kos and camped in the pargana of Mahudha. On this day three nilgais were shot. The largest weighed thirteen maunds and ten seers.

On Wednesday the sixth [December 17] we went six kos and stopped in the pargana of Nadiad. As I passed through the town, I scattered fifteen hundred rupees.

On Thursday the seventh [December 18], we went six and a half kos and stopped in the pargana of Petlad. There is no larger pargana in Gujarat. It has an income of seven lacs of rupees, or thirty thousand Persian tumans. The town is also very built up. While passing through the town I scattered a thousand rupees. It is foremost in my mind that on any pretext my generosity should reach the people.

Since the people in this land generally ride in carts, I had an inclination to try one. I went two kos seated in one, but I suffered greatly from the dust. Thereafter I moved to horseback. [**165a**] Along the way Muqarrab Khan came from Ahmadabad and paid homage, presenting a pearl he had bought for thirty thousand rupees.

The Port of Cambay

On Friday the eighth [December 19], we traveled six and a half kos and camped on the shore of the salty sea. Cambay is an ancient port. According to what the Brahmins say, it was built several thousand years ago. Originally its name was Trimbawati, and it was ruled by Raja Trimbak Kunwar. If all the details the Brahmins give of the raja were to be recorded, it would take too long. In short, when the chieftainship came to Raja Abhai Kumar, one of Raja Trimbak's descendants, by heavenly decree a great catastrophe befell the city and so much dust and sand was stirred up that all the dwellings and buildings of the city were hidden beneath the sand and many were killed. However, before the catastrophe an idol worshiped by the raja came to him in a dream and warned him of the event. The raja put his family on a ship, taking along the idol and the pillar on which it rested. By chance, the ship was also caught in the storm, but since the raja's term of life had not yet ended, he made it to safety with the help of the pillar. When he was about to rebuild the city, he set up the pillar as a sign of habitation and as a signal for the people to gather. Because in Hindi a pillar is called both *stambh* and *khambh*, they called the city Stambhnagar and Khambhawati, and sometimes, in connection [with Trimbak], they called it Trimbawati. Little by little Khambhawati has been corrupted into Khambayat [Cambay].

This port is one of the great ports of Hindustan and is on one of the gulfs of the Arabian Sea. Ships do not come into the gulf but anchor instead in the port of Goa, which is a dependency of Cambay nearer the sea. From there goods are put on grabs

and brought to the port of Cambay.[24] **[165b]** So also when ships are loaded, goods are put into grabs, transported, and loaded into ships. Before the imperial advent several grabs from the Franks' ports had come to Cambay and done some trade, and they were about to return. On Monday the eleventh [December 22] I myself got into a grab and sailed about a kos on the water.



On Tuesday the twelfth [December 23], I went hunting with leopards and got ten antelopes.

On Wednesday the thirteenth [December 24], I went to see the Narangsar tank. Passing through the streets of the market, I scattered around five thousand rupees. In His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's time Kalyan Rai, the superintendent of the port of Cambay, built a fortification of baked brick and mortar around the city at His Majesty's order. Many merchants then came from all around and settled in the city, where they built nice houses and lived comfortably. Although the market is rather small, it is clean and filled with hustle and bustle. During the time of the sultans of Gujarat the customs tax from this port was enormous. Now, however, it has been decreed that in this empire no more than one fortieth be taken. In other ports either a tenth, called an *asbur,* or an eighth is taken, and all sorts of imposts and fees are imposed on merchants and travelers. In Jiddah, the port of Mecca, they take a fourth and more. From this it can be estimated how much customs tax the former rulers realized from the ports of Gujarat. Thank God this supplicant at the divine court has succeeded in rescinding the customs tax throughout the realm, and even the term customs tax has fallen into disuse in the empire.

Around this time it was ordered that the gold and silver tanka be set at double the weight of the mohur and rupee. The legend on one side of the gold tanka coin was to be "Jahangirshahi, year 1027," and on the other side, "Struck in Cambay, regnal year 12." On one side of the silver tanka the legend in the middle was to be "Jahangirshahi, year 1027," and around it this hemistich: **[166a]** "Shah Jahangir of radiant victory struck the coin in gold." In the middle of the other side it would read, "Struck in Cambay, regnal year 12," and around it the [second] hemistich: "After conquest of the Deccan when he entered Gujarat from Mandu." In no era has the tanka been struck in anything but copper. Silver and gold tankas are my invention, and I have named them Jahangiri tankas.

On Thursday the fourteenth [December 25], the offering of Amanat Khan, the superintendent of the port of Cambay, was viewed in the harem. I ordered his rank to be fixed at 1500/400. Nuruddin-Quli was promoted to the rank of 1000/600.

On Friday the fifteenth [December 26], I got on the elephant Nur Bakht and had it race a horse. It ran very well. When held in check it also stood well. This is the third time I have ridden this elephant myself.

On Saturday the sixteenth [December 27], Raj Singh's son Ram Das was promoted to the rank of 1500/700.

On Sunday the seventeenth [December 28], elephants were given to Darab Khan, Amanat Khan, and Sayyid Bayazid Barha. During these few days while camped beside the sea, I have had merchants, craftsmen, the needy, and all other classes of the inhabitants of the port of Cambay brought before my view, and in accordance with the situation of each I have given horses, robes of honor, grants, and assistance. On this day Sayyid Muhammad, the successor to Shah-i-Alam, the sons of Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws, Shaykh Haydar the grandson of Mian Wajihuddin, and other shaykhs who

24. Grab (*ghurab*): "This name, now almost obsolete, was applied to a kind of vessel which is constantly mentioned in the sea- and river-fights of India, from the arrival of the Portuguese down to near the end of the 18th century. . . . The Rev. Howard Malcom, in a glossary attached to his *Travels,* defines it as 'a square-rigged Arab vessel, having a projecting stern and no bowsprit; it has two masts.' Probably the application of the term may have deviated variously in recent days. For thus again in *Solvyns* (*Les Hindous,* vol. i.) a *grab* is drawn and described as a ship with three masts, a sharp prow, and a bowsprit. But originally the word seems, beyond question, to have been an Arab name for a *galley*" (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson,* 391).

live in Ahmadabad came out to greet me and pay homage. Since it had been my intention to see the sea and the ebb and flow of the tide, we halted here the entire day.

On Tuesday the nineteenth [December 30], the imperial banners were unfurled in the direction of Ahmadabad. The kind of fish to be had here is called *arabiyat*, and the fishermen repeatedly caught it for me. Without exaggeration, it is tastier and better than other kinds of fish available in this land, but it is not so tasty as the rohu fish. On a scale on which rohu is ten, it would be nine, or even eight.

One of the dishes peculiar to the people of Gujarat is *khichri* [kedgeree[25]] of *bijbra* [millet]. They also call it *lhadra*. **[166b]** It is a tiny grain found nowhere other than Hindustan. There is more of it in Gujarat than anywhere else in India, and it is the cheapest of all grains. Never having eaten any, I ordered some prepared and brought. It was not without taste. I rather liked it. I ordered that on my Sufi-like days, when I abstain from animal flesh and eat only meatless dishes, they should bring me this kedgeree often.

25. The following recipe is from Abu'l-Fazl (*Ain-i Akbari* , 1:55): "Rice, split mung beans, and ghee, 5 seer of each; 1/3 seer salt. This gives 7 dishes" (quoted with slight emendation from Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 476).

On the above-mentioned Tuesday we proceeded six and a quarter kos and camped in the village of Kosala [?].

On Wednesday the twentieth [December 31], I passed through the pargana of Pipria and dismounted beside a river. We had gone six kos.

On Thursday the twenty-first [January 1, 1618], we halted and a wine party was held. Many fish were caught in the river and distributed among the group of imperial servants present at the assembly.

On Friday the twenty-second [January 2], we traversed four kos and stopped in the village of Bareja. Along the way walls were seen of a height of two and a half to three ells. Upon inquiry I was told that people build them to acquire religious merit. When porters get tired on the road they can rest their loads on the walls and take a breather and then easily get under way again without anyone else's assistance. This is a peculiarity of Gujarat. I really liked this idea of building walls, and I ordered walls of this sort built in all cities at imperial expense.

On Saturday the twenty-third [January 3], we went four and three-quarters kos and camped beside the Kankriya tank. The tank was made by Qutbuddin Muhammad, the grandson of the Sultan Ahmad who founded Ahmadabad. Around it were steps of stone and mortar. In the middle of the tank he built a small garden plot and a building. From the edge of the tank to the building a causeway had been made for coming and going, but since it had been there for a very long time, it had mostly fallen into ruin, and there had been no place left to sit. While the imperial retinue was proceeding to Ahmadabad, Safi Khan, the bakhshi of Gujarat, repaired it at imperial expense, put the garden in shape, and constructed a new building **[167a]** overlooking the tank and garden. Without exaggeration, it is an extremely lovely and pleasant site, and I liked the design.

On the side where the causeway is, Nizamuddin Ahmad, who was bakhshi of Gujarat for a while during my father's time, built a garden on the edge of the tank. Recently it was reported that Abdullah Khan had cut down the trees in the garden because of a quarrel he had with Nizamuddin Ahmad's son Abid. It was also heard that during Abdullah Khan's governorship, at a wine party he signaled to one of his slaves to behead an unfortunate man merely because in drunkenness the man had let an injudicious word slip as a joke in fun and jest. At hearing this, my sense of justice was outraged and I ordered the administrators of the high bureaucracy to reduce a thousand of Abdullah Khan's duaspa-seaspa horse rank to single units and to recover the difference, which amounted to seventy lacs of dams, from his jagir estates.

The Shrine of Shah-i-Alam

Inasmuch as at this stopping place the shrine of Shah-i-Alam was on the roadside, I recited a Fatiha as I passed.[26] Around a lac of rupees must have been spent on the shrine building. Shah-i-Alam was the son of Qutb-i-Alam, and their line goes back to Makhdum-i-Jahanian. The people of this land, commoner and elite alike, have a remarkable belief in him. They say that Shah-i-Alam could revive the dead, but after he had brought several dead people back to life, his father learned of what he was doing and forbade it, saying that to interfere in the divine workshop was an audacious act and not appropriate conduct for a servant of God.

As it happened, Shah-i-Alam had a servant who was childless. Through Shah-i-Alam's intercession God granted the man a son. When the son was twenty-seven years old he died. The servant came weeping and crying to Shah-i-Alam and said, "My son has died, and he is all I had. Since God gave him to me through your intercession, I hope he can be brought back to life through your prayer." Shah-i-Alam thought for a moment and then went inside his chamber. The servant went to Shah-i-Alam's son, whom Shah-i-Alam loved greatly, [**167b**] and insisted and pleaded, saying, "You ask Shah-i-Alam to bring my son back to life." Since the boy was young, he went into his father's chamber and begged. "If you agree to give your life to God in his stead, perhaps my plea will be accepted," Shah-i-Alam said. "I am content with whatever pleases you and whatever God wills," the boy replied. Shah-i-Alam then took the boy's hands, raised him off the ground, turned his face to heaven, and said, "O God, take this child in place of that one." The boy died instantly. Shah-i-Alam laid him on his own cot, covered him with a sheet, came out of the chamber, and said to the servant, "Go home and ask about your son. He may have had a stroke and not be dead." When he returned home he found his son alive.

In short, in the land of Gujarat they tell many such tales about Shah-i-Alam. I myself asked Sayyid Muhammad, Shah-i-Alam's successor, who is not without learning and rationality, whether this story had any truth to it. He said, "We have also heard it from our father and grandfather, and it has come down in succession. God only knows." The story is totally irrational, but because it has such currency among the people, it has been recorded for its strangeness.

Shah-i-Alam's transition from this transitory abode to the eternal realm occurred in the year 880 [1475–76] during the time of Sultan Mahmud Begra's rule [1458–1511], and the building over his grave was built by Taj Khan Turpali, one of the amirs of Mahmud's son Sultan Muzaffar [ruled 1511–26].

An hour on Monday was chosen for entering the city. On [Sun]day the twenty-fourth [January 4] we halted. During this time melons were brought from Kariz, a town outside Herat. It is a fact that no place in Khurasan has melons as good as those of Kariz. Although it is a distance of fourteen hundred kos, and it took a caravan five months to get here, [**168a**] they arrived undamaged and fresh. Enough was brought for all my servants. At the same time kaunla oranges arrived from Bengal. Although it is a thousand kos away, they too arrived fresh and juicy. Since it is an extremely delicate fruit, the runners of the post passed them hand to hand, just enough for me. My tongue is inadequate to express my gratitude for God's bounty. "Thanks for thy bounty is as great as thy bounty."

On this day Amanat Khan brought two really big elephant tusks. One was three

26. The Fatiha is the first chapter of the Koran. It is recited at saints' shrines and other holy places as a form of blessing.

cubits and eight tasus long and sixteen tasus thick. It weighed three maunds and two seers, which is equivalent to twenty-four and a half Persian maunds.

Entry into Ahmadabad

On Monday the twenty-fifth [January 5], after the elapse of six gharis I set out for the city at an auspicious hour mounted on Surat Gaj, one of my favorite elephants and one that is perfect in form and disposition. Although he was must, I had enough confidence in my own riding ability and his responsiveness. Crowds of men and women had come out and were lining the lanes and market in expectation.

The city of Ahmadabad did not live up to its billing. Although the central thoroughfare through the market is wide and broad, the shops have not been built in proportion to the spaciousness of the market. The structures are all of wood, and the pillars of the shops are skinny and mean. The lanes and market are dusty.

I proceeded, scattering coins, from the Kankriya tank to inside the citadel, called *bhadr* in local parlance, which means lucky. The quarters of the sultans of Gujarat located inside the bhadr have fallen to ruins over the last fifty or sixty years and there is scant trace of them. However, some of our servants appointed to the governorship of this land have built buildings, and while I went to Ahmadabad from Mandu, Muqarrab Khan reconstructed the old quarters and made other necessary places for sitting, like a public and private jharoka, et cetera.

Shahjahan's Weighing Ceremony

Because today was the day for weighing my son Shahjahan, **[168b]** as usual I had him weighed against gold and other things. The twenty-seventh year since his felicitous birth has begun auspiciously, and it is hoped that the Giver of all Gifts will keep him safe for the sake of this petitioner at the divine court and grant him long life. This same day I gave the province of Gujarat as a jagir to my son.

From the fortress at Mandu to the port of Cambay, as we came, the distance was 124 kos. It was done in twenty-eight marches and thirty halts. We halted in Cambay for ten days, and from there to the city of Ahmadabad was twenty-one kos, done in five marches and two halts. In total, from Mandu to Cambay, and from Cambay to Ahmadabad, as has been recorded, was a distance of 145 kos, covered in two months and fifteen days, during which we made a total of thirty-three marches and forty-two halts.

The Mosque of Ahmadabad

On Tuesday the twenty-sixth [January 6], I went to see the congregational mosque in the market and gave in alms to the poor who were there nearly five hundred rupees with my own hand. This mosque is a monument left by Sultan Ahmad, the founder of the city of Ahmadabad. It has three gates, and on every side a market. Opposite the gate facing the east is Sultan Ahmad's tomb. Under the dome lie Sultan Ahmad, his son Muhammad, and his grandson Qutbuddin.

The length of the mosque courtyard, exclusive of the *maqsura*,[27] is 103 cubits; the width is 89 cubits. Around the perimeter of the courtyard is an arcade with arches four and three-quarters cubits wide. The courtyard is paved in cut brick, and the pillars of the arcade are of red stone. The maqsura contains 354 columns, and above the columns is a dome. The length of the maqsura is 75 cubits, and the width is 37 cubits.

27. The *maqsura* is an enclosure inside a mosque designed to protect the ruler during public prayers.

The maqsura paving, the mihrab, and the pulpit are of marble. On either side of the main arch is a minaret of elaborately carved stone, three stories tall, that has been decorated very elegantly.

To the right of the pulpit adjacent to a corner of the maqsura is a separate place for the ruler to sit, a slab of carved stone surrounded by columns. [**169a**] All around up to the ceiling of the maqsura is a stone screen. The reason for it is so that when the monarch goes to Friday or holiday prayer he can go up with his intimates and perform his prayers. In the idiom of this land it is called a *mulukkhana*. It is really a precaution against being mobbed. The mosque is truly a very splendid building.

The Shrine of Shaykh Wajihuddin

On Wednesday the twenty-seventh [January 7] I went to the khanaqah of Shaykh Wajihuddin, which is near the palace, and said a Fatiha over his shrine in the courtyard of the khanaqah. The khanaqah was built by Sadiq Khan, one of my father's great amirs. The shaykh was one of the successors to Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws, but he was a successor whose succession his master disputed. His continued devotion to his master is clear proof of the greatness of Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws. Shaykh Wajihuddin was adorned with outward learning and inner perfection. Thirty years ago he bade farewell to life in this city, and thereafter his son Shaykh Abdullah took over his father's position according to the father's will. He was a highly ascetic dervish, and when he died, his son, Shaykh Asadullah, succeeded. Not long thereafter he too died, and his brother Shaykh Haydar became the successor. He is still alive and serving the poor and sick at his forefathers' shrine. His piety is obvious from his conduct. Since Shaykh Wajihuddin's urs was soon, [**169b**] 1,500 rupees were given to be spent on the urs. With my own hand I gave another 1,500 rupees in alms to the poor in the khanaqah. I also gave five hundred rupees to Shaykh Wajihuddin's [grand]son. His relatives and retainers were also given grants and land according to their stations. I told Shaykh Haydar to bring to my presence a group of deserving poor of whom he might have some knowledge and request grants and land.

On Thursday I went to tour Rustam Bari, scattering fifteen hundred rupees along the way. In the language of the people of India *bari* means garden, and this garden was built by my brother Shah-Murad and named for his son Rustam. A Thursday party was held in the garden, and I gave several of my elite servants wine cups.

At the end of the day I went to the little garden in Shaykh Sikandar's compound, which is located in the vicinity of the garden. The figs were fully ripe. Since picking fruit with one's own hand gives an entirely different pleasure, and since until now I hadn't picked figs myself, I had it in mind so to honor Shaykh Sikandar. I went without any ceremony. Shaykh Sikandar is originally from Gujarat and is not devoid of sense. He also knows all about the sultans of Gujarat.[28] He has been a servant of the court for eight or nine years now.

Since my son Shahjahan had appointed Rustam Khan, one of his major commanders, as governor of Ahmadabad, at my son's request the Rustam Bari was given to him because of the coincidence of names.

On this day Raja Kalyan, the Zamindar of Idar, attained the felicity of paying homage, presenting an elephant and nine horses. I gave the elephant back to him. He is an important landholder on the Gujarat frontier, and his land is adjacent to the Rana's mountains. The sultans of Gujarat used to wage constant war against the rajas of

28. He also wrote a history of Gujarat, *Mir'at-i Sikandari*. See Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Trustees of the British Museum, 1879, reprint 1966), 287.

that area. Although some of the rajas made a semblance of submission and presented tribute, they never went to see any of the sultans.

After His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani conquered Gujarat, imperial troops were assigned to attack [Raja Kalyan]. Seeing submission as the only way to save himself, he chose to serve as an ally and kissed the imperial threshold. From that day he has been a loyal servant, putting in an appearance before everyone who has been appointed governor of Ahmadabad and presenting himself and his troop in time of war.

On Saturday the first of Bahman of the twelfth regnal year [January 10], Chandar Sen, [**170a**] a major landholder of this land, attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold and presented nine horses.

On Sunday the second [January 11], elephants were given to Raja Kalyan the Zamindar of Idar, Sayyid Mustafa, and Mir Fazil.

On Monday I rode out hawk- and falcon-hunting, scattering nearly five hundred rupees along the way. On this date pears came from Badakhshan.

On Thursday the sixth [January 15], I went to see the Fath Garden in the village of Sayrkhez, scattering 1,500 rupees along the way. Since the shrine of Shaykh Ahmad Khattu was on the way, I first paid a visit there and recited a Fatiha. Khattu is the name of a town in the Nagaur sarkar, where the shaykh was born. The shaykh lived during the reign of Sultan Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadabad, and Sultan Ahmad was a great believer in him. The people of this land believe in him implicitly and consider him a great saint. Every Thursday night a huge crowd of commoners and elite go to visit his shrine. Sultan Ahmad's son Sultan Muhammad built splendid buildings consisting of tomb, mosque, and khanaqah over his grave. Next to the tomb, on the southern side, is a large tank with stone and mortar all around the edges. This construction took place during the time of Muhammad's son Qutbuddin, and the graves of several of the sultans of Gujarat are next to the tank at the shaykh's feet. In the dome chamber lie Sultan Mahmud Begra, his son Sultan Muzaffar, and Sultan Muzaffar's grandson Mahmud the Martyr, the last of the sultans of Gujarat. In the language of the people of Gujarat *begra* means curled, and Sultan Mahmud had long, curled mustaches, for which reason he was called Begra. Next to their tombs is a domed chamber containing their wives.[29] Without exaggeration, the shaykh's tomb is an extremely fine building and a splendid site. It is estimated that around five lacs of rupees must have been spent on it. [**170b**] God only knows.

29. Emending the text's *khawanin* (khans) to *khawatin* (ladies).

After visiting the shrine I went to the Fath Garden. It is situated on the site where my ataliq the Sipahsalar Khankhanan did battle with and defeated Nanu, who styled himself Muzaffar. That is why it is called the Fath [Victory] Garden. The people of Gujarat call it Fath Bari.

Nanu's Rebellion

When the land of Gujarat was conquered through the great good fortune of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani and Nanu was captured, I'timad Khan said to His Majesty, "He is the son of an elephant keeper. Since Sultan Mahmud left no sons, and there is no one else of the sultans of Gujarat we can raise to the rule, we have pretended for the sake of exigency that he is Sultan Mahmud's son, called him Sultan Muzaffar, and elevated him to the rule. There was nothing the people could do but accept."

Since His Majesty did not accord much weight to I'timad Khan's words, he ignored Nanu, who served for a long time among the elite without being noticed. For this reason he fled from Fatehpur to Gujarat, where he lived for a while under the protection of the zamindars.

Then, when His Majesty dismissed Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan as governor of Gujarat and appointed I'timad Khan in his stead, a group of Shihabuddin's liege men who had become attached to Gujarat left his service in hopes of finding employment with I'timad Khan in Ahmadabad. After I'timad Khan entered the city, they applied to him but had no luck on that score. Then neither did they dare to go back to Shihab Khan nor could they stay in Ahmadabad. Despairing at every turn, they finally saw that the only remedy available to them was to go to Nanu and enlist his help to foment strife. Six or seven hundred horsemen joined Nanu and carried him off to Ahmadabad along with Lona Kathi, under whose protection Nanu had been. When they reached the outskirts of the city, many ambitious wretches joined up, forming a troop of nearly two thousand horsemen, both Moghuls and Gujaratis. [**171a**] When I'timad Khan learned of this, he stationed his son Sher Khan in the city and went out himself to find Shihab Khan, who was on his way to court, so that he could quell the rebellion with his assistance. Although most of Shihab Khan's good men had left his service and he could read infidelity in the lines on the foreheads of those who remained, he had little choice but to join I'timad Khan. By chance, before the two arrived, Nanu entered the Ahmadabad citadel. The supporters of the empire arrayed their ranks outside the city, and the rebels emerged from the fortress and headed toward the battlefield. When the ill-starred forces came into view, those liege men of Shihab Khan's who remained all proved treacherous at once and went over to the enemy. Shihab Khan was defeated and hastened off to Patan, which was in the hands of the imperials, leaving his retinue and camp to be plundered. Nanu gave his rebels ranks and titles and then attacked Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan, who was in the pargana of Baroda. Just as Shihab Khan's men had done, Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan's liege men also deserted, as is all described in the *Akbarnama*.[30] Finally, although he had given Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan his word, he put him to death and plundered his possessions, which were equivalent to any grandee's treasury. Within a short time nearly forty thousand horsemen gathered around him.

30. Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama* , 3:421f. (trs. 3:626–29).

When the situation was reported to His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, he assigned Bayram Khan's son Mirza Khan to attack him with a group of battle-scarred warriors. The day Mirza Khan arrived in the vicinity of the city he arrayed his ranks of eight or nine thousand cavalry. Nanu also came out with thirty thousand horsemen and arrayed his ranks opposite. After much fighting, the breeze of victory wafted through the banners of the imperial supporters, and Nanu limped in defeat from the field. [**171b**] As a reward for this victory my father gave Mirza Khan the rank of 5000 and the title of Khankhanan and appointed him governor of Gujarat.

In the garden the Khankhanan made on the site of the battle next to the Sabarmati River, he built a splendid building with a terrace worthy of the building overlooking the river. All around the garden is an extremely strong wall of stone and mortar. The garden is 120 jaribs, and without exaggeration it is a beautiful place. Two lacs of rupees may have been spent on it. I rather liked it. It can be said that in all of Gujarat there is nothing like this garden.

The Thursday party was held, and I gave my special servants wine cups. I stayed there overnight and returned to town toward the end of Friday, scattering nearly a thousand rupees along the way.

A gardener reported that Muqarrab Khan's servant had cut down several champa trees that grew over the terrace that overlooks the river. I was so stunned to hear this

that I went off myself to investigate. When it was proven that this wanton act had been committed by him, I ordered both his index fingers cut off to serve as an example to others. It was clear that Muqarrab Khan had no knowledge of the affair; otherwise he would have been punished at the same time.

A Persistent Thief

On Tuesday the eleventh [January 20], the kotwal of the city brought a thief he had caught. He had been caught stealing several times before, and every time one of his limbs had been cut off. The first time one hand was cut off; the next time the index finger of his left hand was cut off; the third time his left ear was cut off; the fourth time the hamstrings of both feet were cut; and the last time his nose was cut off. Nonetheless he did not cease his activity. Last night he went to a straw seller's house to steal. By chance, the owner of the house realized he was there and caught him. The thief stabbed the straw seller several times with a knife and killed him. During the fracas the man's relatives came running and caught the thief. I ordered him turned over to the murdered man's relatives for retaliation. "You pay for your intentions."

On Wednesday the twelfth [January 21], three thousand rupees were entrusted to Azamat Khan and Mu'tamad Khan **[172a]** to take the next day to the shrine of Shaykh Ahmad Khattu and distribute to the poor and deserving who live in that blessed site.

On Thursday the thirteenth [January 22], I went to my son Shahjahan's quarters, where the Thursday wine party was held. A number of my particular servants were given wine cups.

The elephant Sundar is outstanding among my personal elephants for being quick, fast-paced, and easy to handle, and it also used to run well against horses, was the very first among all the elephants, and was greatly loved by His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. Since my son Shahjahan really wanted it badly and had asked me for it many times, I finally gave in on this day and awarded it to him with trappings including a golden chain, et cetera, along with a female elephant.

A lac of drabs was awarded to the Adil Khan's deputies. Around this time it was reported that Mu'azzam Khan's son Mukarram Khan, the governor of Orissa, had conquered the province of Khurda and the raja had fled into Rajahmundry. Since Mukarram Khan was a khanazad worthy of patronage, I promoted him to the rank of 3000/2000, awarded him the privilege of drums, and gave him a horse and a robe of honor.

There were two zamindars between the borders of Orissa and Golconda. One was the raja of Khurda, and the other was the raja of Rajahmundry. Khurda came under the control of imperial servants. Now it is Rajahmundry's turn, and I hope that God in his grace will smile upon our cause.

A letter from Qutbulmulk recently reached my son Shahjahan, saying, "Since my land is now near imperial borders, I will attach myself as a servant to the court. I hope that Mukarram Khan will not be commanded to stretch forth the hand of control into my territory." It was a measure of Mukarram Khan's audacity and bravery that a neighbor like Qutbulmulk would take account of him.

On this date I made Islam Khan's son Ikram Khan the garrison commander of Fatehpur and that area, giving him a robe of honor and an elephant. Chandar Sen, the zamindar of Halod, was given a robe of honor and a horse. Lachin Qaqshal was given an elephant. **[172b]**

This same day Mirza Baqi Tarkhan's son Muzaffar paid homage. His mother was a daughter of Bhara, the zamindar of Kutch. When Mirza Baqi died and the rule of Thatta went to Mirza Jani, Muzaffar took refuge with the zamindar, fearing Mirza Jani. He has lived there since childhood. Now that the imperial retinue has come to Ahmadabad, he has come to pay homage. Although he has grown up among country people and is a stranger to etiquette and manners, his line has been steadfast in service to this exalted dynasty since the time of His Majesty the Sahib-Qiran, and I considered it an obligation to patronize him. For the time being, I awarded him a grant of two thousand rupees and a robe of honor. A rank suitable to his station will be given. He may prove himself a good soldier.

On Wednesday I went to the Fath Garden to see the roses. One whole bed was in full bloom. Roses do not grow much in this land, and to see so many in one place was an opportunity not to be missed. The anemone bed wasn't bad. There were also ripe figs. I had the largest fig I picked myself weighed. It came to seven and a half tolas.

On this day fifteen hundred melons Khan Alam had sent from Kariz arrived. I gave a thousand of them to the servants in my retinue and sent five hundred to the ladies of the harem.

After a pleasureable four-day stay in the garden, I returned to town on Monday the twenty-fourth [February 2]. Several of the melons were given to the shaykhs of Ahmadabad, to their great amazement, for in Gujarat melons are considered very inferior. When they ate these they were astonished to see what bounty there was in the world.

On Thursday a wine party was held in a small garden called Bakina, which was built by one of the sultans of Gujarat inside the palace grounds. My special servants were made tipsy on goblets brimful of wine. One trellis of grapes in the garden was fully ripe. [**173a**] I ordered those who had drunk many bowls of wine to pick bunches of grapes with their own hands and taste them.

Departure from Ahmadabad

On Monday the first of Isfandarmudh [February 9], we decamped from Ahmadabad to return to Malwa. I scattered coins all the way to the palace next to the Kankriya tank. There we halted for three days.

On Thursday the fourth [February 12], Muqarrab Khan's offering was viewed. There wasn't anything of particular value that I wanted. Feeling embarrassed, he gave his offering to his children to take into the harem. I accepted about a lac of rupees worth of gems, jeweled items, and textiles and gave the rest back to him. Around a hundred Kachhi horses had also been captured, but there was no outstanding horse worth mentioning.

On Friday we traveled five or six kos and stopped on the banks of the river at Mahmudabad. Since my son Shahjahan had stationed one of his important servants, Rustam Khan, as governor of Gujarat, at my son's request I granted him a banner and drums and gave him a robe of honor and a jeweled dagger. Until now it has not been customary in this dynasty for a prince's liege man to be given the privilege of a banner and drums. For all the love and affection His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani had for me, he never allowed my amirs to have titles, banners, or drums. My affection for this son of mine, however, is so great that I cannot disappoint him in anything. And in truth he is a worthy son and deserving of every favor. Now in the full bloom of youth and prowess, everywhere he goes he accomplishes his missions to my satisfaction.

This same day Muqarrab Khan was given leave to go home.

Since the shrine of Qutb-i-Alam, the father of Shah-i-Alam Bukhari, is located in Batoh and on the way, I went there and donated five hundred rupees to the residents.

On Saturday the sixth [February 14], we went fishing in a boat on the river at Mahmudabad. On the shore of the river is the tomb of Sayyid Mubarak Bukhari, a great amir of Gujarat. His son Sayyid Miran built the building. **[173b]** It is a superb dome surrounded by a very strong wall made of stone and mortar. More than two lacs of rupees must have been spent on it. Of the tombs of the sultans of Gujarat that I saw, not one was a tenth as beautiful as this one. However much they were masters and this was a servant, highmindedness and success are God-given. "It remains of him a monument in the world."

On Sunday we halted and went fishing. Four hundred fish were caught in nets. One fish without scales was seen that is called *sang mahi* [rock fish]. Its belly appeared huge and swollen. I ordered it cut open in my presence. Out came a fish with scales that had just been swallowed since no change had occurred in it yet. I ordered both weighed. The rock fish weighed six and a half seers, and the one it had swallowed weighed nearly two seers.

On Monday the eighth [February 16], we went four and a quarter kos and camped in the village of Mahudha. The people there praised the monsoon season in Gujarat. By chance, last night and today there was a bit of rain before midmorning, and the dust settled down. Because this land is sandy, during the monsoon there is surely no dust or mud and the plains must turn green and fresh. It must be beautiful. In any case, I had seen a sample of the monsoon.

On Tuesday we traveled five and a half kos and stopped beside the village of Chetarsumba. Here news was received that Man Singh Sewra had died and gone to hell. The details are as follows.

The Sewra Sect of the Jains

The Sewra are a group of Indian heretics who always go about stark naked. Some of them pull out the hair on their heads and their beards and mustaches; others shave them. They don't wear sewn garments. Their basic belief is that no living being should be harmed. The Banya caste consider them their guides and masters, but they don't bow to them or venerate them. These Sewras are of two sects. One is called Tapa, and the other Karthal. The Man Singh mentioned above was the leader of the Karthal sect. The leader of the Tapa sect is Bal Chand. **[174a]** Both of them were constantly in attendance on His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. When His Majesty died and Khusraw took flight, and I set out in pursuit of him, Rai Singh Bhurtiya, the zamindar of Bikaner who had attained the rank of amir through His Majesty's graciousness, asked this Man Singh how long I would rule and what the chances of my success were. The black-tongued beggar, who considered himself an expert at astrology and predictions, said, "At most two years." Relying on this, the idiot went off to his homeland without leave. However, after God chose me and set me on the throne in triumph, Rai Singh came to court ashamed and abashed, as has been reported in the proper place.

In short, Man Singh was stricken with leprosy within three or four months, and his limbs fell off. He was still alive in Bikaner, though death would have been much more preferable to the life he was living. I recently remembered him and had him summoned to court. Along the way he was in such fear that he took poison and died. Since the intentions of this supplicant at the divine court are solely for justice and charity, surely anyone who thinks ill of me will be requited for his evil notions.

The Sewra sect is found throughout India, but they are mostly in Gujarat because

the commerce there is generally in the hands of the Banya. Aside from idol temples, they have built houses for them to dwell in and worship in, but they are actually abodes of abomination to which they send their wives and daughters to the Sewras. There is no shame or modesty, and all sorts of abominations and lewdness are perpetrated. I therefore issued an order for the expulsion of the Sewras, and decrees were dispatched in all directions for the Sewras to be expelled from the realm wherever they may be. [**174b**]

On Wednesday the tenth [February 18], I went hunting and shot two nilgais—one buck and one doe. This day Dilawar Khan's son came from Patan, the jagir he had been given in his father's stead, and paid homage, presenting a Kachhi horse. It was extremely well formed and easy to ride. No horse this good had been presented since I came to Gujarat. It was worth one thousand rupees.

On Thursday the eleventh [February 19], a wine party was held beside the tank mentioned above. A group of court servants assigned to this souba were shown favor and then given leave to withdraw. I promoted one of them, Shaja'at Khan Arab, to the rank of 2500/2000, awarded him the privilege of drums, and gave him a robe of honor. I promoted Himmat Khan to the rank of 1500/600 and gave him a robe of honor and an elephant. Kifayat Khan, who was serving as divan to the above-mentioned souba, was promoted to the rank of 1200/300. Safi Khan the bakhshi was given a horse and a robe of honor. I promoted Khwaja Aqil to 1500/650, assigned him as bakhshi to the ahadis, and gave him the title of Aqil Khan. The thirty thousand drabs Qutbulmulk's emissary had presented were given to him.

On this date my son Shahjahan showed me a pomegranate and a quince he had been brought from Farahabad. Until now nothing this big had ever been seen. I ordered them weighed. The quince was twenty-nine tolas and nine mashas, and the pomegranate was forty tolas and a half.

On Friday the twelfth [February 20] I went hunting and shot two nilgais—one buck and one doe.

On Sunday the fourteenth [February 22] I awarded Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws's son Shaykh Isma'il a robe of honor and five hundred rupees as a grant.

On Monday the fifteenth [February 23], I went hunting and shot two nilgais.

Departure from Ahmadabad

On Tuesday the sixteenth [February 24] the shaykhs of Gujarat came to see me off, [**175a**] and once again I gave them robes of honor and grants of land and cash and dismissed them. Each was given a book from the royal library like the Koranic commentary *Kashshaf*, the Husayni commentary, or *Rawzatu'l-abbab*.[31] On the back of each book the date of my coming to Gujarat and the gift of the book was recorded.

During the time the city of Ahmadabad was graced by the imperial banners I was engaged day and night in having the needy brought in and giving them cash and land. Shaykh Ahmad Sadr and some other servants who knew me well had been assigned to bring the poor and needy to me, and I had ordered Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws's sons, Shaykh Wajihuddin's grandson, and other shaykhs to bring me deserving people from wherever they thought they might be, and several of the women in the harem were also charged to bring me women. All this notwithstanding, my mind was totally focused upon not leaving anyone deprived when, after all these years, a monarch like me had come to the succor of the poor of this land. As God is my witness, during this trip I did all I could and never rested from this labor. Although I didn't really enjoy coming to Ahmadabad, at least I can console myself that my coming occasioned relief to many of the poor.

31. *al-Kashshaf* is a very well-known standard Koranic commentary by al-Zamakhshari; the *Husayni Commentary* by Husayn Wa'iz Kashifi was completed in 899/1493–94; *Rawzatu'l-abbab*, a biography of the Prophet Muhammad, is by Jamal Ata'ullah Husayni Shirazi (d. ca. 920/1514).



JAHANGIR GIVING BOOKS TO SHAYKHS, attributed to Lalchand. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 31.7 x 20.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F31.20

❁ *The Adventures of Kawkab*

On Tuesday the sixteenth [February 24], Qamar Khan's son Kawkab was brought. He had taken on the garb of a dervish in Burhanpur and wandered off. A brief account is as follows.

Kawkab is the grandson of Mir Abdul-Latif Qazwini, a Sayfi sayyid and a hereditary khanazad of this court. He had been assigned to the Deccan. Apparently he lived for a while in the army camp in poverty and wretchedness. Since he had not been promoted in a long time, he imagined he was in disfavor with me. [**175b**] In mental distress and in an act of impetuosity he adopted the garb of spiritual poverty and wandered off into the wilderness. Over the course of six months he had traversed the entirety of the Deccan, from Daulatabad and Bidar to Bijapur, the Carnatic, and Golconda, and reached the port of Dabhol. From there he took a ship to the port of Gogha. After touring the port of Surat, Broach, and other towns along the way, he came to Ahmadabad.

At this time a liege man of my son Shahjahan's named Zahid arrested him and brought him to court. I ordered him brought in in heavy chains. When he came before my sight he was asked what had been the cause for such wretchedness, given the hereditary rights of service acquired by his father and grandfather. He answered, "It is impossible to lie in the presence of one's true qibla and guide. The truth is that I was hopeful of favor, but since my ascendant was not in conformity with this, I abandoned all material involvements and set out into the valley of exile with my heart in turmoil." Since his speech showed signs of being truthful, it touched my heart and I had the severity of his chains lessened. Then I asked, "During your wanderings did you see the Adil Khan, Qutbulmulk, or any of the others?"

"Although my ascendant at this court was not favorable, and I remained thirsty-lipped at the shoreless ocean of good fortune, God forbid I should be reduced to wetting my lips at the fountain of begging! May the head that has touched the threshold of this court and then been bowed to any other be cut off!" he exclaimed. "From the day I went into wandering until now I have recorded my adventures day by day in my notebook. From there my history can be learned."

This speech provoked my compassion even more. I called for his notebook and read it. It was clear that during his wanderings and exile he had suffered great misery and deprivation. He had gone mostly on foot and did not have the wherewithal to provide himself with even a meager sustenance. This made me fond of him. The next day I summoned him to my presence, ordered the chains removed from his hands and feet, and gave him a robe of honor, a horse, and a thousand rupees as a grant. I also increased his former rank by a ratio of ten to eleven and showed him more favor and kindness than he had ever imagined possible. In ecstasy he said, [**176a**] "Am I awake, O Lord, or is this a dream?—seeing myself in such luxury after so much torment."

On Wednesday the seventeenth [February 25], we traveled six kos and camped in the station at Balasinor.

❁ *Spread of Pestilence in Kashmir*

It has been mentioned previously that an outbreak of the pestilence had occurred in Kashmir. On this date a report arrived from the recorder there, who had written the following: "In this land a pestilential disease has become rampant, and many have died with the following symptoms. On the first day a headache and fever occur, and much blood flows from the nose. On the second day they die. In any house where one has

died, all the inhabitants are certain to be lost. Anyone who comes near a sick person or corpse is similarly stricken. There was one person who had died, and they laid his body on straw to wash it. By chance a cow ate some of the straw and died. Thereupon several dogs ate some of the cow's flesh, and they all died. Things have gotten so bad that neither will fathers come near their sons for fear of death nor will sons approach their fathers.

"One of the strange things is that fire broke out in the quarter where the illness began, and nearly three thousand houses were burned while the plague was at its height. The next morning when the people of the city and its outskirts and villages got up, they found that circles had appeared on the doors of their houses. There were three large circles, one on top of the other, two middle-sized circles, and one small circle. There were also two empty circles. These shapes had appeared on all the houses and mosques. From the day the fire broke out and these shapes appeared, a great diminution in the epidemic has been reported."

This is so strange, it is recorded here; it does not accord with reason, and my mind does not accept it. God only knows. It is hoped that God will be kind to his sinful slaves and that they will be delivered altogether of this calamity.

On Thursday the eighteenth [February 26], we marched two and a half kos and stopped beside the Mahi River. This day the Zamindar of Jam paid homage **[176b]** and presented fifty horses and a hundred mohurs and a hundred rupees in fulfillment of a vow. His name is Jassa. Jam is his title, and anyone who succeeds him will be called Jam too. He is one of the major landholders of Gujarat—indeed, he is one of the most renowned rajas of Hindustan. His land is adjacent to the sea. He always maintains a cavalry of five to six thousand, and in time of war he can muster ten to twelve thousand horsemen. There are so many horses in his province that a Kachhi horse can be bought or sold for two thousand rupees. I gave the raja a robe of honor.

The same day Lachhmi Narayan, the raja of Cooch [Behar] on the other side of Bengal, attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold. He presented five hundred mohurs in fulfillment of a vow and was given a robe of honor and a jeweled dagger. Mu'tamad Sa'id Khan's son Nawazish Khan, who had been assigned governor of Junagarh, paid homage.

On Friday the nineteenth [February 27] a halt was observed.

On Saturday the twentieth [February 28], we marched four and a half kos and stopped beside the tank at Jhanod [?].

On Sunday the twenty-first [February 29], we proceeded three and three-quarters kos and dismounted next to the tank at Badarwala.[32] Today the news was reported of the death of Azamat Khan Gujarati, who had remained behind in Ahmadabad because of illness. He was a servant who knew me well and performed good service. He knew all about the lands of the Deccan and Gujarat. I was quite distressed by the news of his death.

32. There is a Bharatvara in the vicinity that this name might represent, but Bharatvara is on the wrong side of the Mahi River.

At the tank mentioned above, a plant was seen that closes its petals at the mere approach of a finger or end of a stick. After a time it opens again. The leaves are something like the leaves of the tamarind. In Arabic it is called *shajaru'l-haya* [mimosa] and in Hindi, *lajjavati*. *Laj* means modesty. Since it closes up when approached by a hand or finger, modesty is attributed to it. Without exaggeration it is not devoid of strangeness. **[177a]** It is also called *naghzak*, and they say it occurs on dry land.

On Monday the twenty-second [March 1] we observed a halt. The scouts brought news that there was a lion in the vicinity that was harassing and attacking passers-by.

In the forest where it was living skulls and bones of several persons that had recently been eaten were found. After two watches of the day I rode out to hunt the lion and polished it off with one musket shot. Although it was a large lion, I have often shot many larger. A lion I shot in Mandu weighed eight and a half maunds. This one weighed seven and a half, a maund less.

On Tuesday the twenty-third [March 2] I went a little over three and a half kos and stopped on the banks of the Bayab River.[33]

On Wednesday we traveled nearly six kos and stopped beside the tank at Nimdah [?].

On Thursday the twenty-fifth [March 4] we halted and a wine party was held. My special servants were given goblets and got drunk. I awarded Nawazish Khan the rank of 3000/2000, an increase of 500 zat, gave him a robe of honor and an elephant, and let him withdraw to go to his jagir. The merchant Muhammad-Husayn, whom I had sent to Balkh to purchase steeds, came to court on this day and paid homage. Of the horses he brought, one roan was of a particularly nice color and shape. A roan horse of this color had not been seen before. He had brought several other fine steeds. I awarded him the title of Tijarat Khan.

On Friday the twenty-sixth [March 5], we went five and a quarter kos and stopped at the village of Jhallod. I gave a horse to Raja Lachhmi Narayan, the uncle of the raja of Cooch, to whom I had awarded the realm of Cooch for the time being.

On Saturday the twenty-seventh [March 6], we marched three kos and camped in the station of Boda [?].[34]

On Sunday the twenty-eighth [March 7] we traversed five kos and camped on the edge of the town of Dohad, the border between Gujarat and Malwa. **[177b]**

33. This is probably the Panam River. Here the text has "Bayab"; when the same river is recrossed on page 281, it occurs as "Manab."

34. For this "Boda," some MSS have Ranud, which is undoubtedly the same as the "Rinao" on page 238, but none of these has been identified and none of the names has been verified.

A Strange Pair

Pahlavan Baha'uddin the musketeer brought me a baby *langur* monkey and a goat.[35] "One of my gunners spied a female monkey sitting in the top of a tree and clutching its baby to its breast," he said. "The unfeeling man had no compassion and shot the female. As soon as she was hit she took the baby from her breast, sat it on a branch, and fell dead to the ground. Just then I arrived. I got the baby down and took it to this goat so that it could have some milk. God made the goat feel compassion for the baby, and it began to lick it reassuringly. Although they are of different species, they've become so attached to each other that you'd think the monkey came from the goat's womb."

I ordered the baby monkey separated from the goat. As soon as it was taken away, the goat began to cry out and get upset, and the baby monkey also fretted a lot. The baby monkey's attachment on account of the milk it drinks is not so strange, but the love of the goat for the monkey is truly extraordinary.

The langur is a type of monkey, but monkey's fur is yellowish and its face is red, while the langur's fur is white and its face is black. A langur's tail is twice the length of a monkey's. This has been recorded for its strangeness.

35. The *langur* monkey is the white-bearded ape of the genus *Presbytes*.

On Monday the twenty-ninth [March 8] a halt was observed, and I went nilgai hunting. I shot two nilgais, a buck and a doe.

On Tuesday the thirtieth [March 9] we halted.

God has granted success in the completion of the first volume of the *Jahangirnama*, from the beginning of the accession until the end of the twelfth year.

The Thirteenth Regnal Year: March 10, 1618–March 10, 1619

The Thirteenth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

After the elapse of four and a half gharis of the eve of Wednesday the twenty-third of Rabi' I 1027 of the Hegira [March 10, 1618], the world-illuminating sun transited into the constellation of Aries. Up to this Nawroz twelve years had passed auspiciously since the accession to the throne by this petitioner at the divine court, and the new year began with felicity and good prospects.

On Thursday the second of Farvardin [March 11], the lunar weighing ceremony was held, and the fifty-first year of my life began auspiciously. **[178a]** It is hoped that my entire life may be spent in pleasing the Divine and that not a breath will be taken without remembrance of him.

After the weighing was completed, the celebration was begun again, and the elite servants got tipsy on goblets brimful of wine. On this day Asaf Khan, who held the rank of 5000/3000, was promoted to 4000 suwar duaspa-seaspa. Diyanat Khan was appointed as reviser of petitions. I gave the arsenal to Mu'taqid Khan. There was a Kachhi horse Dilawar Khan's son had presented, the likes of which had not entered my personal demesne since the time we entered Gujarat. Since Mirza Rustam wanted it very badly and had asked for it, and since I wanted very much to please him, I gave it to him. I also gave the Jam four rings, a diamond, a carnelian, an emerald, a sapphire, and two necklaces. I gave Raja Lachhmi Narayan four rings of ruby, cat's-eye, emerald, and sapphire. Muruwwat Khan had sent three elephants from Bengal, two of which were put in the royal stable.

On Thursday night I ordered torches lit around the perimeter of the tank. It looked very nice.

On Sunday Hajji Rafiq came from Persia and paid homage. He presented a letter my brother Shah Abbas had sent with him. Hajji Rafiq is a slave of Mir Muhammad-Amin Qafilabashi's, but the mir has treated him like a son, and in truth he is a good servant. He has repeatedly gone back and forth between here and Persia, where he has become acquainted with Shah Abbas. This time he brought *topchaq* horses and fine textiles.[1] Several of the horses have been put in the royal stables. Since he is a good servant worthy of favor, I entitled him Malikuttujjar [king of traders].

1. Reading here *topchaq* (fine horse) for the text's *Qipchaq*.

On Monday the sixth [March 15], I gave Raja Lachhmi Narayan a personal sword, a string of jewel prayer beads, and four pearls for earrings.

On Thursday the ninth [March 18], Mirza Rustam, who held the rank of 5000/1000, was promoted by 500 suwar. **[178b]** I'tiqad Khan was given the rank of 4000/1000. Sarafraz Khan was promoted to the rank of 2500/1400. Mu'tamad Khan



JAHANGIR PREFERRING A SHAYKH TO KINGS, by Bichitr. India, Mughal period, ca. 1615–18. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 25.3 x 18.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F42.15

was promoted to 1000/350. Ani Rai Singhdalan and Fidai Khan were given a hundred-mohur horse each. Since the Punjab had been put under the protection of I'timaduddawla, at his request I appointed as governor of the souba Mir Qasim, the bakhshi of the ahadis who is related to I'timaduddawla. I promoted him to the rank of 1000/400 and gave him the title of Qasim Khan.

I had already given Raja Lachhmi Narayan a Persian horse. On this date I gave him an elephant and a Turkish horse and let him depart for Bengal. The Jam was given a jeweled girth sword, a jeweled rosary, an elephant, two horses, one Persian and the other Turkish, and a robe of honor, and he was dismissed to go home. The late Asaf Khan's nephew Salih was given the rank of 1600 suwar and dismissed to Bengal. A horse was also given to him.

❁ *The History of Mir Jumla*

On this date Mir Jumla came from Persia and attained the felicity of kissing the imperial ground. He is an important sayyid from Isfahan, and his family has always held power in Persia. At present his nephew Mir Razi is in service to my brother Shah Abbas, holding the post of comptroller. The shah has even given him his daughter in marriage.

Four years ago Mir Jumla came out of Persia and went to Qutbulmulk in Golconda. Mir Jumla's name is Muhammad-Amin, but Qutbulmulk entitled him Mir Jumla, and he was his business manager for two years, during which time he got rich. After Qutbulmulk died and the chieftainship went to his nephew, the nephew did not treat the mir as he might have wished. The mir obtained permission to leave and went home. Because of his relationship to Mir Razi and the respect accorded men of wealth, the shah treated him with favor and attention, [**179a**] and he presented suitable gifts and offerings. He stayed in Persia for three or four years and grew enormously rich. Since it had been repeatedly reported that he wanted to serve this court, I sent him a decree summoning him to court. As soon as the decree arrived he severed all connections and headed off loyally to court. On this date he has attained the felicity of kissing the royal carpet, presenting twelve horses, nine toquzes of textiles, and two rings. Since he came in loyalty and sincerity, I inundated him with favor and, for the time being, have given him a grant of twenty thousand rupees and a robe of honor.

❁

On this day I made Inayat Khan the bakhshi of the ahadis in succession to Qasim Khan. I gave Khwaja Aqil, an old servant, the title of Aqil Khan and awarded him a horse.

On Friday Dilawar Khan came from the Deccan to pay homage. and present a hundred mohurs and a thousand rupees in fulfillment of a vow. Baqir Khan, the commander of the Multan garrison was promoted to the rank of 800/300. Tijarat Khan and Bahu the Zamindar of Multan were given elephants.

On Saturday the eleventh [March 20], we left Dohad to go elephant hunting and camped in Go[dh]ra-Bar[i]a. On Sunday the twelfth [March 21] imperial camp was made in Sajara. It is eight kos from Dohad to here, and the hunting ground is another kos and a half.

❁ *An Elephant Hunt*

On the morning of Monday the thirteenth [March 22], I set out with a group of elite servants to hunt elephants. The elephants' grazing ground is located in a mountainous area, and it is very hilly, difficult to manage even on foot. Previously a group of foot

soldiers and horsemen had surrounded the jungle as in a qamargha, and a wooden platform for me to sit on had been set up in a tree outside the jungle, and places had also been made for the amirs to sit in several other surrounding trees. [**179b**] Two hundred female elephants had been fastened tightly with many strong ropes, and on each sat two elephant keepers from the Jariya tribe, who specialize in capturing elephants. Wild elephants would be driven from the jungle into my presence so that I could watch the hunt. By chance, when the men emerged from various parts of the jungle, there were so many trees and hills that the order was broken and the circle fell to pieces. The wild elephants ran pell-mell in every direction, and twelve elephants, both male and female, headed in my direction. Lest they get away, they drove the domesticated elephants forward and lassoed the wild ones wherever they found them. Although not many elephants were caught, two splendid ones in perfect form and shape were captured. Since there is a hill in the middle of the jungle where these elephants lived called Rakas Pahar, or Demon Hill, I called these two Ravan Bir and Ban Bir, after the names of demons.

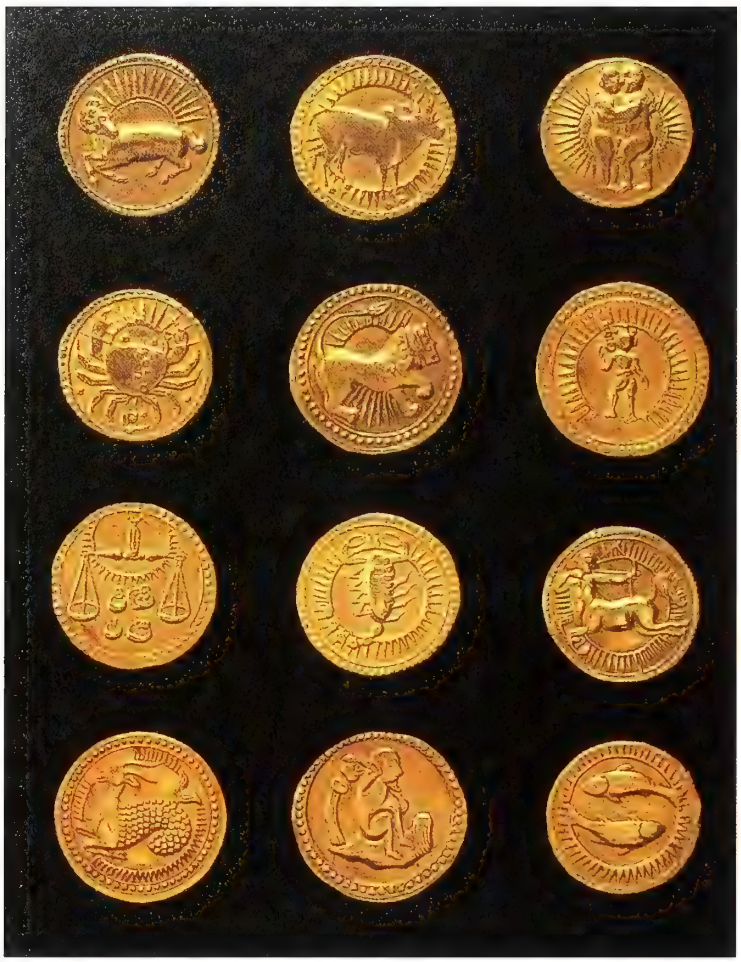
I halted on Tuesday the fourteenth [March 23] and Wednesday the fifteenth [March 24]. On the eve of Thursday the sixteenth we decamped and stopped in Go[dh]ra-Bar[i]a. Hakim Beg, a khanazad of the court, was given the title of Hakim Khan, and Sangram the zamindar of the Punjab Hills was awarded three thousand rupees. [**180a**] As the heat was too great to ride by day we decamped by night and camped on Saturday the eighteenth [March 27] in the pargana of Dohad.

On Sunday the nineteenth [March 28] the sun attained culmination in the constellation of Aries. On this day a great celebration was held, and I mounted the throne. I honored Shahnawaz Khan, who held the rank of 5000/5000, by making 2000 of his suwar rank duaspa-seaspa. Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan the mirbakhshi was promoted to the rank of 4000/2000.

Inasmuch as Ahmad Beg Kabuli, the governor of Kashmir, had undertaken to conquer Tibet and Kishtwar within two years, and that period had now elapsed without that service having been accomplished, I dismissed him from his post and appointed Dilawar Khan Kakar governor of Kashmir. I also awarded him a robe of honor and an elephant and gave him leave to depart. He too gave a written pledge to conquer Tibet and Kishtwar within two years. Mirza Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman came from his jagir in Sultanpur to pay homage. I gave Qasim Khan a jeweled dagger and an elephant and dismissed him to the souba of the Punjab.

Decision to Remain in Ahmadabad

On the eve of Tuesday the twenty-first [March 30] we decamped from the station mentioned above and turned our reins toward Ahmadabad. The men were suffering greatly from the heat and putridity of the air, and we had a long distance to cover before reaching Agra. It therefore occurred to me to head for Agra during the winter, a better season. I had heard much praise of the monsoon season in Gujarat, and the urbanity of Ahmadabad was beyond comparison with Mandu. Finally I decided to stay in Ahmadabad. Inasmuch as God's protection has enveloped this petitioner at the divine court in every place and at every time, no sooner had I made that decision than news came that the pestilence had broken out again in Agra and many people had died. This reconfirmed the decision to cancel the trip to Agra that had occurred to me from the blue.



JAHANGIR'S ZODIAC COINS. A.H.1027–34 (1617–24). Gold. Diam.: 21–23 mm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. ©British Museum

The Thursday party was held on the twenty-third [April 1] at the station of Jhallod.

An Innovation in Coinage

Prior to this, it has been the rule that on one side of gold coins my name has been engraved, and on the other side the name of the minting place, the month, and the regnal year. Around this time it occurred to me that instead of the month a figure of the constellation representing the month should be depicted. [180b] For example, for the month of Farvardin a figure of Aries could be made, and for the month of Urdibihisht the figure of Taurus, and so on for every month in which a coin was minted one side would bear a picture of the constellation in which the sun rose. This method is peculiarly my own and has never been used before.

This day I'tiqad Khan was awarded a banner. Muruwwat Khan, who has been assigned to Bengal, was also awarded a banner.

On the eve of Monday the twenty-seventh [April 5] we camped in the village of Badarwala in the pargana of Sehra. Here the sound of the *koil* [black cuckoo] was heard. The cuckoo is a bird something like a raven, but it is smaller. A raven's eyes are black, but the cuckoo's are red. The female has white spots, and the male is totally black. The male has a very beautiful voice, completely beyond comparison with the female's. The cuckoo is really the nightingale of India, but whereas the nightingale is agitated in the spring, the cuckoo gets agitated at the beginning of the monsoon, which is the spring of Hindustan. Its cry is extremely pleasant. Its period of agitation coincides with the maturing of mangoes, and mostly the cuckoo sits on mango trees. It must enjoy the color and scent of the mangoes. One of the strange things about the cuckoo is that it doesn't hatch its own eggs. When it is ready to lay an egg it finds an unprotected raven's nest, breaks the raven's eggs with its beak and throws them out, and then lays its own eggs and flies away. The raven thinks they are its own eggs, hatches them, and rears them. I have seen this strange thing myself in Allahabad.

On the eve of Wednesday the twenty-ninth [April 7], we stopped on the banks of the Mahi River, and the Thursday party was held in the harem. There were two springs next to the river with water so pure that if a poppy seed was dropped in, it could be seen plainly. The entire day was spent in the company of the ladies of the harem. Since it was such a pleasant spot, I ordered platforms built next to both springs.

On Friday the thirty-first [April 9], we went fishing on the Mahi River, and some large fish with scales were netted. I ordered my son Shahjahan to test his sword on them. [181a] Then I ordered the amirs to give a swipe with the blades they had in their belts. My son's sword cut the best of all. The fish were distributed among those who were present.

On the eve of the first of Urdibihisht [April 10], we decamped from the above-mentioned station, and I ordered the scouts and *tovachi*s to gather widows and poor persons from the villages along the way and nearby and bring them to my presence so that I could give them alms with my own hand. This would both give me something to do and relieve their misery. What better occupation could there be?

On Monday the third [April 12] Shaja'at Khan Arab, Himmat Khan, and some others assigned to Gujarat paid homage. The shaykhs and dervishes who lived in Ahmadabad also paid homage.

On Tuesday the fourth [April 13] camp was made beside the Mahmudabad River. Rustam Khan, whom my son Shahjahan had stationed as governor of Gujarat, paid homage.

The Thursday party was held beside the Kankriya tank. Nahar Khan, who had been ordered to the Deccan, paid homage. A diamond ring worth a thousand mohurs Qutbulmulk had presented was given to my son Shahjahan. By chance on the diamond were three parallel lines and a diagonal line below that looked like the word Allah. Qutbulmulk had sent it because it was considered one of the wonders of the age. Although veins and lines in jewels are flaws, this one would fool most people. Moreover, it wasn't from a recognized mine. Since my son Shahjahan wanted a souvenir of the conquest of the Deccan to send to my brother Shah Abbas, I sent him this diamond along with other rarities.

This day a thousand rupees were given to Brikha Rai the wine seller. He is a Gujarati by origin and knows all the tales and sagas of that land. His name was Tana, which means sapling. I thought it was absurd to call an old man Tana, [**181b**] particularly now that his "sapling" had flourished and borne fruit thanks to our generosity. Therefore I ordered that henceforth he was to be called Brikha Rai. *Brikha* means tree in the Hindi language.

I entered Ahmadabad on Friday the seventh, corresponding to the first of Jumada I [April 16] at an hour chosen for its auspiciousness. As I was mounting, my son Shahjahan brought twenty thousand charans, the equivalent of five thousand rupees, for scattering, and I tossed them until I entered the palace. When we were settled in, he presented a jeweled turban ornament worth twenty-five thousand rupees, and those he had posted in this souba also presented offerings worth around forty thousand rupees.

When it was reported that Khwaja Beg Mirza Safavi had died in Ahmadnagar, I promoted Khanjar Khan, whom Khwaja Beg Mirza had adopted and loved even more than a real son, and who was in truth a brave young man worthy of patronage, to the rank of 2000/2000, and assigned him as castellan of the Ahmadnagar fortress.

During these days the weather was so hot and the air so foul that illness spread among the people, and there were few inhabitants of the city or camp who did not fall prey to it. They suffered high fever and aches in the limbs for two or three days. Even after recovery, traces of weakness and debility remained. In the end it went away, and mortal harm was done to few. It has been heard from aged men who live in this land that the same type of fever occurred thirty years ago, and it too passed. In any case, the water and air of Gujarat are very poor, and I regret greatly having come. It is hoped that God in his goodness and graciousness will eliminate this affliction, which causes me concern, from the people.

On [Wednes]day the twelfth [April 21] Mirza Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman [**182a**] was promoted to the rank of 1500/1500, awarded a banner, and assigned as commander of the garrison at Patan sarkar. Sayyid Nizam, the garrison commander of



JAHANGIR WITH A WHITE FALCON, by Manohar. India, Mughal period, ca. 1615. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 14 x 18 cm. Brooklyn Museum of Art, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Poster, 87.234.7

Lucknow, was promoted to the rank of 1000/700. Ali-Quli Darman, who was assigned to Kandahar, was promoted to the rank of 1000/700 at the request of Bahadur Khan, the governor there. Sayyid Hizhabr Khan Barha was promoted to the rank of 1000/400. I promoted Zibardast Khan to the rank of 800/350. Recently Khwaja Hashim Dahbedi had sent five albino hawks from Transoxiana as a gift with one of his relatives. One had died along the way, but the other four arrived safely in Ujjain. I ordered five thousand rupees turned over to his man to purchase any commodities that would please the khwaja. Another thousand rupees were given the man as a gratuity.

At the same time I viewed a white falcon raised in the wild that Khan Alam, who had gone as an ambassador to the ruler of Iran, had sent as a gift. It is called *ukna* in Persian. It doesn't have any external sign to distinguish it from a hawk bred in captivity, but after it is flown the difference is obvious.

On Thursday the twentieth [April 29] Mirza Abu-Salih, a relative of Mirza Yusuf Khan's, came as ordered from the Deccan and paid homage, presenting a hundred rupees as a vow and a turban-plume holder. Mirza Yusuf Khan was a Rizavid sayyid from Mashhad whose line has always been honored and venerated.[2] At present Shah Abbas has given one of his daughters to Mirza Yusuf's brother Mirza Abu-Salih, and their father, Mirza Ulugh, is the chief servant of the shrine of the Eighth Imam. Mirza Yusuf had the good fortune to be patronized by His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani and attain the rank of amir and the rank of 5000. Without exaggeration, he was a fine amir and maintained his liege men in good order, [**182b**] and many of his relatives had gathered about him. He passed away in the Deccan. Although he left many sons, and they were all patronized because of rights of long service, the eldest son was given particular patronage. In a short time I had raised him to the rank of amir, but there is still a world of difference between him and his father!

On Thursday the twenty-seventh [May 6] Hakim Masihu'z-Zaman was given twenty thousand drabs. I gave Hakim Ruhullah a hundred mohurs and a thousand rupees. Since he knew my constitution well and had discerned that the climate of Gujarat did not agree with me, he said, "If you will decrease your usual intake of wine and opium a bit, your complaints will disappear immediately." Indeed, when I decreased both, it proved beneficial for me from the very first day.

On Thursday the third of Khurdad [May 13] Qizilbash Khan was promoted to the rank of 1500/1200. A report came from Gajpat Khan, the supervisor of the elephant stable, and Baluch Khan, the head scout, saying that sixty-nine male and female elephants had been captured and any more captured would be reported. I ordered them not to worry with old or very young elephants but to capture any other males or females they saw.

On Monday the twenty-fourth [May 3] I awarded two thousand rupees to Sayyid

2. "Rizavid sayyid" means a lineal descendant of Imam Riza, the Eighth Imam of the Shia, who is buried in Mashhad, "the shrine" spoken of below.



JAHANGIR ENTERTAINING SHAH ABBAS I. India, Mughal period, ca. 1618. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 25 x 18.9 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F42.16a

Muhammad for the urs of Shah-i-Alam. A Kachhi horse the Jam had presented was given to Raja Bir Singh Deo. I gave a thousand rupees to Baluch Khan the head scout, who had been assigned to capture elephants.

On Tuesday the twenty-fifth [May 4] I felt heavy and achy. Later I got a fever. That night I did not drink my accustomed bowls of wine. After midnight the agony of withdrawal was added to the pain of the fever, [**183a**] and I tossed and turned in bed till dawn. Toward the end of Sunday the fever decreased, and on the doctors' recommendation I drank two thirds of my normal amount of wine. No matter how hard they tried to get me to drink some lentil and rice soup, I couldn't make myself do it. Since reaching maturity I don't remember ever having eaten this kind of soup, and I hope I don't have to after this. Not having had anything to eat in two days, I couldn't stomach the few bowls of wine. In short, I spent a miserable two days and three nights. Although I had a fever for only one day and night, I was so weak you'd think I had been laid up a long time. I had absolutely no appetite and no inclination for food.

The Unattractiveness of Ahmadabad

I am perplexed at what beauty or goodness the builder of this city saw in this godforsaken land to have built a city here. Why have others after him spent their precious lives in this dust heap? The air is poisonous; the ground has little water and is sandy. The huge amount of dust has already been described. The water is particularly foul and tastes awful. The river bed next to the city is always dry except during the monsoon. The wells are mostly brackish and bitter. The reservoirs located on the outskirts of the city are milky with washermen's soap. The quality people who are rich enough have built cisterns in their houses and fill them with enough rainwater during the monsoon, and they drink it through to the next year. Of course, the unwholesomeness of water that is never exposed to the air and has no way to let off vapors is obvious. Outside the city in places with greenery, the plains are nothing but breeding grounds for thorns, and it is obvious how good a breeze that blows over thorns can be. "O thou paragon of all goodness, by what name shall I call thee?"

I have already called Ahmadabad "Gardabad" [Dustburg].[3] Now I don't know whether to call it Samumistan [land of the pestilential wind], Bimaristan [land of the ill], Zaqumzar [thorn patch], or Jahannamabad [hell-ville] [**183b**] since it has qualities of all of them. Were it not for the monsoon, I wouldn't stay in this abode of tribulation for a single day but would get on my flying carpet like Solomon and fly away, delivering my men from this pain and tribulation.

3. Page 240.

Since the inhabitants of this city are extremely weak-hearted and feeble, as a precaution against any of the men from the camp entering private dwellings in aggression and tyranny or harassment of the poor and weak, and lest the cadi and chief justice show partiality or not be able to prevent oppression, from the date on which we settled in the city, I have sat every day after midday devotions, despite the severity of the heat, for two or three hours in the jharoka on the side of the river, where there is no sort of impediment like gates, walls, watchmen, or guards. There, as demanded by justice, I have attended to the cries of plaintiffs and ordered oppressors punished according to their crimes and offenses. Even while I was sick, despite the great pain and agony, I went to the jharoka every day as usual, denying myself my needed rest.

In order to keep God's flock I do not let my eyes know sleep by night.
For the repose of others I suffer pain in my own body.

By God's grace I have accustomed myself not to have my time robbed by sleep for more than two hours in twenty-four. This has two benefits. One is awareness of what is going on in the realm, and the other is wakefulness of the heart to remembrance of God. It would be a pity for this short life to be wasted in negligence. Since we have a long sleep ahead of us, I try to make the most of this wakefulness, which we will not see again once we sleep, and not be unmindful of God for an instant. "Be awake, for there is a wonderful sleep ahead."

The same day I got a fever my dear son Shahjahan also came down with one. His illness lingered on, [**184a**] and he couldn't come for körünüsh for ten days. On Thursday when he came and paid homage he looked so haggard and drawn that even if no one had said so you would have thought he had been ill for a month or more. Thank goodness it passed without ill effect.

On Thursday the thirty-first [June 10] Mir Jumla, who had recently come from Iran, and about whom a summary account has already been given,[4] was given the rank of 1500/1200. This same day I gave in alms to the poor and deserving an elephant, a horse, various types of quadrupeds, an amount of gold and silver, and some other goods for the illness I had suffered. Most courtiers had also brought alms according to their ranks and stations, but I said that if all they wanted to do was display their loyalty, it was unreasonable. If it was out of piety, what need was there to bring it into my presence when they could have given to the poor and needy out of my sight?

4. Page 258.

On Thursday the seventh of Tir [June 17] Sadiq Khan the bakhshi was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000. Iradat Khan the chief steward was promoted to the rank of 2000/800. Mir Abu-Salih Rizavi was promoted to the rank of 2000/100, given the title of Rizavi Khan, awarded a banner and an elephant, and given leave to go to the Deccan.

Around this time a report was received saying that my ataliq the Sipahsalar Khankhanan had composed a ghazal in imitation of the hemistich that goes "For one rose it is necessary to endure the trouble of a hundred thorns." Mirza Rustam Safavi and his son Mirza Murad also tried their skill in poetry. Extemporaneously the following opening ghazal line popped into my head: "It is necessary to quaff a goblet of wine in the face of the garden. There are many clouds: it is necessary to quaff much wine." All those present at the party who had poetic talent composed ghazals and presented them. Apparently the original hemistich was by Mawlana Abdul-Rahman Jami,[5] and the entire ghazal was brought for me to see. [**184b**] Aside from the one hemistich, which had become proverbial in our time, he hadn't done much with the rest. It was extremely simple and pedestrian.

5. Nuruddin Abdul-Rahman Jami (1414–1492), the premier literary figure of Timurid Herat, a prolific poet and author.

On this date came the news of the death of Ahmad Beg Khan, who had been the governor of Kashmir. His sons, who are khanazads of this court and show great promise, were given appropriate ranks and assigned to service in Kabul and Bangash. Ahmad Beg Khan's rank had been 2500. His eldest son was given the rank of 1000, and his other three sons were awarded ranks of 900.

On Thursday the fourteenth [June 24] Khwaja Baqi was promoted to the rank of 1500/1000 and given the title of Baqi Khan. He has great nobility of character and lineage and possesses bravery and courage, and he is in charge of an outpost in Berar. Rai Kunwar, the former divan of Gujarat, was appointed divan of Malwa.

The Story of the Pair of Cranes

Around this time I witnessed the mating of saras cranes, something I hadn't seen before. It is often said among the people that no one has ever seen it. The saras is a bird something like a crane, but it is larger than a crane by a ratio of ten to twelve and has no feathers on its head, just skin stretched over bone. For a distance of about six fingers behind the eyes and down the neck it is red. Mostly they live in pairs in the wilderness, though occasionally they can be seen in flocks. People bring chicks from the wilderness and keep them in their houses, and they become tame to humans. Anyway, in my establishment there was a pair of saras cranes that I called Layli and Majnun.[6] One day one of the eunuchs told me they had mated in his presence. I ordered him to let me know whenever they looked like they were going to mate again. He came one morning at dawn and told me they were going to mate. I immediately ran out to watch. The female stretched her legs straight and then bent them slightly. [**185a**] First the male lifted one of his legs off the ground and put it on her back, and then the other. The instant he was seated on her back they mated. Then he got down, stretched out his neck, put his beak on the ground, and circled once around the female. It is possible that they have produced an egg and young will will be brought forth.

6. The cranes were nicknamed after the famous pair of lovers from Persian romance.

Many strange and wonderful tales have been heard concerning the affection and attachment sarases have for their mates. Since they have been heard so often and are so strange, they are worth recording. One of them is as follows.

Qiyam Khan, a khanazad of this court who was highly skilled in the art of scouting for the hunt, said to me, "One day when I had gone out hunting I saw a saras sitting on the ground. As I approached it got up and went away. From the way it moved I could tell it was sick or hurt. I went to the place it had been sitting and found several bones and a handful of feathers it had been sitting on. I then laid a trap and retired to a secluded spot. As the bird was about to come back and sit down its leg got caught in the trap. I went forward and seized it. It felt very light. When I examined it, there were absolutely no feathers on its breast or belly. Its flesh and skin were falling away and it was infected. In fact, there was no trace of flesh anywhere on its body. It was just a handful of feathers and a few bones. Apparently its mate had died and it had been reduced to that state by separation."

> My body melted away in heart-rending separation. My soul-searing sigh burns like a candle. / My day of gaiety has turned as black as the night of grief. Separation from you has made me like this.

Himmat Khan, one of my fine servants whose word can be trusted, related the following: "A pair of sarases was spotted beside the tank in the pargana of Dohad. One of my musketeers shot one of them, cut its head off, and cleaned it. As it happened, there was a halt there for two or three days. The mate kept circling around that spot, crying out and lamenting. My heart ached over its distress, [**185b**] but there was nothing I could do but regret. After we decamped, we chanced to pass by there again twenty-five days later. I asked the inhabitants what had happened to the saras. They said it had died within two days, but its bones and feathers were still there. I went to the spot myself and found the remains, just as they had said." Many such stories are current among the people, but they would take too long to record.

On Saturday the sixteenth [June 26] news came of the death of Rawat Shankar, who had been assigned to Bihar. His eldest son, Man Singh, was given the rank of

2000/600. The other sons and kinsmen were promoted too and assigned to accompany Man Singh.

On Thursday the twenty-first [July 1] the elephant Ravan Bir was brought to court. This is one of the ones that had been captured on the royal hunt and then left in Dohad to be tamed. I ordered it kept near the jharoka on the side of the river so that it would always be in view.

In His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's elephant stables no elephant was ever seen that was larger than Durjan Sal, the lead royal elephant for a long time. It was four cubits and seven-eighths of an official ell tall, which is eight legal cubits plus three fingers.[7] At present the largest in my establishment is Pahlavan Alam of Gujarat, which Arsh-Ashyani captured himself, and it is my lead elephant. It is four and a quarter cubits tall, which is seven legal cubits plus seventeen fingers.[8] The legal cubit has been defined as the width of twenty-four average fingers, whereas the Ilahi ell is forty fingers.

7. I.e. 4 meters, or $13^{1}/_{5}$ feet.

8. I.e. 3.8 meters, or $12^{3}/_{5}$ feet.

On this date Muzaffar Khan, who had been assigned as governor of Thatta, paid homage and presented a hundred mohurs and a hundred rupees as a vow and a lac of rupees in gems and jewel-studded items. Also on this day the news came that God had bestowed a son on my son Parvez by the daughter of the late Shah Murad. It is hoped that he will prove to be auspicious for this state. [**186a**]

On Sunday the twenty-fourth [July 4] Rai Bhara paid homage. In the land of Gujarat there is no larger landholder than he. His territory is adjacent to the sea. Both Bhara and the Jam descend from a common ancestor ten generations ago. However, from the point of view of land, population, and importance, Bhara is ahead of the Jam. They say they have never appeared before any of the sultans of Gujarat. Sultan Mahmud sent a troop against one of them and a battle was fought, but Sultan Mahmud's men were defeated. Anyway, when Khan A'zam went to conquer the fortress of Junagarh and the land of Surat, the pretender Nanu who was styled Sultan Muzaffar was eking out a miserable existence under the protection of the zamindars of the day. After the Jam battled the imperial troops and was defeated, Nanu took refuge with Rai Bhara. Khan A'zam demanded Nanu from Rai Bhara, and since he did not have the power to withstand the imperial army, he turned Nanu over to Khan A'zam and by this act of obedience saved himself from devastation by the imperial army.

The first time Ahmadabad was graced by the advent of the imperial retinue, we departed quickly and Rai Bhara did not come to pay homage, as his land was rather far away. There wasn't time to send out a troop either. Now that we have chanced to return, my son Shahjahan sent Raja Bikramajit against him with a troop of servants of the court. Realizing his only salvation lay in coming, he got himself here to kiss the imperial threshold and present two hundred mohurs and two thousand rupees as a vow and a hundred horses as tribute. Of his horses, however, there wasn't one I liked. He looks as though he is over seventy or eighty years old, and he says himself he is ninety. He has not lost any of his faculties, however. I saw one of his leading men whose hair, mustache, and eyebrows had turned white. He said that Rai Bhara remembered him as an infant and that he had grown up in his service. [**186b**]

❁ *Abu'l-Hasan Presents an Illustration for the* Jahangirnama

On this date Abu'l-Hasan the artist, who had been awarded the title of Nadiruzzaman [Rarity of the Time], presented a painting he had made for the opening page of the *Jahangirnama*. Since it was worthy of praise, he was shown limitless favor. Without exaggeration, his work is perfect, and his depiction is a masterpiece of the age. In this

era he has no equal or peer. Only if Master Abdul-Hayy and Master Bihzad were alive today would they be able to do him justice.[9]

Abu'l-Hasan's father was Aqa Riza of Herat, who joined my service while I was a prince. Abu'l-Hasan therefore is a khanazad in this court. His work, however, is beyond any comparison in any way to his father's; they can't even be mentioned in the same breath. I have always considered it my duty to give him much patronage, and from his youth until now I have patronized him so that his work has reached the level it has. He is truly a rarity of his age. So is Master Mansur the painter, who enjoys the title of Nadirul'asr [Rarity of the Age]. In painting he is unique in his time. During my father's reign and mine, there has been and is no one who could be mentioned along with these two.

My Enjoyment of Painting and My Expertise at Discrimination

I derive such enjoyment from painting and have such expertise in judging it that, even without the artist's name being mentioned, no work of past or present masters can be shown to me that I do not instantly recognize who did it. Even if it is a scene of several figures and each face is by a different master, I can tell who did which face. If in a single painting different persons have done the eyes and eyebrows, I can determine who drew the face and who made the eyes and eyebrows.

On the eve of Sunday the thirty-first of Tir [July 11] a heavy rain came. It kept raining hard until Tuesday the first of Amurdad [July 13]. It was cloudy and rainy for sixteen days. Since the ground here is sandy and the buildings are very poorly built, many caved in and a lot of people were killed. [**187a**] It was heard from inhabitants of the city that they do not remember any rain like this ever having happened in any previous year.

Although the Sabarmati River looks full of water, in most places it is actually shallow and elephants go back and forth all the time. One day after the rain stopped a horse and rider could wade across. The source of this river is a spring in the mountains of the Rana's territory. It emerges in the Kokra valley, runs for a kos and a half past Mairpur, where it is called the Wakal River, and then, having flowed another three kos past Mairpur, it is called the Sabarmati.

On Thursday the tenth [July 22] Rai Bhara was awarded a male and a female elephant, a jeweled dagger, and four rings of yellow carnelian, emerald, and sapphire.

Prior to this, my devoted ataliq the Sipahsalar Khankhanan assigned a troop led by his son Amrullah to go to Gondwana and seize the diamond mine in Barakar that was held by Panju, the zamindar of Khandesh. On this date a report came from him saying that the zamindar had realized that to confront the imperial forces was beyond his capability and had surrendered the mine. An imperial overseer had been appointed to evaluate and record it.

The diamonds from that mine, from the point of view of flawlessness and value, are superior to all other types of diamonds, and they are very highly valued by jewelers. They are all, without exception, better and superior.

The second mine is that of Gogra, which is located in the land of Bihar. The diamonds there do not come from mines but from a river bed down which torrents run from the mountains during the monsoon. They dam it up, and when the flood has passed over the dam and the water has subsided, those who have expertise in this skill

9. Abdul-Hayy, a painter at the Jalayirid court in Baghdad who was taken to Amir Temür's capital in Samarkand at the beginning of the fifteenth century, gained legendary status as the father of manuscript illustration. Bihzad was the renowned painter in Herat during the reign of Sultan-Husayn Mirza and later worked for Shah Tahmasp in Tabriz in the early sixteenth century. See Dost-Muhammad, "Preface to the Bahram Mirza Album," in Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architechure, 1989), 345, 347.

and who specialize in this work go into the river bed and get out diamonds. That land has now been under the control of imperial servants for three years and the zamindar is incarcerated. The water of that area, however, is extremely poisonous, [**187b**] and outsiders cannot live there.

The third mine is in the Carnatic next to Qutbulmulk's border. Within a distance of fifty kos there are four mines held by zamindars. The diamonds from there are mostly of good quality.

On Thursday the tenth [July 22] Nahar Khan was promoted to the rank of 1500/1000 and given an elephant. Maktub Khan, the supervisor of the library, was given the rank of 600.

Because I had ordered that lamps be set around the Kankriya tank for the Shab-i-Barat, I went out toward the end of the day on Monday the fourteenth of Sha'ban to watch. The reservoir had been decorated all around with pavilions with colored lanterns strung between them and all sorts of artful ornaments that go with an illumination, and fireworks. It was a splendid illumination. Although it was constantly cloudy and rainy during this time, by God's grace the weather cleared in the early evening and there wasn't a trace of a cloud. One could watch the illumination to one's heart's content. My elite servants were made glad with goblets of joy. I ordered another illumination made on Thursday night. Strangely, it rained constantly until the end of the day on Thursday the seventeenth [July 29], but when it was time, the rain stopped and we watched the illumination.

On this day I'timaduddawla presented a very valuable qutbi sapphire and a tuskless elephant with silver trappings. Since the elephant was good-looking and well built, it went to the royal stable.

On the shore of the Kankriya tank a sanyasi, a Hindu ascetic, had built a poor hut where he lived like a hermit. Since I was always anxious to receive advice from dervishes, I went to meet him without any ceremony and spent a long time conversing with him. He was not devoid of understanding or rationality and knew all about the principles of asceticism in his religion. Externally he has made himself like the people of spiritual poverty and hermits and detached himself from material wants and desires. [**188a**] It can be said that no one of this type better than he has been seen.

More on the Nesting Cranes

On Monday the twenty-first [August 2] the saras crane whose mating I have recorded on a previous page gathered sticks and twigs in the small garden and laid an egg. The third day it laid another egg. This pair of sarases were captured when they were one month old, and they have been in my establishment for five years. After five months and half a year [?] they mated and continued to mate for a month.[10]

On the twenty-first of Amurdad, which the people of India call Savan, they produced an egg. The female sits on the eggs by herself all night, and the male stands next to the female, keeping watch. He is so watchful that he doesn't allow any animal to come near. Once a large weasel appeared, and he ran at it with great vehemence and didn't stop until the weasel had put itself back in its hole. When the sun illuminates the world the male goes to the female and scratches her back with his beak. Then the female gets up, and the male sits down. Later, in the same fashion, the female comes, has him get up, and sits down herself. When they are getting up and sitting down they take great precaution lest damage be done to the eggs.

10. The wording is peculiar here. The Persian has unambiguously "after five months and half a year" (*ba'd az panj mah u nim sal*). "Five months *or* half a year" would make sense, but he doesn't say after what.

When I returned from the elephant hunt, since there was still time left in the hunting season, Gajpat Khan, the supervisor of elephants, and Baluch Khan, the chief scout, had been left to capture as many elephants as possible. Some of my son Shahjahan's scouts had also been assigned to this duty. On this date they came and paid homage. Altogether 185 elephants, 73 males and 112 females, had been captured. **[188b]** Of the total, 47 males and 75 females, 122 altogether, had been captured by imperial scouts and commanders, and 26 males and 37 females, 63 altogether, had been captured by Shahjahan's scouts and elephant keepers.

On Thursday the twenty-fourth [August 5] I went to see the Fath Garden and spent two days there in rest and relaxation, returning to the palace toward the end of the day on Saturday.

When Asaf Khan told me that the garden in his compound was very green and lush with all sorts of flowers and herbs, I accepted his invitation and went to him on Thursday the thirty-first [August 12]. It was truly a fresh and green spot, and I enjoyed myself a lot. Of his offering of gems, jewel-studded implements, and textiles, around thirty-five thousand rupees' worth was accepted.

Muzaffar Khan was given a robe of honor and an elephant and sent back as governor of Thatta. Khwaja Abdul-Karim Gilani, who had come from Iran to trade and brought a letter and a few gifts from my brother Shah Abbas, was awarded a robe of honor and an elephant on this date and given permission to return home. A reply to the shah's letter and a memento were sent with him. Khan Alam was awarded an imperial decree and a robe of honor.

The Nesting Cranes, Continued

Friday was the first of Shahrivar [August 13]. It rained on Wednesday the sixth [August 18] and Wednesday night. A strange thing is that on other days the pair of saras cranes took five or six turns sitting on their eggs, but during this twenty-four period while it was raining and cold, the male sat on the eggs to keep them warm continuously from dawn until midday. From midday until the morning of the next day the female sat continuously—lest the eggs be damaged or spoiled by the cold while they were getting up and sitting down.

In short, what a human being comprehends by the guidance of his reason **[189a]** animals do by an instinct made innate in them by eternal wisdom. Even stranger is the fact that at the beginning they kept the eggs next to each other under their breasts, but after fourteen or fifteen days had passed they made enough space between the eggs so there wouldn't be too much heat and the eggs wouldn't be spoiled.

On Thursday the seventh [August 19] the forward camp was dispatched at an auspicious hour in the direction of Agra. The astronomers and astrologers had previously determined this hour for decamping, but since there was too much rain and it was impossible for the army to cross the Mahmudabad River and the Mahi River, only the forward camp was started at that hour. The twenty-first of Shahrivar [September 2] was fixed for us to decamp.

Raja Bikramajit is Sent to Kangra

Since my son Shahjahan was concerned with the conquest of the Kangra fortress, which had never been taken by a sovereign, a troop had been previously dispatched under Raja Baso's son Raja Suraj Mal and Taqi, a familiar servant of his. It became obvious at this time that the conquest of this stronghold could not be accomplished by the troop that had been previously assigned. Therefore he assigned Raja Bikramajit, one of his trusted servants, with two thousand cavalry of his own liege men and a troop of Jahangirid servants like Shahbaz Khan Lodi, Hardi Narayan Hada, Rai Prithi Chand, and Ram Chand's sons, along with two hundred mounted musketeers and five hundred artillery foot soldiers over and above the contingent that had already been dispatched. Since the hour for his leave had been set on this day, Raja Bikramajit presented a rosary of emeralds worth two thousand rupees, was awarded a robe of honor and a sword, and was given permission to depart. Because he did not have a jagir in that souba, **[189b]** my son Shahjahan requested to be given the pargana of Barhana, which has an income of twenty-two lacs of dams, so that he could assign it to Raja Bikramajit as a jagir.

Khwaja Taqi, the divan of the imperial workshops, who had been assigned as divan to the Deccan, was given the title of Mu'tamad Khan and awarded an elephant and a robe of honor. Himmat Khan was given leave to serve as commander of the garrison in Broach sarkar and that area. I gave him a personal cashmere shawl and made the Broach sarkar his jagir. Rai Prithi Chand, who was assigned to the Kangra campaign, was promoted to the rank of 800/450.

Since it was about time for the urs of Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws, a thousand drabs were given to his descendants to be spent on the event. Muzaffaruddawla, son of Baha'ulmulk, who was assigned to the Deccan, was promoted to the rank of 1100/1100.



PORTRAIT OF JAMAL KHAN QARAVUL, by Murar. India, Mughal period, ca. 1615. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 28.7 x 26.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.29r

The First Copy of the Jahangirnama

When a fair copy of the events of twelve years in the *Jahangirnama* had been made, I had ordered the supervisors of the royal library to make one volume of the twelve years and produce multiple copies for me to award to particular servants and to be sent to other countries to be used by the rulers as a manual for ruling. On Friday the eighth [August 20] one of the recorders brought me a copy completely written out and bound. Since it was the first copy to be made, I gave it to my son Shahjahan, whom I consider the first of all my sons in everything. On the back of the book I wrote in my own hand that it had been given to my son on such-and-such a date in such-and-such a place and that I hoped a perusal of the contents would be acceptable to the Creator and occasion praise by the people.

The Execution of Subhan-Quli

On Tuesday the twelfth [August 24] Subhan-Quli the scout was executed. The details of the affair are as follows. He was the son of Hajji Jamal Baluch, one of my father's

best scouts. After His Majesty's death Subhan-Quli became a liege man to Islam Khan and accompanied him to Bengal. Islam Khan patronized him well and trusted him because of the connection he had to the court as a khanazad, [**190a**] keeping him near while riding or hunting. Since Usman the Afghan, who had been in rebellion in that souba for years, the end of whom has already been reported on previous pages,[11] was in great fear of Islam Khan, he sent a messenger to this wretch, Subhan-Quli, and offered him a lot to kill Islam Khan. He agreed to undertake the mission and dragged two or three others into the conspiracy with him. By chance, before this ingrate's vile plan could be accomplished, one of the conspirators informed Islam Khan, who immediately arrested the traitor and threw him into chains.

11. Pages 130–32.

To make a long story short, after Islam Khan's death Subhan-Quli came to court. Since his brothers and relatives were in service as scouts, it was ordered that he should also be enrolled as one. At that time Islam Khan's son told me enigmatically that he was not fit for intimate service, and after investigation it became clear what sort of things he had been accused of. Nonetheless, since his brothers said that it was no more than an accusation and Baluch Khan the head scout vouched for him, I spared him from capital punishment and ordered him to accompany Baluch Khan in service.

In the face of this generous sparing of his life he fled from court for no ostensible reason and went to Agra and those parts. Since he had vouched for him, Baluch Khan was ordered to produce him. He dispatched men to search for him, and Baluch Khan's brother located him in a village near Agra called Jhanda, which itself is not devoid of rebelliousness. No matter how hard he tried to persuade him to come to court, he refused and his men protected him. There was nothing Baluch Khan's brother could do but go to Khwaja Jahan in Agra and explain the situation. Khwaja Jahan sent a troop to the village to take him by force and bring him in. Realizing that their village would be destroyed, the villagers turned him over.

On this day he was brought to court bound and chained, and I ordered him executed. The executioner quickly took him away to the execution place. After a while, through the intercession of one of his relatives, [**190b**] I spared his life and ordered him hamstrung. As fated, however, he had been executed by the time the order arrived.

Although the murderous villain deserved to be killed, I regretted the circumstances and decreed that henceforth whenever anyone was ordered to be executed, no matter how insistent I was, he should be held and not killed until sundown. If by that time a rescinding order had not come, they could proceed with the execution.



On Sunday the Sabarmati River overflowed its banks massively, and huge walls of water could be seen. No matter how much it had rained in the past, it had never overflowed so much, not even by half. The flood began coming at the beginning of the day and started to decrease at the end of the day. Old men who live in the city said that once before during Murtaza Khan's governorship it had flooded like this. Aside from that, they couldn't remember any other.

During these days I heard a qasida written by Mu'izzi, the panegyrist and poet-laureate of Sultan Sanjar.[12] It is very fluid and even. The first line is: "The heavens are subdued by your flowing decree. Old Saturn is a slave to your young [good] luck." Sa'ida the chief goldsmith, who has poetic ability, wrote an imitation and presented it to me. He composed very well, and the following several lines are from it:

12. Mu'izzi of Nishapur (d. ca. 1125) was a panegyric poet in the service of the Seljuq Sultan Sanjar (ruled 1097–1157).

> The nine celestial spheres are a replica of your threshold. Ancient Time has grown young in your time. / Your heart bestows its effulgence without asking why, like the sun. All souls are ready to be sacrificed to your kind heart. / The celestial sphere is a green [dark] citron from the garden of your puissance that your gardener has thrown into the air. / O Lord, what sort of gem are you? In eternity the souls of the denizens of heaven were lit by the light of your soul. / May the world be as you wish, O monarch of the age. In your shadow may your Shahjahan be happy (*khurram*). / O shadow of God, the world is filled with your light. May the light of God always be your canopy. **[191a]**

On Thursday the fourteenth [August 26] I ordered Sa'ida weighed against gold as a reward for this qasida. At the end of the day I went to tour the Rustam Bari Garden. It looked very fresh and green. In the evening I got in a boat and sailed back to the palace.

On Friday the fifteenth [August 27] an old man named Mulla Asiri came from Transoxiana to pay homage. I was told he was a veteran soldier of Abdullah Khan Uzbek's and had been one of his old and intimate servants from his youth until the khan's death, accompanying him everywhere. From the time the khan died until now he has lived honorably in that land, but recently he left his homeland, intending to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and to come here to pay homage. I allowed him to choose whether to stay or leave. He replied, "I will remain in your service for a while." He was given a grant of a thousand rupees and a robe of honor. He is an old man with a bright countenance and is full of stories and tales. My son Shahjahan also gave him five hundred rupees and a robe.

In the little garden in Khurram's palace are a platform and a pool. On one side of the platform is a *maulsari* tree against which one can lean while sitting. Since one side of the trunk has a hole in it about a quarter of an ell wide, it looks ugly. I ordered a slab of marble carved to fit the hollow space so that one could sit and lean against it. At this time I composed a line of poetry extemporaneously and ordered the stone-carvers to engrave it on the stone as a remembrance for later ages. The line is the following: **[191b]** "Seat of the king of the seven climes, Jahangir son of the King of Kings Akbar."

On the eve of Tuesday the nineteenth [August 31], a fair was held in the private palace. Prior to this it was customary for merchants and craftsmen of the city to set up shops upon command in the courtyard of the palace and bring to display for our view the jeweled implements, all sorts of trinkets, and brocades and textiles they sell in the marketplace. It occurred to me that if the market were to be held during the evening and many lanterns were to be placed before the shops, it would look wonderful. Without exaggeration, it turned out to be exceptionally splendid. I walked through all the shops and bought gems, jeweled items, and every sort of thing I liked. I gave Mulla Asiri something from every shop. He got so much stuff he was unable to keep track of it all.

Departure for Agra

On Thursday the [twenty]-first of Shahrivar [September 2] of the thirteenth regnal year, corresponding to the twenty-second of Ramadan 1027 of the Hegira, after the elapse of two and a half hours, the imperial banners were unfurled in the direction of the capital, Agra. As usual, I went from the palace as far as the Kankriya tank, where camp had been prepared, scattering coins.

Solar Weighing Ceremony

On this day the solar weighing ceremony was held. By solar reckoning the fiftieth year of my life began auspiciously, and, as usual, I was weighed against gold and other items. I scattered pearls and golden flowers. That night I watched an illumination and spent the evening pleasurably in the harem.

On Friday the twenty-second [September 3] I ordered all the shaykhs and religious figures who lived in the city to come and break the fast in my presence. This was done for three consecutive nights, and each night at the end of the gathering I stood and recited: "O Lord, thou art mighty. It is thou who nourishest the rich and the poor. / Neither am I a world conqueror nor a commander, but only one of the beggars at this court. / Help me to do good and be charitable, for otherwise what good could come from me? / I may be a master of slaves, but I am a dutiful slave to the Lord." According to their need I gave land and grants to all the poor who had not yet come into my presence and who had made requests for assistance. **[192a]**

The Cranes Hatch Chicks

On the eve of Thursday the twenty-first [September 2] the saras cranes hatched a chick. On the eve of Monday the twenty-fifth [September 6] they hatched a second chick, that is one after thirty-four days and the second after thirty-six days. In size they were a third larger than a gosling or about the size of a one-month-old peafowl chick. Their down is blue. The first day they didn't eat anything. From the second day on, the mother brought small locusts in her beak, and sometimes she fed them as doves do and other times, like chickens, she threw it down in front of them to peck at themselves. If the locust was small she left it whole, but if it was large she would divide it into two or three pieces so that the chicks could eat it easily.

Since I was most anxious to see them, I ordered them brought very carefully so they wouldn't be hurt or injured. After looking at them I ordered them taken back to the same small garden in the palace and guarded very carefully. Whenever it was possible they were to be brought to me.

On this day Hakim Ruhullah was given a gratuity of a thousand rupees. Mirza Shahrukh's son Badi'uzzaman came from his jagir to pay homage.

On Tuesday the twenty-sixth [September 7] we decamped from the Kankriya tank and stopped in the village of Gaj [?].

On Wednesday the twenty-seventh [September 8] we camped on the banks of the river in Mahmudabad, which is called the Watrak. Since the climate of Ahmadabad is so very foul, **[192b]** on his physicians' advice Mahmud Begra built a city on the river bank and moved there. After he conquered Champaner he made it his capital, and most of the rulers of Gujarat lived there until the time of Mahmud the Martyr, the last of the sultans of Gujarat, who moved back to Mahmudabad. Without exaggeration, there is no comparison between the climate of Mahmudabad and that of Ahmadabad.

A Scientific Experiment

By way of experimentation I ordered a sheep skinned and hung up beside the Kankriya tank and another hung in Mahmudabad to see what the difference in the air was. The first sheep was hung up after the elapse of seven gharis of the day, and when three gharis remained of daylight it was so putrid and rotten that it was difficult to get near

it. By contrast, in Mahmudabad it was hung at dawn, and by evening it was unchanged. It began to spoil only after a watch and a half of the night.

To sum up, the sheep spoiled outside of Ahmadabad after eight hours, while in Mahmudabad it took fourteen.

❁

On Thursday the twenty-eighth [September 9] I awarded Rustam Khan, whom my son Shahjahan had stationed as governor in Gujarat, a horse, an elephant, and a personal cashmere shawl and gave him leave to depart. All the Jahangirid servants who were assigned to the souba were given horses and robes of honor in accordance with their ranks and stations.

On Friday the twenty-ninth of Shahrivar [September 10], corresponding to the first of Shawwal, Rai Bhara was awarded a robe of honor, a jeweled sword, and a personal horse and given leave to go home. His sons were also given horses and robes of honor.



INKPOT. India, Mughal period, A.H. 1028 (1618–19). Dark green nephrite, mounted in gold. Ht. 6.4 cm, diam. 8.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of George Coe Graves, 1929. 29.145.2

❁ *Sayyid Muhammad is Given a Copy of the Koran Written by Yaqut*

On Saturday the thirtieth [September 11] I ordered Shah-i-Alam's grandson Sayyid Muhammad to request frankly anything he wanted, and I swore on the Koran I would give it to him. [193a] He said, "Since you swear on the Koran, I request a copy of the Koran to keep with me always, and when I recite from it the merit will accrue to Your Majesty." I therefore gave him a nice, small-sized copy of the Koran written by Yaqut, which was one of the treasures of the age.[13] On the back I wrote in my own hand that it had been given to Sayyid Muhammad on such-and-such a date in such-and-such a place.

13. Yaqut Musta'simi, famed calligrapher of the Abbasid period

This sayyid possesses an extremely fine disposition, and in addition to innate nobility and acquired learning, he is blessed with good character and pleasing manners. He also has a cheerful disposition and an open countenance. Rarely have I seen anyone of this land to equal the mir in good character. I told him to translate the Koran word for word into Persian, without any consideration for explanation, interpretation, or the reason the verse was revealed, and not to add a single word to the literal text. After finishing it he was to send it to court with his son Sayyid Jalal. The mir's son is also a young man adorned by external and internal skills, and his piety and auspiciousness are evident in his actions. The mir dotes on his son, and he is certainly a very nice young man worthy of his father's pride.

Although the shaykhs of Gujarat had been given many gifts, once again I awarded each of them cash and goods according to their merits and gave them leave to depart.

Since the climate of this land did not agree with me, and the physicians had advised me to decrease my usual amount of wine, I did as they suggested and took

fewer bowls. Within a week I had decreased my intake by one bowlful. I had been drinking six bowls at the beginning of each evening, each bowl being seven and a half tolas, a total of forty-five tolas,[14] **[193b]** and normally my wine was mixed. Now I have six bowls that hold six tolas and three mashas, a total of thirty-seven and a half tolas.

14. Forty-five tolas would be 542 milliliters, or 18 ounces.

One of the marvels of the day is that sixteen or seventeen years ago in Allahabad I promised God that when I reached the age of fifty I would give up hunting with guns and not harm any animal with my own hand. Muqarrab Khan, who has been smiled upon by heaven, knew of this intention. In short, now that I have reached the aforementioned age and begun my fiftieth year, one day I had such vapors that I could hardly breathe and was in great agony. While in that condition, by divine inspiration I remembered the oath I had sworn to my God, and my former resolve became firm in my mind. I swore to myself that when my fiftieth year came to an end and the term of my promise commenced, with God's help on a day I went to visit Arsh-Ashyani's shrine I would ask for his assistance in keeping my heart firm in this thing. As soon as this thought came to my mind the agony I was suffering disappeared and I found myself refreshed and happy. I thanked God for his blessing, and I hope he will grant me success.

> How well spake Firdawsi of pure lineage—may mercy descend upon his pure tomb: / "Harm not an ant dragging a crumb, for it has a soul, and life is precious."[15]

15. The lines come from Sa'di, *Bustan* in *Kulliyyat*, 264, lines 12–13

On Thursday the fourth of Mihr [September 16] Sayyid Kabir and Bakhtar Khan, the Adil Khan's representatives who had brought his tribute to court, were given leave to depart. Sayyid Kabir was given a robe of honor, a jeweled dagger, and a horse. **[194a]** Bakhtar Khan was given a horse, a robe of honor, and a jeweled urbasi, an ornament they wear around the neck in that land. Both were awarded gratuities of sixty thousand drabs. Since the Adil Khan had repeatedly conveyed requests through my son Shahjahan for me to send him a likeness of myself, I sent him one along with an expensive ruby. An imperial decree was also issued to the effect that he would be awarded whatever land he could take by any means from the Nizamulmulk. Whenever he needed reinforcements, Shahnawaz Khan would outfit a troop and send it to him. The Nizamulmulk used to be the grandest of the rulers of the Deccan, and they all used to regard him as their chief and elder brother, but recently the Adil Khan has proven serviceable and has been honored to be addressed as my "son," and I have made him the chief and commander of the entire realm of the Deccan. On the portrait I wrote the following quatrain with my own hand: "Our merciful glance is always in your direction. / Rest assured in the shadow of our felicity. / We have sent you our likeness / So that you may see our inner self through our external appearance."

To accompany the Adil Khan's representatives my son Shahjahan also sent Hakim Humam's son Hakim Khoshhal, a fine khanazad of this court who has grown up from childhood in my son's service, to deliver the good news of our favorable disposition.

The same day Mir Jumla was appointed reviser of petitions. When Kifayat Khan, the divan of Gujarat, was divan of Bengal, he had some bad luck and lost his fortune. He was therefore given a gratuity of fifteen thousand rupees.

Recently two volumes of the *Jahangirnama* were shown to me. Several days ago I gave one of them to I'timaduddawla. **[194b]** On this date I gave the other one to my "son" Asaf Khan.

On Friday the fifth [September 17] Jahangir-Quli Khan's son Bahram came from the souba of Bihar and kissed the ground, presenting several diamonds from the Gogra mine. Jahangir-Quli Khan had not performed satisfactorily in that souba, and moreover it had been repeatedly heard that several of his brothers and relatives had committed acts of aggression and tyranny there and harassed the people, and every one of them was acting as though he were governor and paying no attention to Jahangir-Quli Khan. I therefore issued an order in my own hand for Muqarrab Khan, an old servant who knew me well, to become the governor of Bihar and to go there immediately upon receipt of the order.

Several of the diamonds Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang had sent to court after the conquest of the mine had been turned over to the gem-carvers of my establishment to be cut. This time, when Bahram reached Agra and was setting out for court, Khwaja Jahan gave him several that had been finished to bring to me. One of them has [my] name engraved on it and is indistinguishable from a sapphire. No diamond of this color has ever been seen before. It weighs thirty surkhs. The jewelers valued it at three thousand rupees and said that if it were white and flawless, it would be worth twenty thousand rupees.

This year mangoes were eaten until the sixth of Mihr [September 18]. In this land there is an abundance of lemons, and they grow large. A Hindu named Kangu brought me several from a garden.They were extremely nice and elegant. I had the largest one weighed. It was seven tolas.

On Saturday the sixth [September 18] the festival of Dasehra was held. **[195a]** First the royal horses were paraded, and then the royal elephants. Since the Mahi River was still not low enough for the camp to get across, and the climate of Mahmudabad was so much better than anywhere else, we stayed here eleven days.

On Monday the eighth [September 20] we decamped and stopped in Mahudha. I had already sent Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan the bakhshi ahead with a large group of laborers, boatmen, and sailors to make a bridge over the Mahi River so that we wouldn't have to wait until it was fordable and so that the camp could cross easily.

We observed a halt on Tuesday the ninth [September 21]. On Wednesday the tenth we camped in the village of Alina.[16]

16. Text has *AYNH*, which must be for *ALYNH*, the modern Alina located between Mahudha and the Mahi River.

More on the Cranes

At first the male crane used to hold its chicks upside down in his beak. Fearing that this might be out of enmity and that he might kill them, I ordered the male kept apart and not allowed near the chicks. Around this time, by way of experimentation, I ordered the servants to let it go near the chicks to see whether it was affectionate or not. It showed great love and affection, no less than the female, so it was obvious that its action had been affectionate.

On Sunday the fourteenth [September 26] I went hunting with a leopard, and it caught fifteen antelope bucks and does. I had ordered Mirza Rustam and his son Suhrab Khan to go nilgai hunting and shoot as many as they could. Father and son together shot seven.

Since I had been told that there was a man-eating tiger in the vicinity that was harassing the people, **[195b]** I ordered my son Shahjahan to eliminate the menace. He shot it as ordered and brought it to show me that night. I ordered it skinned in my presence. Although it looked large, it was actually skinny and weighed less than large tigers I had shot myself.

On Monday the fifteenth and Tuesday the sixteenth [September 27–28] I went nilgai hunting and shot two nilgais each day.

On Thursday the eighteenth [September 30] a wine party was held on the shore of the tank where camp had been pitched. There were beautiful lotus flowers in bloom on the surface of the water. Elite servants were made happy with goblets of joy. Jahangir-Quli Khan had sent twenty elephants from Bihar, and Muruwwat Khan had sent eight from Bengal. They were shown to me. One of Jahangir-Quli Khan's elephants and two of Muruwwat Khan's were put in the royal stable. The rest were divided up among their sons. Mir Abu'l-Qasim Namakin's son Mir Khan, a khanazad of this court, was promoted to the rank of 800/600. Qiyam Khan was assigned to the post of head scout and given the rank of 600/150. Izzat Khan, a Barha sayyid who was very brave and valiant and had been assigned to Bangash, was promoted to the rank of 1500/800 at the request of Mahabat Khan, the governor of that souba. Kifayat Khan, the divan of Gujarat, was given an elephant and dismissed. I gave Safi Khan, the bakhshi of the same souba, a sword.

On Friday the nineteenth [October 1] I went hunting and shot a nilgai buck. I don't ever remember a musket ball going straight through a nilgai buck before, although it has happened many times with does. **[196a]** On this date, although it was a distance of forty-five feet, the ball went clean through both sides. A "foot," in the parlance of hunters, means two feet placed one directly in front of the other.

On [Sun]day the twenty-first [October 3] I enjoyed hunting with hawks and falcons. I ordered Mirza Rustam Khan, Darab Khan, the Mirmiran, and others to shoot as many nilgais as they could. They got nineteen bucks and does and brought down ten antelopes of various types with leopards.

At the Khankhanan Sipahsalar's request, Ibrahim-Husayn, the bakhshi of the Deccan, was promoted to the rank of 1000/200.

On Monday the twenty-second [October 4] we marched, and on Tuesday the twenty-third [October 5] we marched again. The scouts reported that a lioness had been spotted in the vicinity with three cubs. Since it was near the road, I went myself to hunt it down. I shot all four of them with a musket.

From there I went to the next stopping place, crossing the bridge that had been constructed over the Mahi River. Although there were no boats on the river from which to make a bridge, and the water was extremely deep and swift, thanks to the efforts of Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan the mirbakhshi, in three days a very strong bridge 140 cubits long had been made. To test it out, I ordered them to make my personal elephant Gun Sundar, a massive elephant, cross the bridge with three female elephants. It was so strong that the supports did not shake even under the weight of such huge elephants.

Akbar's "Mad" Elephant

I used to hear His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani tell the following story. "One day in the full bloom of youth, having drunk two or three bowls of wine, I got on a must elephant. Although I was sober and the elephant was very easy to handle and responded well to my will, I pretended that I was dead drunk and that the elephant was uncontrollable and drove it toward the people.

"Then I called for another elephant and set the two to a bout. Fighting madly, the two elephants rushed toward the bridge over the Jumna. By chance, the other elephant broke away, but since there was no other way for it to go, it headed toward the bridge, and the elephant I was on also went after it. Although it was fully under my control and

would have stopped if I had so motioned, I thought that if I checked it from going over the bridge, [**196b**] the people would know that my drunken actions were a pretense, and it would be obvious that neither was I drunk nor was the elephant out of control, and such actions are unsuitable for kings. Therefore, asking for God's help and assistance, I did not stop my elephant from pursuing the other one, and both set off across the bridge. Since the bridge was made of boats, every time it put one of its feet on the edge of a boat, one end went into the water and the other came out. At every step I thought the boats were going to break apart. Seeing this, the people were about to go mad with worry. However, since God's protection has been with me in every place and at every time, both elephants crossed the bridge safely."

On Thursday the twenty-fifth [October 7] a wine party was held on the banks of the Mahi River, and several elite servants who have admittance to this type of party and celebration were given brimful goblets and had their hearts' desires fulfilled. Without exaggeration, it was an extremely pleasant spot. We stayed there four days for two reasons. One was the pleasantness of the site, and the other was so that the people could cross without fear.

On Sunday the twenty-eighth [October 10] we decamped from the banks of the Mahi. On Monday we marched again.

The Saga of the Cranes, Continued

On this day a strange sight was seen. The pair of cranes that had produced young had been brought from Ahmadabad on Thursday and left to wander around with their chicks in the courtyard of the palace beside the tank. As it happened both the male and female made cries and a pair of wild saras cranes heard them and cried out from the other side of the tank. Then they flew over and the male began to fight with the male and the female with the female. Although several people were standing around, they paid not the slightest attention to them. The eunuchs who were in charge of the cranes ran forward to catch the wild ones, and one of the eunuchs seized the male and another the female. The one who had seized the male managed to keep a struggling hold on it, while the one who had caught the female couldn't hold her, and she escaped his grasp. With my own hand I put rings in their noses and on their feet and turned them loose. They both returned to their place and quieted down. However, every time the tame cranes cried out, the others cried out in answer.

Something similar was once seen in a wild antelope. I had gone hunting in the pargana of Karnal, [**197a**] and there were around thirty persons with me, huntsmen and servants. A black buck antelope came into view along with several does, and we set out a decoy antelope to fight with it. They butted horns two or three times, and the decoy turned around and came back toward us. We wanted to fasten a *phana* on the decoy's horns and put it back out again so that the other one would get tangled in it.[17] Just then the wild antelope, in a territorial rage, disregarded the men and came charging, butted horns two or three times with the decoy antelope, and disappeared.

The Death of Inayat Khan

On this date news came of the death of Inayat Khan. He was one of my closest servants and subjects. In addition to eating opium he also drank wine when he had the chance. Little by little he became obsessed with wine, and since he had a weak frame, he drank more than his body could tolerate and was afflicted with diarrhea. While so

17. The *phana* is a weighted cord attached to a decoy antelope's antlers that gets tangled in a wild antelope's antlers and locks the two together. This method of catching antelopes is described by Babur, *Baburnama*, folio 276b.



THE DYING INAYAT KHAN. India, Mughal period, ca. 1618. Ink and light color on paper. 9.5 x 13.3 cm. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 14.679

weakened he was overcome two or three times by something like epileptic fits. By my order Hakim Rukna treated him, but no matter what he did it was to no avail. In addition, Inayat Khan developed a ravenous appetite, and although the doctor insisted that he not eat more than once a day, he couldn't restrain himself and raged like a madman. Finally he developed cachexia and dropsy and grew terribly thin and weak.

Several days prior to this he requested that he be taken ahead to Agra. I ordered him brought to me to be given leave to depart. He was put in a palanquin and brought. He looked incredibly weak and thin. "Skin stretched over bone." Even his bones had begun to disintegrate. Whereas painters employ great exaggeration when they depict skinny people, nothing remotely resembling him had ever been seen. Good God! how can a human being remain alive in this shape? The following two lines of poetry are appropriate to the situation: **[197b]** "If my shadow doesn't hold my leg, I won't be able to stand until Doomsday. / My sigh sees my heart so weak that it rests a while on my lip."

It was so strange I ordered the artists to draw his likeness. At any rate, I found him so changed that I said, "At this time you mustn't draw a single breath without remembrance of God, and don't despair of His graciousness. If death grants you quarter, it should be regarded as a reprieve and means for atonement. If your term of life is up, every breath taken with remembrance of Him is a golden opportunity. Do not occupy your mind or worry about those you leave behind, for with us the slightest claim through service is much." Since his distress had been reported to me, I gave him a thousand rupees for traveling expenses and gave him leave to depart. He died the second day.

On Tuesday the thirtieth [October 12] the imperial camp was pitched beside the Manab River.[18] The party for Thursday the second of Aban [October 14] was held at this station. Mahabat Khan's son Amanullah was promoted to the rank of 1000/800. Rai Sal's son Gridhr was also awarded the rank of 1000/800. Khan A'zam's son Abdullah Khan was promoted by 1000/300. I awarded Diler Khan, a jagirdar in the souba of Gujarat, a horse and an elephant. Shahbaz Khan Kambo's son Rambaz Khan came as ordered from the Deccan, was made bakhshi and reporter for the Bangash army, and received the rank of 800/400.

18. This is probably the Panam River. Here the name in the text occurs as "Manab"; before (page 255) it was "Bayab."

On Friday the third [October 15] I decamped. At this stage Prince Shuja', my son Shahjahan's darling son who had been brought up under Nurjahan Begam's protection and of whom I am inordinately fond, **[198a]** came down with a childhood illness called infantile epilepsy. He was unconscious for a long time. No matter what treatments and remedies those with experience tried, they did no good, and his unconsciousness robbed me of my consciousness. Since obviously nothing but hopelessness was being gained from material medication, I rubbed my forehead in humility and supplication before the divine court and asked for him to be restored to health.

In this state it occurred to me that inasmuch as I had promised God to stop shooting animals and not to harm any living thing with my own hand after completing my fiftieth year, if I ceased this activity as of this date with an intention for Shuja"s recovery, his life might possibly be the means for saving a number of animals. God answered my prayer. In short, I made a solemn and honest undertaking with God that henceforth I would not harm any living thing with my own hand, and through divine grace the child's illness disappeared.

When I was in my mother's womb, one day there was no trace of the movement infants make inside the womb. Upset and in a dither, the nurses reported the situation to His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. At that time my father used to hunt constantly with leopards. Since it was a Friday, he vowed that if I was safe and sound he would never hunt with leopards again on a Friday so long as he lived. Until the end of his life he remained constant to his pledge. I have also followed his example and have never hunted with leopards on Fridays. Anyway, we remained at this station for three days on account of my darling Shah-Shuja"s illness. I hope that God will grant him a natural life span.

On Tuesday the seventh [October 19] we decamped. **[198b]** One day Hakim Ali's son was praising camel's milk. It occurred to me that if I drank it for a few days it might be beneficial and agree with my constitution. Asaf Khan had a female camel that was giving milk. I tried a little of it. Unlike other camels' milk, which is not without saltiness, I found it to be sweet and palatable. I have been drinking a bowl of it, which is half a water cup, every day for around a month. The obvious benefit is the elimination

of thirst. Oddly, Asaf Khan bought this camel two years ago, and in all that time it has neither calved nor had any milk at all. Only recently, by chance, has milk flowed from its udders. Every day it is given four seers of cow's milk, five seers of wheat, one seer of black sugar, and one seer of fennel to make its milk tasty and beneficial. Without exaggeration, I find it rather delicious. For the sake of experimentation I called for some cow's milk and some ox's milk and then tried all three. In sweetness and palatability this camel's milk was beyond comparison. I ordered several other female camels fed the same diet to find out whether the palatability comes from the refined food or whether it is just this camel's milk that is sweet.

On Wednesday the eighth [October 20] I decamped. On Thursday the ninth [October 21] a halt was observed. The royal tent was pitched next to a large tank. My son Shahjahan presented me with a boat of Kashmiri design with a silver seat. I got into it toward the end of the day and took a tour of the lake.

This day Abid Khan, the bakhshi of Bangash who had been summoned to court, attained the felicity of paying homage and was assigned the post of divan of the imperial workshops. Sarafraz Khan, an auxiliary to Gujarat, was given a royal topchaq horse and an elephant and allowed to depart. Izzat Khan, who was assigned to the Bangash army, was awarded a banner. **[199a]**

We decamped on Friday the tenth [October 22]. The Mirmiran was promoted to the rank of 2000/600.

On Saturday the eleventh [October 23] the imperial retinue arrived in the pargana of Dohad.

The Birth of Prince Awrangzeb

On the eve of Sunday the twelfth of Aban of the thirteenth regnal year, corresponding to the fifteenth of Dhu'l-Qa'da 1027 of the Hegira [October 24, 1618], under an ascendant in the nineteenth degree of Libra, the Divine bestowed upon my fortunate son Shahjahan by Asaf Khan's daughter a dear son. It is hoped that his advent will prove fortunate and auspicious to this eternal dynasty.

We halted at that station for three days. On Wednesday the fifteenth [October 27] we stopped in the village of Samarna. It was a rule that insofar as possible the Thursday party should be held next to water or other pleasant spot, but there was no place worthy in the vicinity. There was nothing else to do but start riding again around midnight of the eve of Thursday the sixteenth, and by dawn we dismounted next to the tank at Bhagor. At the end of the day a drinking party was held, and several of my intimate servants were given wine bowls.

On Friday the seventeenth [October 29] I marched. Keshav Das Maru, the jagir of the area, had come as ordered from the Deccan and paid homage.

On Saturday the eighteenth [October 30] camp was made in the vicinity of Ramgadh.

Strange Celestial Phenomena

Several nights prior to that, three gharis before sunup, smoky vapor in the shape of a pillar appeared in the air, and it reappeared every evening one ghari before nightfall. When it appeared in full it looked like a spear, thin on both ends and thick in the middle, and curved like a sickle with its back to the south and its head to the north. Now it has been appearing one watch before dawn. The astronomers and

astrologers have measured it with their astrolabes and ascertained by parallax that it extends twenty-four celestial degrees and is moving with the Prime Sphere,[19] the proper motion of which is apparent in it too, **[199b]** for it was originally in the constellation of Scorpio but has reached the constellation of Libra. Its lateral motion is more toward the south. Experts in the science of the stars have called this sort of thing a *harba* [spear] and have written that its appearance indicates a weakness among the kings of the Arabs and domination of them by their enemies. God only knows.

Until the date mentioned above, after this sign had been appearing for sixteen nights, a star appeared in the same direction that had a bright head and a tail two or three ells long, although there was absolutely no brightness or brilliance in the tail. It has been appearing now for nearly eight nights. It will be recorded when it goes out, and whatever influences or effects it may have will also be written about.

19. The motion of the Prime Sphere is the observable constant motion of the fixed stars.

On Sunday the nineteenth [October 31] a halt was observed. On Monday I stopped in the village of Semalkhera.

On Tuesday the twenty-first [November 2] another halt was observed. A robe of honor and an elephant were awarded to Rashid Khan Afghan and sent with Rambaz Khan.

On Wednesday the twenty-second [November 3] imperial camp was made in the pargana of Badnawar.[20]

On Thursday the twenty-third [November 4] we halted, and a wine party was held. Darab Khan was given a nadiri dress of honor.

On Friday we halted.

On Saturday the twenty-fifth [November 6] camp was made in the pargana of Nolai [?].

On Sunday the twenty-sixth [November 7] I dismounted on the banks of the Chambal River.

On Monday the twenty-seventh [November 8] we stopped on the banks of the Gambhir River.

On Tuesday the twenty-eighth [November 9] the imperial banners reached the outskirts of the town of Ujjain. From Ahmadabad to Ujjain the distance of ninety-eight kos was covered in twenty-eight marches and forty-one halts over a period of two months and nine days.

On Wednesday the twenty-ninth [November 10] I held a conversation with Jadrup, a Hindu ascetic about whom details have already been given,[21] and I went to tour the sights of Kaliadeh. Without exaggeration his company was a real opportunity not to be missed.

20. Emending the text's meaningless *MDNPWR* with the identifiable *BDNWR* (Badnawar).

21. Page 209

An Infestation of Mice in Kandahar

On this date it was learned from the contents of a report from Bahadur Khan, the governor of Kandahar, **[200a]** that in the year 1026, which was last year, there were so many mice in Kandahar and environs that all the crops, cultivated grains, and fruit of the province were destroyed. Before the crops were reaped the mice cut the stalks and ate them. When the ryots piled their crops in stacks for threshing and winnowing, another half was lost. Maybe a quarter of the crops was actually brought in. There was similarly no trace left of melon patches or orchards. With the passage of time the mice went away and disappeared.

A Birthday Celebration for Prince Awrangzeb

Since my son Shahjahan had not had a celebration for the birth of his son and Ujjain was one of his jagirs, he requested that the Thursday party on the thirtieth [November 11] be held in his quarters. Of course I granted his request and spent the day pleasurably and enjoyably in his quarters. Those special servants who are admitted to this kind of entertainment were made happy with brimful bowls. My son Shahjahan showed me the newborn child; presented trays of gems and jeweled items and fifty elephants, thirty male and twenty female; and requested a name for the child. God willing, he will be named at an auspicious hour. Seven of the elephants he presented were sent to the royal stable, and the rest were divided up among the garrison commanders. The total worth of what was accepted would be two lacs of rupees.

On this day Azududdawla came from his jagir and paid homage. He presented eighty-one mohurs as a vow and an elephant as a gift. I had summoned to court Qasim Khan, who had been replaced as governor of Bengal. [**200b**] He arrived at court and presented a thousand mohurs.

On Friday the first of Azar [November 12] I amused myself by going hunting with hawks and falcons. While out riding I came across a field of *juwar* [Indian millet]. Although a stem usually gives only one spike, I spied three that had twelve spikes. This provoked my amazement, and at once I remembered the story of the king and the gardener.

The Story of the King and the Gardener

Once upon a time when it was hot a king came to the gate of an orchard. Seeing an old gardener standing at the gate, he asked, "Are there any pomegranates in this orchard?"

"There are," he replied. The king ordered him to bring a cup of pomegranate juice. The gardener had a daughter who was adorned both by beauty of form and by good conduct. He motioned to her to bring some pomegranate juice. The girl went and at once returned, bringing a cup full of pomegranate juice covered with several leaves. The king took it from her and drank it down. Then he asked the girl, "What was the reason for putting the leaves over the juice?"

The girl replied eloquently, "In such hot weather to come riding drenched in sweat and gulp down juice in an instant is contrary to wisdom. Therefore, as a precaution, I placed the leaves over the cup so that you would drink it slowly and carefully."

The king was highly pleased by this nice speech and thought to enter the girl among the servants in his harem. He asked the gardener, "What is your annual income from this orchard?"

"Three hundred dinars," he said.

"What do you give to the administration?" he asked

"The king doesn't take anything for fruit," he replied, "but he takes a tenth on sown crops."

The king then thought to himself, saying, "There are many orchards and countless trees in my realm. If they were to give a tenth from the produce of orchards too, it would amount to a huge sum, and the peasants wouldn't have such an excess. I will order a tax to be taken on the produce of orchards too." [**201a**] Then he asked for another cup of pomegranate juice. The girl went, and after a long time she came back with a cup.

"The last time you went," said the king, "you came right back and brought more. This time it took you longer and you brought less."

"The other time I filled the cup brimful with the juice of one pomegranate," she said. "This time I had to squeeze five or six pomegranates, and still I didn't get as much juice."

The king was perplexed. Then the gardener said, "The prosperity of the crop is due to the good intention of the king. I think you must be the king. When you asked me what the income of my orchard was, your intention was otherwise than good. As a consequence the fruit lost its blessedness."

The king had a change of heart and put his new idea out of his mind. Then he said, "Bring me one more cup of pomegranate juice." The girl went and quickly brought out the cup overflowing and gave it to the king, smiling and happy. The king praised the gardener's perspicacity and told him the truth of the situation. Then he asked for the girl's hand in marriage. This story of the truth-perceiving king has remained on the pages of time.

In short, the appearance of such things are due to good intentions and the fruits of justice. Whenever a just and equitable monarch's mind and intention are focused upon the people's welfare and the peasants' prosperity, the blessings of good crops and produce are innumerable. Praise God that in this eternal empire it has never been and is still not customary to collect a tax on the produce of trees. Throughout this well-protected realm, not a dam or a grain enters the imperial treasury or the supreme administration by this means. Rather, it is ordered that anyone who builds an orchard on cultivated land be exempt from tax on the produce. It is hoped that God will keep this supplicant firm in his resolve to do good. "If my intention is charitable, thou givest me good."

Another Conversation with Jadrup

On Saturday the second [November 13] I had a great yearning to converse with Jadrup again. After performing my noontime devotions I got in a boat to go see him. Toward the end of the day I hastened into his corner of retirement and talked with him. [201b] I heard many lofty statements about gnostic truths, and he explained the fundamentals of mysticism without obfuscation. One can really enjoy his company. He is over sixty years old. He was twenty-two years old when he severed his ties to material things and set out on the highway of renunciation, and he has been in the "garb of garblessness" for thirty-eight years now. As I was leaving he said, "How can I express my gratitude for this God-given occasion? I have been occupied worshiping my deity with ease of mind and freedom from concern during the reign of such a just monarch, and never has any worry come to my doorstep."

On Sunday the third [November 14] we decamped from Kaliadeh and dismounted in the village of Qasimkhera. Along the way I occupied myself hunting with hawks and falcons. By chance a *karwanak* crane took flight. I sent a white hawk of which I am extremely fond after it. The crane escaped its clutches, and the hawk rose into the air and went so high that it disappeared from view. No matter how hard or far the scouts and falconers searched, they found no trace. It seemed absurd to think that the hawk could be recovered in such a plain. Lashkar Mir Kashmiri, the chief of the Kashmiri falconers, was in charge of the said bird. He was searching for it frantically all over the plain when suddenly it appeared far away in a tree. When he approached, he found the hawk sitting on the end of a branch. He showed it a chicken and summoned it. Not three gharis had passed before he had captured it and brought it to me. This was a gift

from out of the blue that no one had expected, and it made me very happy. As a reward for this service I increased his rank and gave him a horse and a robe of honor.

On Monday the fourth, Tuesday the fifth, Wednesday the sixth, and Thursday the seventh [November 15–18] we marched continuously.

On Thursday the seventh [November 18] we halted and held a party beside a tank. Nurjahan Begam had an illness from which she had been suffering for a long time. The physicians who were appointed to attend her, both Muslims and Hindus, had tried several remedies, but they hadn't done any good and they admitted their inability to treat her. **[202a]** Around this time, when Hakim Ruhullah took up the treatment, with God's assistance she recovered completely within a short time. As a reward for this worthy service I promoted the physician to a suitable rank and gave him a village to own outright in his homeland. I also ordered him weighed against silver and the amount given him as a gratuity.

We marched consecutively from Friday the eighth [November 19] until the next Wednesday, and every day I occupied myself hunting with hawks and falcons until we reached the camp site. They got a lot of quail.

Last Sunday, Rana Amar Singh's son Kunwar Karan attained the honor of kissing the imperial ground and offering congratulations for the conquest in the Deccan. He presented a hundred mohurs and a thousand rupees as a vow and about twenty-one thousand rupees in jeweled items and several horses and elephants as tribute. I gave him back the horses and elephants but accepted the rest. The next day I gave him a robe of honor. An elephant was given to Mir Sharaf, Qutbulmulk's representative, and Iradat Khan the chief steward was also given an elephant. Sayyid Hizhabr Khan was appointed commander of the garrison at Mewat and promoted to the rank of 1000/500. I assigned Sayyid Mubarak to be castellan of the Rohtas fortress and promoted him to the rank of 500/200.

On Thursday the fourteenth [November 25] we stopped beside the tank in the village of Sandhara and held a wine party at which my particular servants were made happy on goblets of joy. The hunting birds that had been left in Agra to molt were brought on this day and shown to me by Khwaja Abdul-Latif the head falcon keeper. The ones that were worthy of my personal establishment were chosen, and the rest were given away to the amirs and other servants.

Suraj Mal's Rebellion and Disloyalty

On this date news of Raja Baso's son Suraj Mal's treacherous rebellion reached my ears. **[202b]** Raja Baso had three sons. Although Suraj Mal was the eldest, his father always kept him confined and under guard because of his malevolence and rebelliousness and was constantly displeased by and disappointed in him. After the raja's death, since the wretch was the eldest and there were no other capable sons, and in view of the rights of service accumulated by Raja Baso, in order to maintain the continuity of the holdings and to protect the land I awarded the wretch the title of raja, gave him the rank of 2000, and allowed him his father's jagir, which had been acquired through loyal service, along with the vast amounts of cash and goods that had been stored up over the years.

When the late Murtaza Khan was assigned the service of conquering Kangra, because this wretch [Suraj Mal] was the major landholder in those hills, and outwardly he pledged to perform loyally, he was assigned to assist the khan. When Murtaza Khan had reached his destination and laid close siege to the fortress, this malefactor, realizing from the situation that the fortress would soon be taken, began to be

uncooperative and cause trouble. Revealing his malice, he provoked strife and dissention among the khan's men. Murtaza Khan, reading signs of trouble in him, lodged a complaint against him with the court. In fact, he wrote frankly that "signs of rebelliousness and disloyalty are clear in him."

Now, because a high-ranking commander such as Murtaza Khan had a huge army in the hill country, Suraj Mal did not find the time ripe for fomenting rebellion and therefore sent a letter to my son Shahjahan, saying, "Murtaza Khan has been provoked by self-interested parties to turn against me and is trying to ruin me and throw me over by accusing me of disloyalty and rebellion. [**203a**] It is hoped that you will save me and have me summoned to court." Although I had absolute confidence in Murtaza Khan's word, nonetheless, since Suraj Mal had requested to be summoned to court, I had a suspicion that Murtaza Khan might have been provoked by troublemakers to accuse him without having made a thorough investigation.

In short, at my son Shahjahan's request I granted him a pardon and summoned him to court. Around the same time Murtaza Khan passed away, and the conquest of the Kangra fortress fell into abeyance until another commander could be dispatched.

When the rebellious Suraj Mal came to court, regarding only his outward conduct, I showed him untold favor and sent him off in Shahjahan's retinue on the Deccan campaign. After the Deccan came under the control of the empire, he outfitted himself in my son's service and undertook to conquer Kangra. Although it was terribly unwise and imprudent to let this ingrate back into the hill country, since my son had taken charge of the campaign, there was nothing I could do but leave Suraj Mal subject to my son's will and order. My son assigned a suitable troop of officers, ahadis, and imperial musketeers to him and to another of his servants, named Taqi.

As has been summarily reported in previous pages, when they reached their destination he began to quarrel with Taqi on any and every pretext, showing his true colors. He continually filed complaints of Taqi at court and even wrote frankly, saying, "I cannot get along with him. This campaign cannot be carried out by him. If another commander is assigned, the conquest of the fortress will be quickly accomplished." My son could only summon Taqi to court and assign Raja Bikramajit, one of his major servants, with a contingent of fresh troops. [**203b**]

Before Bikramajit got there, when the wretch Suraj Mal realized that he wasn't going to get away with much more trickery and deceit, he gave a group of court servants leave to go to their jagirs on the pretext that they had been fighting for a long time and were out of supplies. They were to reequip themselves and be back by the time Bikramajit arrived. Because it looked as though the unity among the imperials had been broken, many went to their estates, leaving only a handful of outstanding men. Seeing his chance, Suraj Mal rebelled openly. Sayyid Safi Barha, an outstandingly brave and valiant warrior, stood firm against him with some of his brothers and kinsmen, but he tasted the dregs of martyrdom. Others who had grave wounds (which are badges of courage for lions of the battlefield) were removed from the field and flung into his prison. Some managed to remove themselves to safety. The wretch then invaded the parganas in the piedmont, most of which were I'timaduddawla's jagirs, and left no stone unturned in pillaging and plundering the area. Soon, God willing, he will be requited for his actions and find out what it means to be disloyal to this empire.

On Sunday the seventeenth [November 28] Ghati Chanda was crossed.

On Monday the eighteenth [November 29] my faithful tutor the Sipahsalar

Khankhanan paid homage. Since he hadn't seen me for a long time and the imperial retinue was passing near the sarkars of Khandesh and Burhanpur, he requested permission to come pay homage. It was ordered that if he felt secure on all fronts he could come unencumbered and return soon. As ordered, he came as quickly as possible and attained the honor of kissing the imperial ground on this day. I honored him with every possible show of princely and regal favor, and he presented a tribute of a thousand mohurs and a thousand rupees as a vow.

Since the camp had great difficulty crossing the *ghati*, **[204a]** I ordered a halt on Tuesday the nineteenth [November 30] for the benefit of the people.

On Wednesday the twentieth [December 1] we marched and halted again on Thursday the twenty-first. A wine party was held next to the river known as the Sind.[22] I gave the Khankhanan a royal steed named Sumer, one of my finest horses. In the language of the people of India *sumer* is a mountain of gold. I had named the horse this because of its color and large body.

22. The Sind is a small river that flows east of Gwalior and joins the Chambal before it empties into the Jumna. On a route from Ujjain to Ranthambhor, Jahangir must have crossed the Kali Sindh River, not the Sind.

On Friday the twenty-second and Saturday the twenty-third [December 3–4] we made consecutive marches. On this day we saw an amazing waterfall. Extremely pure water tumbles down with a roar from a high place, and all around are naturally formed places to sit. Without exaggeration, no such beautiful waterfall has been seen in this vicinity. It is certainly a rare site of natural beauty. I enjoyed watching it for a while.

On Sunday the twenty-fourth [December 5] a halt was observed. I got into a boat on the tank next to where the royal tent had been pitched and went hunting waterfowl.

On Monday the twenty-fifth, Tuesday the twenty-sixth, and Wednesday the twenty-seventh [December 6–8] we made consecutive marches. I gave the Khankhanan a fur I was wearing, and I also awarded my old tutor seven horses from the royal stables, each of which I had ridden myself.

On Sunday the second of Day [December 12] the imperial banners reached the fortress of Ranthambhor.

The Ranthambhor Fortress

Ranthambhor is one of the greatest of the Hindus' strongholds. During the time of Sultan Ala'uddin Khalji, Rai Pitambar[23] Deo held it, and the sultan besieged it for a long time and took it only with the greatest of difficulty. At the beginning of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign Rai Surjan Hada held it, and he always had six or seven thousand cavalrymen in attendance. With God's assistance His Majesty conquered it in one month and twelve days, **[204b]** and Rai Surjan surrendered and allied himself to the empire, and became one of the great amirs. After him his son Rai Bhoj was also a great amir. At present his grandson Sarbulandi Rai is a great servant of the court.

23. Reading *PTMBR* (Pitambar) for the text's meaningless *HMYR*.

On Monday the third [December 13] I went out to tour the fortress. There are two hills situated opposite each other. One is called Ran, and the other, Thambhor. The fortress is on top of Thambhor, and the two names have been put together to make Ranthambhor. In addition to the fact that the fortress is remarkably strong and has an abundant water supply, Ran Hill is a very strong bastion, and the fortress can be taken only from that direction. My exalted father ordered cannons placed on the top of Ran Hill and aimed at the buildings inside the fortress. The first cannonball shot landed on a pavilion in Rai Surjan's palace. When that building collapsed, his confidence was undermined and, overwhelmed by great fear, he realized that his only salvation lay in

surrendering the fortress, and therefore he rubbed the forehead of obedience and humility in apology at the court of the all-forgiving monarch.

In short, I thought I would spend the night up in the fortress and return to camp the next day. However, since the buildings inside the fortress were all in the Indian style, with airless, cramped rooms, I didn't want to spend even one night there. I spied a bathhouse that one of Rustam Khan's liege men had built against the fortress wall and a small garden with a terrace overlooking the valley. It wasn't bad at all. In all the fortress there was no better spot. Rustam Khan was one of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's amirs who had been brought up from childhood in His Majesty's service and was very intimate with him. His Majesty trusted him so much he turned the fortress over to him. **[205a]**

After I had finished touring the fortress and its quarters, I ordered the criminals who were imprisoned there to be brought to me so that I could investigate the condition of each and render a just decision. Aside from murderers and those whose release would occasion sedition in the realm, I freed them all and gave each a grant and robe of honor in accordance with his station.

On the eve of Tuesday the fourth [December 14] I returned to my palace tent after one watch and three gharis.

On Wednesday the fifth [December 15] we traveled nearly five kos.

On Thursday the sixth [December 16] we halted. On this day the Khankhanan showed me his offering. The gems, jeweled items, textiles, and elephants I liked I accepted. I gave him back the rest. In all what was accepted was worth a hundred fifty thousand rupees.



PRINCE WITH A FALCON. India, Mughal period, 1600–1605. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. 14.3 x 8.6 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, from the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase. M.83.1.4

On Friday the seventh [December 17] we marched five kos. Saras cranes had been hunted with hawks previously, but I hadn't seen hawks hunt storks. Since my son Shahjahan greatly loves hawking and his hawks were well trained, at his request I mounted early in the morning and got a stork myself. Another was brought down by the hawk my son held. Without exaggeration, it was a very, very fine hunt. I really, really enjoyed it. The saras crane may be a large bird, but it is very weak and ungainly at flying. There is no comparison with hunting a stork. What a wonderful bird the hawk is to be able to catch such a massive bird and bring it down with its talons. Hasan Khan, my son's falcon keeper, was rewarded for this hunt with an elephant, a horse, and a robe of honor. His son was also given a horse and a robe. **[205b]**

On Saturday the eighth [December 18] we marched four and a quarter kos.

On Sunday the ninth [December 19] we halted again. On this day the Sipahsalar Khankhanan was awarded a royal robe of honor, a jeweled girth sword, and a royal elephant with trappings and was given leave to return to his governorship in Khandesh and the Deccan. He was also promoted to the rank of 7000/7000. Since he couldn't get along with Lashkar Khan, at his request I assigned Abid Khan, the divan of the imperial workshops, as his divan and promoted him to the rank of 1000/400 with the gift of an elephant and a robe of honor. On this same day Khan Dawran came from Kabul and paid homage, presenting a thousand mohurs and a thousand rupees as a vow and a pearl rosary, fifty horses, ten male and female camels, several gaming birds, Chinese porcelain, and other things.

On Monday the tenth [December 20] we went three and a quarter kos, and on Tuesday the eleventh we went five and three-quarters kos. On this day Khan Dawran paraded his men for me. He had two thousand Moghul horsemen, most of whose horses were Turkish. There were also a few Persian horses and some of mixed blood. Although his army had been disbanded, some had joined Mahabat Khan and remained in the souba, and others had taken leave of him in Lahore and dispersed throughout the realm, he still showed a very well-horsed cavalry. Without exaggeration, Khan Dawran is among the unique of the age in bravery, valor, and ability to hold a troop together. It's a pity he is a decrepit old man. He suffers from old age, and his eyesight has become very weak. He has two young sons who are fairly reasonable, but to live up to Khan Dawran is a very difficult task. **[206a]** On this day I awarded the khan and his sons robes of honor.

On Wednesday the twelfth [December 22] we traversed three and a half kos and stopped next to the tank at Hindaun.[24] In the middle of the lake is a stone terrace. On one of the columns somebody had written the following quatrain. When I saw it I sat up and took notice. It is truly a fine piece of poetry. "For some we loved, the loveliest and the best / That from his Vintage rolling Time hath prest, / Have drunk their Cup a Round or two before, / And one by one crept silently to rest."[25]

Around this time I heard another quatrain something like this one. Since it was well composed, I copied it too. "Alas, the people of wisdom and good sense have departed / And been forgotten by their companions. / Those who spake a hundred languages, / I wonder what they heard that they fell silent?"

On Thursday the thirteenth [December 23] we halted. Abdul-Aziz Khan came from the souba of Bangash and paid homage. Ikram Khan, who had been assigned as garrison commander in Fatehpur, also paid homage. Khwaja Ibrahim-Husayn, the bakhshi of the Deccan, was awarded the title of Aqidat Khan. Mir Hajj, an auxiliary to the above-mentioned souba and a proven brave warrior, was awarded the title of Sharza Khan and given a banner.

On Friday the fourteenth [December 24] we marched five and a quarter kos.

On Saturday the fifteenth [December 25] we traveled three kos and stopped outside of Bayana. I went with the ladies of the harem to see the view from the top of the fortress.

The Fortress at Bayana

Muhammad, His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun]'s bakhshi who was in charge of this stronghold, built quarters here that overlook the plain. It is very high up and has splendid air. The shrine of Shaykh Bahlul is also located nearby and is not without blessedness. Shaykh Bahlul was Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws's elder brother and was miraculous in the science of calling upon the divine names. Jannat-Ashyani had a remarkable affection for and absolute belief in him.

After His Majesty [Humayun] conquered the province of Bengal he remained there for a while. By his command, Mirza Hindal had remained behind in Agra. **[206b]** A group of avaricious servants who were naturally disposed to sedition and rebellion proved disloyal and left Bengal to go to the mirza. They provoked the mirza's own seditious tendencies and led him into all sorts of rebelliousness, ingratitude, and disloyalty. The wretched mirza had the *khutba* read in his own name, thereby publicly announcing his insurrection.[26] When the situation was reported to His Majesty, he sent Shaykh Bahlul to advise Mirza Hindal, turn him away from that wayward path, and bring him back onto the highway of loyalty and cooperation. The troublemakers,

24. "Mandu" in the text, but it cannot be right. It is probably a miscopying of Hindaun, the location of which agrees with the distance given to Bayana.

25. Translation by Edward Fitzgerald, Quatrain 22 of the fifth edition of the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*.

26. The *khutba* is part of the Friday congregational prayer in which the name of the ruler is mentioned. Having one's name substituted in the *khutba* for that of one's overlord was a common and unmistakable method of announcing rebellion.

however, had made the taste of ruling so sweet to the mirza's palate that he refused to listen to reason or cooperate. Instigated by the troublemakers, he impudently martyred Shaykh Bahlul in front of the garden His Majesty Firdaws-Makani Babur Padishah had built on the banks of the Jumna. Since Muhammad Bakhshi was a disciple of the shaykh, he carried his body to the fortress at Bayana and buried it there.

On Sunday the sixteenth [December 26] we covered four and a half kos and stopped in the village of Bar[madh Mat]a. Since the garden and step well that had been built by order of Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani in the pargana of Chausath was on the way, I went to see it. Without exaggeration, the stepwell is a fine structure and beautifully built. We ascertained from the officials that twenty thousand rupees had been spent on it.

There being much game in the area, on Monday the seventeenth [December 27] I ordered a halt.

On Tuesday the eighteenth [December 28] we went three and a quarter kos and stopped in the village of Dapramau.[27]

On Saturday the nineteenth [December 29] we covered two and a half kos and stopped beside the tank in Fatehpur. **[207a]** Since the names of the stopping places between Ranthambhor and Ujjain and the distances were recorded when I set out for the conquest of the Deccan,[28] it wasn't thought necessary to repeat them here. From Ahmadabad to Fatehpur,[29] the way we came, was a distance of 234 kos, done in 63 marches and 56 halts in a total of 119 days. By solar calculation it was four months less one day; by lunar calculation it was four full months. From the date the imperial retinue set out from the capital to triumph over the Rana and conquer the land of the Deccan until now, when we have once again returned to the center of the realm, it has been five years and four months.

The astronomers and astrologers had chosen Thursday the twenty-eighth of Day of the thirteenth regnal year, corresponding to the last day of Muharram of the year 102[8] of the Hegira [January 7, 1619], for entering the capital Agra. However, recently it had been reported that the plague had broken out in the city. Every day nearly a hundred persons more or less were developing buboes in their armpits, in their crotches, or around the base of their necks and dying. This is the third year the plague has come during the winter, although it goes away at the beginning of summer. A strange thing is that during these three years it has spread to all the towns and villages and countryside around Agra, but there has been no trace of it in Fatehpur. Even in Amanabad, which is only two and a half kos from Fatehpur, the people have abandoned their homes in fear of the pestilence and taken refuge in the villages. Considering discretion and precaution necessary, we decided to descend at the auspicious hour in the town of Fatehpur. When the disease had diminished, another hour would be chosen for us to enter the capital, God willing.

The Thursday party on the twentieth [December 30] was held beside the lake in Fatehpur. Since the hour for entering the city was set for the twenty-sixth, it was decided to remain at this stopping place for eight days. I ordered the perimeter of the lake measured. It came to seven kos. At this station Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani, who had become very decrepit, and all the other ladies and inmates of the harem and court servants came out to greet me.

27. No such place located in the Agra vicinity. It may be a miscopying for Chapramau.

28. Pages 273–83.

29. Reading "Ahmadabad" for the text's "Ranthambhor" to accord with sense.

A Report on the Plague in Agra

The late Asaf Khan's daughter, who is in the house of Khan A'zam's son Abdullah, **[207b]** told me a very strange story and insisted that it was true. I found it so strange

that I record it here. She said, "One day I saw a mouse in the courtyard of the house. It was staggering and reeling this way and that as though it were drunk. It was going in all directions and didn't know where it was going. I told one of the maid servants to catch it by the tail and throw it to the cat. The cat leapt up in delight and took the mouse in its mouth, but it put it down at once and made its distaste obvious. Little by little signs of distress and suffering came across its face. The next day it was nearly dead. It occurred to me that it should be dosed with a little antidote. When its mouth was forced open, the inside of its mouth and its tongue looked black. It was in a terrible state for three days, but on the fourth day it came to.

"After that a maid servant got a plague bubo. She had such distress and pain that there was no consoling her. Her color, too, changed to blackish yellow. Then she got a raging fever, and the next day she had uncontrollable vomiting and diarrhea and died. Seven or eight people in the house died in the same manner. Several others had gotten sick when we left the house and came out to the garden. Those who had the illness died there, but nobody else got buboes. In short, within a span of eight or nine days seventeen people died."

She also said, "If those who got buboes asked another for water to drink or to wash themselves, everyone immediately feared contagion. In the end it got so bad that everyone was too afraid to go near anyone else."

On Saturday the twenty-second [January 1, 1619] Khwaja Jahan, who had been stationed to guard Agra, paid homage and presented five hundred mohurs as a vow and four thousand rupees in alms.

On Monday the twenty-fourth [January 3] a royal robe of honor was given to Khwaja Jahan.

Entrance into Fatehpur

On Thursday the twenty-seventh [January 6], after the elapse of four gharis, which is approximately two hours, under an ascendant "to which the calendar was friendly" **[208a]** the victory-emblazoned banners entered the town of Fatehpur under favorable auspices. At the same hour the weighing ceremony of my fortunate son Shahjahan was held, and I had him weighed against gold and other items. His twenty-eighth year by solar calculation was commencing, and it is hoped that he will live a natural life span.

On the same date Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani came from Agra to greet me, and I attained the happiness of waiting upon her. I hope that the shadow of her protection and affection will always be over the head of this supplicant.

Since Islam Khan's son Ikram Khan had performed well as the commander of the garrison in this area, he was promoted to the rank of 1500/1000. Mirza Rustam Safavi's son Suhrab Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/300.

On this day I took a detailed tour of the buildings of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's palace and showed them to my son Shahjahan. Inside the palace had been constructed a large, very pleasant pool of hewn stone called the Kapur Talao [Camphor Pond].[30] It is thirty-six cubits square and four and a half cubits deep. At His Majesty's order the treasurers filled it with copper coins and rupees. It came to 344,846,000 dirhems and 1,679,400 rupees, which makes a total of one crore and three lacs by Hindustani reckoning, or 343,000 tumans by Iranian standards.[31] Those who were thirsty-lipped in the desert of need had their wishes granted from that wellspring of generosity for a long time.

30. Emending the text's *kabutar* (dove) to *kapur* (camphor).

31. Jahangir uses "dirhem" here as equivalent to the dam. 344,846,000 dirhems (8,621,150 rupees) + 1,679,400 rupees = 10,300,550 (one crore, three lacs).

On Sunday the first of Bahman [January 9] a thousand drabs were given to Hafiz Nadi-Ali the singer. Budagh Khan Chakani's son Muhibb-Ali and Abu'l-Qasim Gilani, both of whom had been blinded by the ruler of Iran and sent into exile, had been living in luxury under the shadow of protection of this dynasty for a time. An emolument in accordance with their stations had been fixed for each of them. On this date they came from Agra and paid homage. **[208b]** Each was given a thousand rupees as a gratuity.

The Thursday party on the fifth [January 13] was held in the palace, and particular servants were made happy with cups of joy. Nasrullah, by whom my son Sultan Parvez had sent the elephant Kohdaman to court, was given leave to return. He was given a volume of the *Jahangirnama* and a royal topchaq horse to take to my son.

On Sunday, Rana Amar Singh's son Kunwar Karan was awarded a horse, an elephant, a robe of honor, a jeweled khapwa with a phul-katara, and given leave to return to his jagir. With him a horse was sent for the Rana. On the same day I went out hunting in Amanabad. Since it had been ordered that no one should hunt the antelopes in that territory, the antelopes had multiplied over the last six years, and they were very tame.

On [Thurs]day the twelfth [January 20] I returned to the palace and held the customary wine party.

❁ *His Holiness Shaykh Salim Chishti*

On Thursday night, the eve of Friday the thirteenth [January 21], I went to the holy shrine of Shaykh Salim Chishti, a bit about whose good qualities was recorded in the introduction to this auspicious book,[32] and there I recited the Fatiha.[33] Although producing miracles and supernatural occurrences is displeasing to those chosen of God's court—and in fact they consider it beneath their dignity and try to avoid it—occasionally they produce them involuntarily while in a trance or stupor in order to guide someone. One such event happened before I was born, when Shaykh Salim made His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani hopeful of the birth of me and my two brothers.

32. Page 21.

33. See note 26, page 243.

Another happened one day when His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani asked Shaykh Salim, "How old are you, and when will you be translated to the abode of eternity?" In answer he said, "God—exalted be he—knows all mysteries and hidden things." After much insistence and persistence, he pointed to me and said, "When the prince, either by instruction of a teacher or someone else, memorizes something and speaks it aloud, this will be the sign of our demise." Of course, His Majesty commanded those who were in my service absolutely not to teach me to memorize anything either in prose or poetry. **[209a]**

Two years and seven months passed. One day one of the worthy women who was in the harem and always burned wild rue to keep away the evil eye—and because of this she had access to my quarters and was on the receiving end of my charitable contributions—found me alone. Unaware of the prediction, she taught me this line of poetry: "O God, open the bud of hope and show me a rose from the garden of eternity."[34]

34. The first line of Jami's *Yusuf u Zulaykha* in *Haft awrang*, 578.

I went off to my master and recited the line for him. The master involuntarily leapt up from his place and ran to His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani to tell him of this event. As it happened, that very night traces of a fever appeared [in the shaykh]. The next day he sent someone to His Majesty to ask for Tan Sen Kalawant, an unrivaled singer. Tan Sen went to him and began to sing. After that he sent someone to summon His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, and when His Majesty arrived, he said, "The time of death is here. I bid you farewell." Taking his turban from his head, he placed it on my head and said, "We

have made Sultan Salim our successor and entrust him to God the protector and preserver." His illness lasted a very, very long time, and it became more and more obvious that he was dying. Finally he achieved union with his real beloved.

Shaykh Salim's Tomb Mosque

35. At Fatehpur-Sikri.

One of the greatest monuments built during His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign is this tomb mosque.[35] Without exaggeration, it is a really superb building. There may not be anything like it anywhere. The building is all of very pure stone, and five lacs of rupees from the imperial treasury were spent on it. The cost of the screen around the tomb, the paving under the dome, and the frontal arch of the mosque that Qutbuddin Khan Kükältash provided in marble is over and above that amount. The mosque comprises two large gateways. The one on the south side is extremely high and very ornate. The frontal arch is twelve cubits deep, sixteen wide, and fifty cubits high, [**209b**] with thirty-two steps going up to the entrance. The other gate is lower and faces east. The length of the mosque from east to west, including the thickness of the walls, is 212 cubits. Of this, the maqsura is $25^1/_2$ cubits, the middle dome is 15 by 15 cubits, and the frontal arch is 7 cubits deep, 14 wide, and 25 cubits high. On either side of the large dome is a smaller, 10-by-10-cubit dome. The entire arcade has pillars. The width of the mosque from north to south is 172 cubits. Around the perimeter are 90 arches and 80 chambers. Each chamber is 4 cubits wide and 5 cubits long. Each arch is $7^1/_2$ cubits wide. The courtyard of the mosque, exclusive of the maqsura, pillared halls, and gates, is 1[6]9 cubits long and 143 cubits wide. On top of the pillared halls, gates, and the mosque are built small domes in which candles are placed on nights of urs and holidays, and they are surrounded with cloth of various colors—something like lanterns.

Beneath the mosque courtyard is a cistern that is filled with rainwater. Since Fatehpur has little water, and what water it has is bad, it has to suffice the members of the family and the poor who are constantly living in the mosque until the end of the year.

Opposite the large gateway, to the northeast, is the shaykh's tomb. The diameter of the dome is seven cubits, and around the dome is a marble arcade. In front of that a very elaborate marble screen has been constructed. Opposite the tomb, a short distance to the west, is another dome in which the kinsmen and offspring of the shaykh can rest—like Qutbuddin Khan, Islam Khan, Mu'azzam Khan, and others, all of whom have attained the rank of amir and high office by virtue of their connections to this family and our observance of rights acquired through service. The particular circumstances of each have been mentioned in their proper places. At present Islam Khan's son, who has been entitled Ikram Khan,[36] is the successor, and signs of auspiciousness are apparent in him. [**210a**] I am greatly inclined to take him up for patronage.

36. Page 179.

On Thursday the nineteenth [January 27] I promoted Abdul-Aziz Khan to the rank of 2000/1000 and sent him to conquer the Kangra fortress and reduce the ingrate Suraj Mal to naught. He was also given an elephant, a horse, and a robe of honor. Tursun Bahadur was also assigned to that campaign. I fixed his rank at 1200/450, gave him a horse, and dismissed him.

Since I'timaduddawla's quarters were on the edge of the tank and were said to be an extremely pleasant spot, at his request the party on Thursday the twenty-sixth

[February 3] was held there. This great pillar of my empire went through the rituals of *payandaz* and *peshkash* and arranged a fine gathering.[37] That evening, after partaking of dinner, I returned to my quarters.

On Thursday the third of Isfandarmudh [February 10] Sayyid Abdul-Wahhab Barha, who had performed outstandingly in Gujarat, was promoted to the rank of 1000/500 and awarded the title of Diler Khan.

On Saturday the twelfth [February 19] my retinue went hunting in Amanabad, and I enjoyed the thrill of hunting with the ladies of the harem until [Wednes]day.

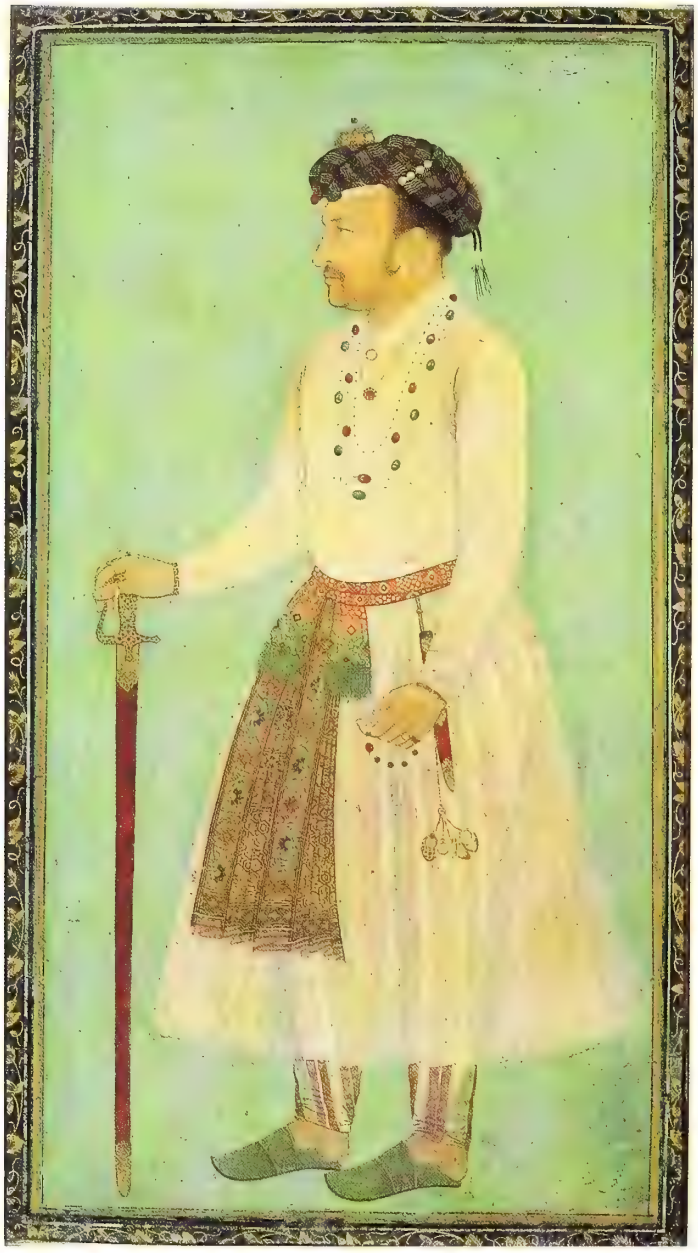
On the eve of Thursday the seventeenth [February 24] I returned to my quarters. By chance, while we were hunting on Tuesday a necklace of pearls and rubies that Nurjahan Begam had around her neck broke; a ruby worth ten thousand rupees and a pearl worth one thousand rupees were lost. No matter how hard the scouts searched on Wednesday, they couldn't find them. It occurred to me that since the name of the day was *gumshamba* [day of loss], it would be impossible to find them on that day. By contrast, since Thursday was *mubarakshamba* [auspicious day], a day that always boded well for me, on that day the scouts located both with little difficulty in the vast plain and brought them to me. **[210b]** Also by chance on the same day the lunar weighing ceremony and the festival of Basant Bari were held and the news arrived of the conquest of the Mau fortress and the defeat of the ill-starred Suraj Mal. The details are as follows.

❁ *The Defeat of Suraj Mal*

When Raja Bikramajit arrived in that region with imperial troops, the wretched Suraj Mal tried to put him off for a few days with ridiculous talk, but the raja knew well what was going on and, paying no attention to him, stepped forward in valor and bravery. His plans undone, Suraj Mal neither had the fortitude to do battle nor had he made provisions for defending his fortress. With just a little skirmishing many of his men were killed and he took flight. His strong bastion, Mau, fell without any difficulty, and the territory he held by heredity from his forefathers was trampled upon by the imperial soldiers. Wandering in the wilderness of error and misfortune, he took refuge in inaccessible ravines, where he sat in wretchedness and misery. Raja Bikramajit also put Suraj Mal's territory behind him and went out in pursuit. When a report reached my ears, I awarded the raja the privilege of drums as a reward for this worthy service. An imperial decree was then issued for the fortress and buildings constructed by Suraj Mal and his father to be razed and no trace left on the face of the earth.

A strange thing is the following. This wretched Suraj Mal had a brother named Jagat Singh. When I gave Suraj Mal the title of raja, made him an amir, and awarded him the land, money, goods, and magnificence without partner, in order to please him I gave Jagat Singh, with whom he didn't get along, a paltry rank and sent him to Bengal. The poor fellow lived a miserable life in a land far from his home, waiting for fortune to strike. **[211a]** Finally he had a stroke of luck, and when his wretched brother caused his own downfall I summoned him to come to court as fast as possible, gave him the title of raja, fixed his rank at 1000/500, awarded him an advance of twenty thousand drabs from the treasury, gave him a jeweled khapwa, a robe of honor, a horse, and an elephant, and sent him to Raja Bikramajit. An imperial decree was also issued saying that if he performed satisfactorily and showed loyalty, he was to be given free rein in his territory.

37. For *payandaz* and *peshkash* see the glossary.



JAHANGIR WITH TIE-DYED PATKA, by Balchand. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor on paper. 18 x 19.2 cm. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. 45.1

Praise of the Nur Manzil garden and the building that had been newly constructed there had been repeatedly heard. On Monday I mounted in anticipation and rode to the Bustan Sara garden.

On Tuesday I spent the day in leisure and enjoyment in that pleasant park, and on Tuesday night the imperial retinue arrived in the Nur Manzil garden.

The Nur Manzil Garden

The garden consists of 330 jaribs in Ilahi ells, and around it is a very strong, high wall of brick and mortar. Inside the garden are fine buildings, an unadorned terrace, and delightful pools. Outside are twelve large wells from which water is continuously drawn by thirty-two pairs of oxen. The main irrigation canal comes down the middle of the garden and feeds the pools. There are also several other wells, the water from which is divided among pools and grassy plots. All sorts of jets and water chutes add to the delight. In the exact center of the garden is a pond that is filled with rainwater, and if occasionally during the hot weather the water level falls, well water is used to keep it full. Around one hundred fifty thousand rupees have been spent so far on this garden and it is still not finished. Vast amounts will have to be spent on constructing avenues and planting trees. It is also planned to dig out the pool in the middle of the garden again and reinforce the entrances and exits of the water so that it will always be full of water **[211b]** and not leak. Possibly two lacs of rupees will have to be spent by the time it is finished.

On Thursday the twenty-fourth [March 3] Khwaja Jahan presented an offering. Gems, jeweled items, textiles, elephants, and horses worth one hundred fifty thousand rupees were accepted, and the rest was given back to him.

I remained in the garden until Saturday. On Sunday the twenty-seventh [March 6] I returned to Fatehpur. It was ordered that, as every year, the amirs should decorate the imperial hall.

On Monday the twenty-eighth [March 7] I had an inflammation in my eyes. Because it was from an excess of blood, I immediately ordered Ali-Akbar the surgeon to bleed me. The benefit was immediately felt, and I experienced complete relief. I awarded him a gratuity of a thousand rupees.

On Tuesday the twenty-ninth [March 8] Muqarrab Khan came from his homeland and paid homage. I showed him all sorts of favor.

The Fourteenth Regnal Year: March 11, 1619–March 9, 1620

The Fourteenth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

On Thursday morning the fourth of Rabi' II 1028 [March 11, 1619] the world-illuminating sun transited into Aries, and the fourteenth year of my reign began auspiciously.

Shahjahan's Offering

On Thursday the first day of Nawroz my son Shahjahan arranged a fine celebration and presented choice rarities and valuables from every region. Among them was a carnelian weighing twenty-two surkhs, of good color, brilliance, and shape. The jewelers valued it at forty thousand rupees. There was also an extremely fine ruby weighing three tanks and also worth forty thousand rupees. There were six pearls, one of which weighed one tank and eight surkhs. [212a] My son's agents in Gujarat had purchased it for twenty-five thousand rupees. The other five pearls were worth thirty-three thousand rupees. There was a diamond worth eighteen thousand rupees, and a jeweled strap with a sword hilt that had been made in my son's own goldsmith shop. Most of the gems had been cut to fit, and my son had paid attention to the minutest detail and improved upon nature. It was worth fifty thousand rupees. Another of my son's improvisations was a set of drums of gold and silver. It was his own invention and had never occurred to anyone before. Without exaggeration, it was splendidly planned. There was a pair of drums in gold for the opening fanfare. All the other instruments necessary for a mighty sovereign's band, like drums, trumpets, clarions, et cetera, were of silver. At an auspicious hour I sat upon the throne, and they began to play. It all cost sixty-five thousand rupees.

Another thing was an elephant-riding platform, which people call a howdah, made of gold. It cost thirty thousand rupees to produce. There were also two large elephants and five [others with] trappings from the offering of Qutbulmulk, the ruler of Golconda. The first elephant was named Dad-i-Ilahi. Since it entered the royal elephant stable on Nawroz, I renamed it Nur-i-Nawroz. It is truly an extremely fine elephant, with nothing to detract from its size, beauty, and magnificence. Since I liked its looks, I got on and rode it around the palace. This elephant was valued at eighty thousand rupees. The value of the other six was twenty thousand rupees. The gold paraphernalia like chains and other things my son had arranged for the elephant Nur-i-Nawroz were worth thirty thousand rupees. The second elephant came with silver paraphernalia. Another ten thousand rupees worth of various gems were selected, and there were valuable textiles from Gujarat that my son's weavers had made and sent. It would take to long to detail them all. The total of his offering was worth four hundred fifty thousand rupees. I hope he enjoys a long life and good fortune. [212b]

On Friday the second [March 12] Shaja'at Khan Arab and Nuruddin-Quli Kotwal presented their offerings.

On the third [March 13] the Khankhanan's son Darab Khan [presented his offerings].

On Sunday the fourth [March 14] Khan Jahan requested that I attend a party. Of his offering, a pearl he had bought for twenty thousand rupees and other rarities worth a total of one hundred thirty thousand rupees were accepted. The rest was given back to him.

On Monday the fifth [March 15] Raja Kishan Das and Hakim Khan presented their offerings; on Tuesday, Sardar Khan; and on Wednesday the seventh [March 17], Mustafa Khan and Amanat Khan. A bit was accepted from each in order to honor them.

I'timaduddawla's Party

On Thursday the eighth [March 18] I'timaduddawla invited me to a kingly party in his quarters, and I honored him by accepting. He had really gone to a lot of trouble to decorate the assembly hall and arrange an offering. All around the lake, as far as the eye could see, and the lanes far and near were decorated with all sorts of torches and multicolored lanterns. Among his offering was an extremely elaborate and intricate throne of gold and silver. The legs were made in the shape of lions holding up the throne. It had taken three years and a lot of work to produce and had cost four hundred fifty thousand rupees. The throne was made by a Frank named Hunarmand,[1] who has no equal in the arts of goldsmithery, carving, and other skills. He had made it extremely beautifully, and I awarded him the title [of Hunarmand]. Aside from the offering the Khankhanan brought for me, the equivalent of a lac of rupees in jeweled utensils and brocades were presented to the begums and ladies of the harem. Without exaggeration, from the beginning of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign until the present, which is the fourteenth year of the reign of this supplicant, no grand amir has ever presented such an offering. **[213a]** He is truly beyond comparison with any others.

1. *Hunarmand* means artisan, a title by which he was called, not his name.

On this day Islam Khan's son Ikram Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000. Ani Rai Singhdalan was promoted to the rank of 2000/600.

On Friday the ninth [March 19] I'tibar Khan presented his offering. On the same date Khan Dawran was awarded a horse and an elephant and given leave to take up the governorship of Thatta. His rank was maintained, as before, at 6000/5000.

On Saturday the tenth [March 20] Fazil Khan presented his offering; on Sunday the eleventh, the Mirmiran; on Monday the twelfth, I'tiqad Khan; on Tuesday the thirteenth, Tatar Khan and Ani Rai Singhdalan; on Wednesday the fourteenth, Mirza Raja Bhao Singh. From each of their offerings I took what was rarest and most novel and gave the rest back to them.

On Thursday the fifteenth [March 25] Asaf Khan gave a fine assembly and regal gathering in his quarters, which were extremely pleasant and agreeable, and requested me to attend. I granted his request and went with the ladies of the harem. Asaf Khan, one of the main pillars of my empire, considered this a favor sent from heaven and went totally overboard in his offering and in arranging the party. I selected what I liked of the precious gems, gold brocades, and other things and gave the rest back to him. One of the items in his offering was a ruby weighing twelve and a half tanks he had bought for one hundred twenty-five thousand rupees. The total value of what was accepted of his offering was one hundred sixty-seven thousand rupees.

On this date Khwaja Jahan was promoted to the rank of 5000/2500. Lashkar Khan had come as ordered from the Deccan and paid homage.

Since I had decided to go for a tour of Kashmir, the land of perennial spring, after the monsoon was over and the good weather started, [**213b**] I gave Lashkar Khan the good news that I had found him suitable to guard and protect the citadel and city of Agra and to command the garrisons in the vicinity as Khwaja Jahan had done. Amanat Khan was appointed as supervisor of branding horses and parading the horsemen of his quarter.

On Friday the sixteenth [March 26] Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan Mirbakhshi; on Saturday the seventeenth, Sadiq Bakhshi; on Sunday the eighteenth, Iradat Khan the chief steward; and on Monday the nineteenth, which was the celebration of culmination, Azududdawla presented offerings. I took what I liked from each of their offerings.

The value of offerings presented by court servants and accepted during this Nawroz was twenty lacs of rupees.

On the day of culmination I gave my son Sultan Parvez the rank of 20,000/10,000. I'timaduddawla was given the rank of 7000/7000. I singled out Azududdawla for the honor of the post of ataliq to my darling Shah-Shuja'—may he enjoy a natural life span and have good fortune and happiness.

Qasim Khan was promoted to the rank of 1500/500. Baqir Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/400. Since Mahabat Khan had requested reinforcements, I assigned five hundred ahadis to the souba of Bangash. Ghayrat Khan, who had performed outstanding services there, was awarded an elephant and a jeweled khapwa.

Recently Abdul-Sattar had presented me with a miscellany in the handwriting of His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun] containing some prayers, an introduction to the science of astronomy, and some other unusual matters, most of which he had experimented with, found to be true, and recorded therein. Upon seeing his blessed handwriting, I experienced greater elation than I remember experiencing before. I was really very happy. [**214a**] As God is my witness, no gift of the utmost rarity or gem of the highest value could equal it in my view. As a reward for this service I raised his rank beyond anything he could have imagined and gave him a thousand rupees as a bonus.

Hunarmand the Frank, who had made the jeweled throne, was given an award of three thousand drabs, a horse, and an elephant.

I gave Khwaja Jahan Mahmud a thousand rupees. He follows the path of the [Naqshbandi] khwajas and appears to have something of the dervish and ascetic about him. Lashkar Khan was promoted to the rank of 3000/2000. The following promotions were also made: Ma'mur Khan to 900/450; Khwajagi Zahir to 800/300; Sayyid Ahmad Qadiri to 800/60; Raja Sarang Deo to 700/30; Azududdawla's son Mir Khalilullah to 600/250; the eunuch Firoz Khan to 600/150; Khidmat Khan to 550/130; Mahram Khan to 500/120; Arab Khwafi to 600/300; Rai Banwali Das, the overseer of the elephant stables, to 600/120; Rai Mani Das, the overseer of the palace, to 600/100; Kishan Singh's sons Nath Mal and Jag Mal to 500/225; Raja Sangram's son Rozafzun Khawass to 500/220. If the promotions of officers of less than 500 were to be recorded it would take too long.

I gave Khizr Khan Khandesi a gratuity of two thousand rupees.

On Wednesday the twenty-first [March 31] I went hunting in Amanabad. Several days prior to this Khwaja Jahan and Qiyam Khan the head scout had been ordered to select a vast open space in which to hold a qamargha hunt, surround it with barricades, and drive lots of antelopes into it. Since I had sworn not to harm any living creature again with my own hand, it occurred to me that they should all be captured alive and released on the polo field in Fatehpur. I could thus satisfy my lust for hunting, and no harm would be done to the animals. Seven hundred animals were captured in my

presence and sent to Fatehpur. Since it was almost time for me to return to Agra, I ordered Rai Man of the bodyguard to have screens put up on two sides, like a lane, from the hunting ground to the polo field in Fatehpur and drive the animals through it to Fatehpur. Nearly eight hundred antelopes were thus sent for a total of fifteen hundred. [**214b**]

On the eve of Wednesday I decamped from Amanabad and stopped in the Bustan Saray station. Then, on the eve of Thursday the twenty-ninth [April 8] we stopped in the Nur Manzil garden.

On Friday the thirtieth [April 9] Shahjahan's mother passed away. The next day I went to my son's quarters to offer all sorts of consolation and sympathy and take him back with me to the palace.

Entry into Agra

On Sunday the first of Urdibihisht [April 11], at an auspicious hour chosen by the astrologers, I mounted the royal elephant named Diler and entered the city under favorable auspices. A large crowd of men and women were lining the streets and markets and standing in doorways and on roofs in expectation. As usual, I proceeded scattering coins until I was inside the palace. From the date the imperial retinue had departed on this journey until the present return it had been five years, seven months, and nine days.

Recently my son Sultan Parvez, who had been deprived of seeing me for a very long time and therefore had not enjoyed the privilege of making obeisance, had been told that if he desired to pay homage he should come to court. When the decree reached him, he considered it a gift from heaven and set out anxiously for court.

This year I gave the poor and deserving 44,786 bighas of land and two entire villages in Hindustan, 320 loads of grain from Kashmir, [**215a**] and seven fields in Kabul. It is hoped that I will always enjoy such success and charitableness.

Allahdad Afghan's Rebellion

An unexpected event that occurred during these days was the rebellion of Jalala Afghan's son Allahdad. The details are as follows. When Mahabat Khan was assigned to take over Bangash and reduce the Afghans to naught, thinking that the wretch might perform some service in return for all the favor he had been shown, Mahabat Khan requested that he be assigned to accompany him. However, since this ingrate's nature was composed of uncooperativeness and malevolence, as a precautionary measure it was decided that he would send his son and brother to court to be held as hostages in my presence. After his son and brother arrived at court, I would console him with great shows of favor. As has been said, however, "When the carpet of a person's luck is woven in black, it cannot be made white with the water of Zemzem or Kawthar."[2] From the day he arrived in that territory he began showing signs of rebelliousness and ingratitude. In order to keep his troops in order, Mahabat Khan continually treated him with forbearance. Recently he dispatched a troop under the leadership of his son to attack a group of Afghans and sent Allahdad along. When they reached their destination the mission did not go according to plan because of Allahdad's uncooperativeness and malevolence, and it had to be aborted. Suspecting that this time Mahabat Khan would cease to treat him with forbearance and hold an investigation, as a result of which he would receive his just due, he threw over all pretense and revealed the rebelliousness and treachery he had been hiding all along.

2. Zemzem is a well in the precincts of the Kaaba in Mecca; Kawthar is a river in paradise.

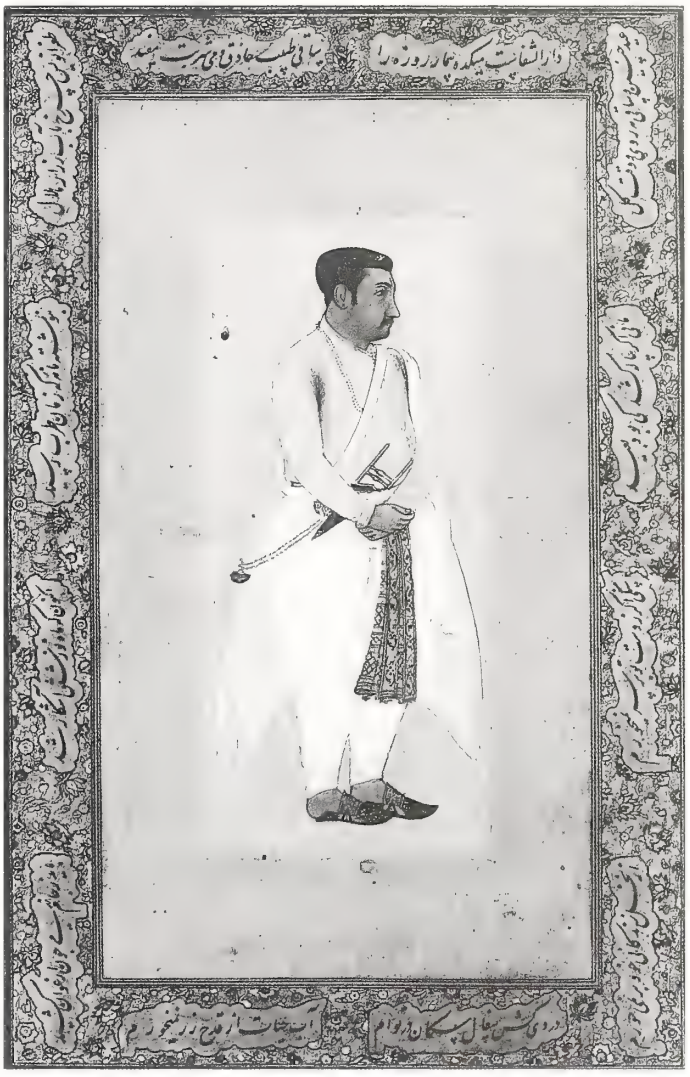
When I learned the truth of the matter from Mahabat Khan's report, I ordered the son and brother imprisoned in the Gwalior fortress. As it happened, this wretch's father also deserted His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's service [**215b**] and lived for years from brigandage and highway robbery until he was finally requited for his hideous actions. It is hoped that this unhappy wretch will also soon receive his just deserts.

On Thursday the fifth [April 15] Rawat Shankar's son Man Singh, an auxiliary in the souba of Bihar, was promoted to the rank of 1000/600. I gave Aqil Khan leave to inspect his lands and review the officers assigned to Bangash. He was given an elephant. I awarded Mahabat Khan a royal dagger in the style of Mazanderan and sent it to him by Dost Beg.[3]

Offerings made on Monday were assigned to Mahmud the water steward, who had served me from the time I was a young prince. Payanda Khan Moghul's relative Bezhan was promoted to the rank of 700/450. I increased the rank of Khwaja Jahan's brother Muhammad-Husayn, who is serving as bakhshi at Kangra, to 600/450.

On this date Tarbiyat Khan, a hereditary khanazad of this court enrolled among the amirs, passed away. He was unambitious and good-natured, loved to have a good time, and only wanted to spend his entire life in pleasure. He was terribly fond of Indian singing and understood it rather well. He was a man without malice.

Raja Suraj Singh was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000. Alimardan Bahadur's son Karamullah, Baqir Khan the garrison commander at Multan, Malik Muhibb Afghan, and Maktub Khan were given elephants. Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari, castellan of the fortress at Bhakkar and garrison commander of that region, was also awarded an elephant. Mahabat Khan's son Amanullah was given a jeweled dagger. Shaykh Ahmad Hansi, Shaykh Abdul-Latif Sambhali, the eunuch Firasat Khan, and Rai Kunwar Chand the auditor of accounts were given elephants. Muhammad-Shafi', the bakhshi of the souba of the Punjab, was promoted to 500/300. Mihtar Khan's son Munis, the castellan of Kalinjar, was promoted to 500/150. [**216a**]



PORTRAIT OF RAJA SURAJ SINGH, by Bishan Das. India, Mughal period, ca. 1615. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 38.7 x 25.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.7r

3. Mazanderan is the province along the Caspian coast in Iran.

The Death of Shahnawaz Khan

The arrival of the news of the death of the Sipahsalar Khankhanan's son Shahnawaz Khan on this date caused me great sorrow. When my old ataliq was taking leave of me, I told him in all seriousness that I had heard repeatedly that Shahnawaz Khan was overly fond of wine and drank too much, and if it was true it was a pity for him to kill

himself at such an age. I told the Khankhanan not to leave him as he was but to take him in hand and rectify his conduct. If he couldn't, he was to report it to me frankly and I would summon Shahnawaz Khan to court and straighten him out myself. When he reached Burhanpur, he found Shahnawaz Khan extremely weak and depressed and set about having him treated. As fated, he took to his bed several days later and was unable to get up. No matter what the physicians did to treat him, it did no good. He died in the full bloom of youth at the age of thirty-three.

I greatly regretted hearing this dreadful news. He was really a fine khanazad who should have rendered excellent service and performed great things for the empire. Although everyone has to travel this road, and no one can escape the ordinance of fate and destiny, to go in this manner is hard to take. I hope he will be forgiven his sins.

I dispatched Raja Sarang Deo, one of my most intimate servants, [**216b**] to my old ataliq to offer him my condolences and sympathy. Shahnawaz Khan's rank of 5000 was added to his brothers' and sons' ranks. Shahnawaz Khan's younger brother Darab Khan was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000, awarded a robe of honor, an elephant, a horse, and a jeweled sword, and sent to his father in Shahnawaz Khan's place as commander of the soubas of Berar and Ahmadnagar. The other brother, Rahmandad, was promoted to 2000/800. Shahnawaz Khan's son Minuchihr was given the rank of 2000/1000. Shahnawaz Khan's son Toghril was promoted to the rank of 1000/500.



On Thursday the twelfth [April 22] I'timaduddawla's relative Qasim Khan was granted the privilege of a banner. Sayyid Hajji's son Asadullah, who had come to join as a servant of the court, was given the rank of 500/100. I promoted the late Murtaza Khan's relative Sadr-i-Jahan to 700/600, posted him as garrison commander to Sambhal, awarded him an elephant, and gave him leave to depart. Bhartha Bundela was promoted to 600/400 and given an elephant. Raja Sangram of Jammu was also awarded an elephant.

An Experiment in Animal Husbandry

In Ahmadabad I had two markhor goats along with me. Since there was no female in the establishment to mate with them, I wondered what sort of offspring would be produced if they were mated to the Barbary goats that are brought from Arabia, particularly from the port of Dofar. In short, they were mated to seven Barbary females, and six months later in Fatehpur they all produced young, four females and three males. [**217a**] They were extremely good-looking, well formed, and nicely colored. Among the colors, the ones that more resembled the markhor males, like the dun-colored ones with black stripes down the back and the ones that were dark red, looked better than the others and the good breeding was more obvious in them.

What can be written of their playfulness, the funny things they do, and their leaping and bounding about? They do things that make one want to watch them in spite of oneself. What is well known among the people—that it is impossible to imitate the leaping and gamboling of a kid goat—has certainly been proven true. If occasionally someone can successfully imitate a kid goat's tricks, there is no doubt that one must acknowledge one's inability to imitate their strange antics, various leaps and bounds, and comical movements. One kid a month old—actually only twenty days old—leapt onto the ground from such a high place that if it had been anything other than a goat, not one of its limbs would have remained unscathed. I enjoyed them so much I ordered them always to be kept nearby, and each of them was given a suitable name.

I enjoy them immensely and take great care in the breeding of markhors and thoroughbred goats. I want their offspring to multiply and become popular. When their offspring are mated to each other, it is thought that they will be even more valuable. One of the peculiar characteristics of these is that, whereas when a goat kid is born it does not immediately take the mother's teats in its mouth and suck milk but bleats and cries, these by contrast do not cry at all but act extremely independent. Their meat may also be quite delicious.



Muqarrab Khan had previously been ordered to go to Bihar as governor. He got himself to court to pay homage before setting out for his post. On this day, Thursday the second of Khurdad [May 13], I awarded him an elephant with trappings, two horses, and a jeweled khapwa and gave him leave to depart. He was also given fifty thousand rupees as an advance. **[217b]** Also on this date Sardar Khan was awarded a robe of honor, an elephant, and a horse and given leave to depart as jagirdar of the Monghyr sarkar, which is the border between the provinces of Bihar and Bengal.

Mir Sharaf, Qutbulmulk's agent at court, was also dismissed. My son Shahjahan appointed the brother of his divan Afzal Khan to accompany him. Ever since Qutbulmulk pledged allegiance and became an ally he had been requesting a portrait. At his request I awarded him my portrait along with a jeweled khapwa and a phul-katara. Twenty-four thousand drabs, a jeweled dagger, a horse, and a robe of honor were given to Mir Sharaf. Fazil Khan, the divan of the imperial workshops, was promoted to the rank of 1000/500. Hakim Rukna was promoted to the rank of 600/60.

Since His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's urs was soon, five thousand rupees were turned over to several trustworthy servants for distribution among the poor and needy. I gave Hasan-Ali Khan, the jagirdar of the Monghyr sarkar, the rank of 2000/500 and assigned him to reinforce Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang, the governor of Bengal. He was also awarded a sword. Since Mirza Ashrafuddin Husayn Kashghari had lost his life during the Bangash campaign, I promoted his son Ibrahim-Husayn to the rank of 1000/500.

Recently Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang had sent me as a gift two boats called *kosha* in the language of that land [Bengal], and they were shown to me. The seat in one was of gold, and in the other, of silver. Without exaggeration, they were the finest of their type. I gave one to my son Shahjahan.

On Thursday the ninth [May 20] Sadat Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/60. On this date Azududdawla and Shaja'at Khan Arab were given leave to go to their jagirs.

On Thursday the sixteenth [May 27] I gave Asaf Khan a jeweled khapwa with a phul-katara. **[218a]**

When my son Sultan Parvez set out for court he requested a royal nadiri to wear on the day he would pay homage. At his request I sent a nadiri, a turban, and a personal *futa* [prayer shawl] for his agent to deliver to him.

On Thursday the twenty-third [June 3] Mirza Wali, the son of my paternal aunt, came as ordered from the Deccan and paid homage. His father, Khwaja Hasan Khaldar, was a scion of the Naqshbandi khwajas to whom my uncle Mirza Muhammad-Hakim gave his sister in marriage. I had heard very good reports of the khwaja from people, and he combined a noble lineage with personal worth. For a long time the khwaja was the manager of the mirza's estate, and the mirza was very fond of the khwaja. He predeceased the mirza, however, and left two sons, Mirza

Badi'uzzaman and Mirza Wali. After the mirza's death Mirza Badi'uzzaman fled to Transoxiana, where he died in exile. The begam and Mirza Wali joined the court, and His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani did much to please her. The mirza is a quiet and grave young man, not devoid of sense and a mind. He knows all about music. Recently it occurred to me to marry the late Prince Danyal's daughter to him, which occasioned my summoning him to court. The girl's mother was Qilich Muhammad Khan's daughter. It is hoped that he will have every success in this endeavor.

On this date Sarbulandi Rai, who is assigned to the Deccan, was promoted to the rank of 2500/1500. **[218b]**

❁ *The Charlatan Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi*

Also during these days it was reported that a charlatan in Sirhind named Shaykh Ahmad had spread a net of deceit and deception in which he had trapped many unspiritual worshipers of externality. He had also sent into every city and region those of his devotees, whom he called khalifas, who were best versed in setting up shops in which mysticism could be peddled and people hoodwinked. One of the pieces of nonsense he wrote for his disciples and believers was a book called *Maktubat*, a miscellany of drivel in which he had penned the basis of his claptrap that would lead to infidelity and apostasy. One thing he had written in his *Maktubat* was the following: "During my progress I chanced upon the stage of dual lights. I saw it was an extremely lofty and pleasant stage. I passed beyond it and reached the stage of the Faruq. From the stage of the Faruq I crossed over to the stage of the Siddiq. Having written a description worthy of each, I became at one with the stage of Mahbubiyyat.[4] It was seen as a stage of extremely brilliant light and color. I found myself reflected in the lights and colors, that is—God forgive me!—I passed beyond the stage of the caliphs and ascended to the highest level." He made other impudent claims it would take too long to write about—and it would be too impolite to do so. I therefore ordered him brought to court. He paid homage as ordered, but he couldn't give a reasonable answer to anything I asked him. He appeared, in addition to his lack of wisdom and knowledge, to be extremely conceited and self-satisfied. I saw that the only thing to do with him was to let him spend a few days in prison so that the frenzy in his mind would settle down, as well as the uproar among the common folk. I turned him over to Ani Rai Singhdalan to imprison in the fortress at Gwalior.

❁ *Sultan Parvez Appears at Court*

On Saturday the twenty-fifth of Khurdad [June 5] my son Sultan Parvez arrived from Allahabad and illuminated his forehead by rubbing it in loyalty on the throne. After performing the ritual of kissing the ground, he was shown untold favor, and I ordered him to sit. He presented two thousand mohurs and two thousand rupees as a vow and a diamond as an offering. Since at this time his elephants hadn't arrived, another time was appointed for viewing them. **[219a]**

With him he had brought Raja Kalyan, the zamindar of Ratanpur against whom my son had sent a troop as ordered and who had accepted to give eighty elephants and a lac of rupees as tribute. He too kissed the imperial threshold.

Wazir Khan, my son's divan, who is an old servant of the court, was honored to perform körünüsh and offered twenty-eight elephants, male and female. Of them nine elephants were accepted, and the rest were given back to him.

When it was reported that Iftikhar Khan's son Muruwwat Khan, a khanazad and protégé of this court, had died in battle with a group of Muggs in farthest Bengal, I

4. The Faruq is the Second Caliph of Islam, Umar ibn al-Khattab, and the Siddiq is the First Caliph, Abu-Bakr. The stage of Mahbubiyyat (belovedness) is that of the Prophet Muhammad.



JAHANGIR RECEIVING PRINCE PARVEZ AT COURT, attributed to Manohar. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper. 19.5 x 34.5 cm. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 14.654

promoted his brother Allahyar to the rank of 1000/500 and his other brother to the rank of 400/400. This was done so that those left behind by Muruwwat Khan would not sink into oblivion.

On Monday the third of Tir [June 14] four black antelopes, a doe, and a fawn were hunted with leopards. When I chanced to pass by my son Sultan Parvez's residence, he presented two tusked elephants with trappings as a gift. Both were sent to the royal elephant stables.

An Ambassador from Shah Abbas

On Thursday the thirteenth [June 24] Sayyid Hasan, an ambassador from my brother Shah Abbas, the ruler of Iran, kissed the imperial threshold and presented my dear brother's gift of a crystal drinking bowl with a ruby set in the cover. Since it was such a gesture of amity, affection, and sincerity, it increased my friendly feelings.

On this day Fidai Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/500. Fathullah Sharbatchi's son Nasrullah, who was in charge of the fortress at Amber, was promoted to the rank of 1000/400.

On Thursday the twentieth [July 1] Mahabat Khan's son Amanullah was promoted to the rank of 1500/800. Wazir Khan was posted as divan to Bengal and given a horse, a robe of honor, and a jeweled dagger. **[219b]** Mir Husamuddin and Zibardast Khan were given elephants. On this date Khan Alam's servant Hafiz Hasan came with a friendly letter from my brother Shah Abbas, a report from Khan Alam, and a dagger handle of black-striped striated tooth my brother had given to Khan Alam. Since it was very valuable and nothing like it had been seen at court before, I liked it very much.

On Thursday the twenty-seventh [July 8] Mirza Wali was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000. Twenty-four thousand drabs were awarded as a gratuity to Sayyid Hasan the ambassador. I gave Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz-Jang an elephant.

On Thursday the second of Amurdad [July 15] a horse was given to Imtiyaz Khan. Aqil Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/800.

On the eve of Saturday the fourth of Amurdad [July 17], corresponding to the fifteenth of Sha'ban, a festival for Shab-i-Barat was held. By command the edge of the river and the decks of boats were decorated with all sorts of torches and various fireworks. It was a really splendid illumination and looked beautiful. I enjoyed watching it for a long time.

On Tuesday Nadi-Ali Maydani's son Bezhan, a khanazad worthy of patronage, was promoted to the rank of 700/500. I gave Khwaja Zaynuddin the rank of 700/300. Khwaja Muhsin was promoted to the rank of 500/100.

On Thursday the ninth [July 22] I went hunting in Samugarh, enjoying myself in the pleasant plain, touring and hunting until Monday and returning to the palace on Monday night.

On Thursday the sixteenth [July 29] Abu'l-Fazl's grandson Bishotan was promoted to the rank of 700/350.

On Thursday the twenty-third [August 5] I went to tour **[220a]** Gulafshan Garden, located on the edge of the Jumna River. It rained along the way, and it rained hard, giving the grass a freshness. The pineapples were ripe, and an auditing tour was made. From the buildings overlooking the river as far as the eye could see there was nothing but greenery and flowing water. The following lines by Anvari are appropriate to that place: "It is a day for enjoyment and revelry in the garden; it is a day for a market of flowers and herbs. / The earth gives off an aroma of ambergris; rose water drips

from the breeze's skirt. / From encountering the zephyr the face of the pond is as jagged as a sharpened file."[5]

Because the garden mentioned above is in the care of Khwaja Jahan, he presented as an offering pieces of gold brocade of novel design that had recently been brought to him from Persia. I selected what I liked and gave him back the rest. He had also arranged the garden. It was ordered that his rank be fixed at 5000/3000.

It is strange that ever since Khan Alam sent the dagger hilt of striated and mottled fish tooth from my exalted brother Shah Abbas, I have become so fond of this mottled tooth that I assigned several knowledgeable men to go to Iran and Turan to find out what it is and obtain more from wherever and whomever at any price. Many of my intimate servants and mighty amirs are engaged in their own independent searches. By chance, in this very city a foreigner bought some very fine and valuable mottled tusk for a paltry price at an off time in the market, thinking that it must have fallen into the fire at some time and that the blackness was a result of having been scorched. [**220b**] After a while he showed it to a carver in my son Shahjahan's employ, asking him if it could be made into a plectrum and saying that it should be made so that no trace of the black scorch marks should show—unaware that the blackness adds to the value of the white part and that it is the "mole and beauty spot" with which destiny has set off its loveliness. The carver rushed immediately to the supervisor of his workshop and gave him the good news that such a rare item, for which people were searching far and wide, had fallen for practically nothing into the hands of an ignorant man who didn't know its value and that it could obtained from him easily and simply. The supervisor accompanied the carver, at once purchased it, and presented it to my son the next day. When my son Shahjahan first came into my presence he seemed gleeful. After his mind was loosened by wine he showed it to me and made me very happy. "Happy be your days for having made me happy." I prayed for his success so much that if a hundredth of it is granted it will be enough for his prosperity.

On this date one of the Adil Khan's important liege men called Bahlim came to pay homage. Since he had opted to pay allegiance out of sincerity, I showed him unlimited favor, gave him a robe of honor, a horse, a sword, and ten thousand drabs as a gratuity, and fixed his rank at 1000/500.

Khan Dawran Retires

Recently a letter arrived from Khan Dawran in which he wrote: "In a great show of favor and appreciation Your Majesty exalted his old slave, despite his advanced years and failing eyesight, with the governorship of the land of Thatta. [**221a**] Inasmuch as this bent, aged weakling does not find in himself the strength to ride, he requests to be exempted from the military and allowed to retire to the army of prayer." At his request the administrators of the supreme divan were ordered to cover his expenses by assigning him the pargana of Khoshab, which, with its income of thirty lacs of dams, had been his jagir for a long, long time and had become very built-up and cultivated, so that he could spend his days in ease and comfort. His eldest son, Shah-Muhammad, was given the rank of 1000/600; his second son, Ya'qub Beg, was promoted to the rank of 700/350; the third son, Asad Beg, was assigned the rank of 300/50.

On Saturday the first of Shahrivar [August 14] I awarded my loyal tutor, the Khankhanan Sipahsalar, and the amirs assigned to service in the Deccan robes of honor for the rainy season and sent them with Yazdani.

5. Anvari, *Divan*, 79, lines 1–3

Plans for Departing for the Perennial Garden, Kashmir

Since I had decided upon departing for the garden of perennial spring, Kashmir, Nuruddin-Quli was sent ahead to fix, insofar as possible, the ups and downs in the roads via Punch and make it so that it would be easy for the load-carrying animals to get across the difficult passes and the people wouldn't suffer. Many laborers such as stonecutters, carpenters, shovelers were sent with him. He was also awarded an elephant.

On the eve of Thursday the thirteenth [August 26] I went to the Nur Manzil garden and stayed there enjoying myself until Sunday the sixteenth [August 29]. **[221b]** Raja Bikramajit Baghela came from Mandanpur, his home territory, and paid homage. He presented an elephant and a jeweled turban ornament. Maqsud Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/130.

On Thursday the twentieth [September 2] my son Shah Parvez offered two elephants, which were put in the royal stables.

Solar Weighing Ceremony

On the twenty-fourth [September 6] the solar weighing ceremony was held in Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani's quarters, and my fifty-first year by solar reckoning commenced under good auspices. It is hoped that the remainder of my life will be spent in acts that please God.

I gave leave to return home to Sayyid Jalal, the son of Sayyid Muhammad, the grandson of Shah-i-Alam Bukhari, a summary account of whom has already been given under the rubric of the trip to Gujarat.[6] A female elephant for him to ride and an amount to cover travel expenses were given him.

On the eve of Monday the thirty-first [September 13], corresponding to the fourteenth of Shawwal, when the disk of the moon was full, a moonlight party was held in the pavilions in the garden that overlooks the Jumna River. It was a very elegant and enjoyable gathering.

On the first of the month of Mihr [September 14] the two dagger handles and the thumb ring I had ordered cut from the striated tusk my son Shahjahan had presented to me turned out to be extremely nicely colored and fine. Masters Puran and Kalyan, who have no peers or equals in the art of carving, were ordered to make the dagger handles of the size that is presently in vogue and in the style that has come to be known as the Jahangiri. Other masters, each of whom is unique in the age in his craft, were ordered to make the blades, sheaths, and other paraphernalia. **[222a]** They all turned out exactly as I had wanted. One handle especially came out so marvelously mottled that it took my breath away. It looks as though it has been made by the *haftrang* technique,[7] and some of the spots look as though the painter of creation has taken his wonder-working pen and drawn black lines around them. It is so fine that I don't want to be separated from it for an instant. It is more valuable to me than all the expensive gems in the treasury. On Thursday the third [September 16] I fastened it to my belt, and the master craftsmen who had exerted all their craft and taken great pains to produce such a tour de force were rewarded. Master Puran was given an elephant, a robe of honor, and a gold ring for his wrist, which the Indians call *kara*, and Kalyan was awarded the title of Ajayibdast [he with a wondrous hand], a promotion, a robe of honor, and a gem-studded pahunchi [bracelet]. So also did each of the others receive a reward in proportion to his skill.

6. Pages 243 and 250.

7. The *haftrang* was originally a technique of cut and inlaid tile. Jahangir apparently uses the term for jewelry inlay.

Since it had been reported that Mahabat Khan's son Amanullah had done battle with the wretched Ahdad, defeated his forces, and put many of the miserable Afghans to the sword, a personal sword was sent to honor him.

The Death of Raja Suraj Mal

On Saturday came the news that Raja Suraj Mal had died a natural death in the Deccan. He was the grandson of Mal Deo, one of the great zamindars of Hindustan. He was one of the few who could boast of equality with the Rana—in fact, in one battle he defeated the Rana—and he is mentioned in detail in the *Akbarnama*. Raja Suraj Mal had the good fortune to have attained high rank through the patronage of both His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani and this petitioner at the divine court, and his territory exceeded his father's and grandfather's. He had a son named Gaj Singh, to whom the father turned over administrative and fiscal affairs while still alive. **[222b]** Considering him worthy of patronage, I advanced him to the rank of 3000/2000 with a banner and the title of raja. I promoted his younger brother to the rank of 500/250 and gave him a jagir in his native land.

On Thursday the tenth of Mihr [September 23] I went at Asaf Khan's request to his house next to the Jumna River. He had built an extremely beautiful and attractive bathhouse, and I enjoyed it very much. After we finished bathing, a wine party was held, and particular servants were made happy with cups of joy. I selected what I liked of his offering and gave him back the rest. The value of what was taken was thirty thousand rupees.



JEWELED DAGGER AND SHEATH, possibly by Puran and Kalyan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1619. Blade: watered steel; hilt: gold; scabbard: wood overlaid with gold; hilt and scabbard set with ivory, agate, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, glass, and enamel. Length: 35.5 cm. The al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait. LNS.25.J

Baqir Khan, the garrison commander of Multan, was awarded a banner.

Prior to this, as ordered, two rows of trees had been planted to form an avenue from Agra to the river at Attock, and from Agra to Bengal as well. Now it was ordered that a post be set up every kos from Agra to Lahore to show the distance and a well dug at every third post so that wayfarers could travel easily and comfortably and not suffer from thirst or the heat of the sun.

On Thursday the twenty-fourth of Mihr [October 7] the festival of Dasehra was held, and in accordance with Indian custom the horses were caparisoned and paraded. After I viewed the horses several elephants were paraded.

Because Mu'tamad Khan had not made an offering last Nawroz, **[223a]** he presented at this festival a golden throne, a carnelian ring, a piece of coral, and several other small things. The throne was rather nicely made. The total was worth sixteen thousand rupees. Since he had brought them in all sincerity and loyalty, they were accepted. The same day Zibardast Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/400.

❁ *Departure for Kashmir*

Since the time for departure had been set for the Dasehra festival, around evening I got into a boat under favorable auspices and headed off for my destination. We halted at the first stopping place for eight days so that the people could get their things together at leisure and set out.

Mahabat Khan had sent apples from Bangash by post. They were very fresh and tasted good. I enjoyed eating them very much, for they were beyond comparison with the best apples I ate in Kabul or the Samarkand apples that are sent every year. In sweetness, delicacy, and taste there is no comparison. Until now no apples so fine had ever been seen. They say that in upper Bangash next to Lashkar Dara there is a village called Shalozan, and in that village are three trees of these apples. No matter how hard they have tried they haven't been able to get them to grow so well anywhere else. I gave Sayyid Hasan, my brother Shah Abbas's ambassador, a taste of these apples to find out if there were any better in Persia or not. He said that in all of Iran the apples of Isfahan were outstanding, and the best of them were as good as these.

On Thursday the first of Aban [October 14] I went to visit the blessed tomb of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, rubbing my forehead in supplication at that angelic threshold and offering a vow of a hundred mohurs. All the begams and ladies of the harem circumambulated the tomb and also offered vows. On Thursday night a superb assembly was held, attended by many shaykhs, turbaned dignitaries, Koran reciters, and singers, and they sang and danced. Each was given a robe of honor, a *faraji* garment,[8] or a shawl in accordance with his deserts and talents. **[223b]** The building over this blessed tomb has been superbly constructed, although this time too certain modifications occurred to me. It is much better than it was.

After the elapse of four gharis on the eve of the third [October 16] we decamped from the stopping place mentioned above and traveled five and a half kos along the river. Four gharis had elapsed of the next day when we reached our destination. After two watches of the day I crossed the river and hunted seven partridges. Toward the end of the day I awarded Sayyid Hasan the ambassador a gratuity of twenty thousand rupees, a gold-brocade robe of honor with a jeweled turban

8. Reading *faraji* for the text's meaningless *kharji*. See glossary.

ornament, and an elephant and gave him leave to withdraw. For my brother Shah Abbas I sent as a memento a gem-studded bottle in the shape of a rooster that holds my usual amount of wine. I hope it reaches its destination in one piece.

I gave Lashkar Khan, who had been chosen to guard and protect Agra, a robe of honor, a horse, an elephant, drums, and a jeweled dagger and gave him leave to depart. Ikram Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500 and posted to the Mewat sarkar as garrison commander. He is the son of Islam Khan, who was the grandson of the successor to Shaykh Salim, whose good qualities and prayer on behalf of this dynasty have already been recorded in past pages.

❁ *Islam Khan's Sacrifice*

It has been heard recently from someone whose veracity is beyond doubt that when I was indisposed in Ajmer, before the news of my illness reached Bengal, one day Islam Khan was sitting alone. All of a sudden he lost consciousness. When he came to, he said to one of his trusted men named Bhakkan, one of his confidants, "From the world beyond I was shown that the blessed body of His Majesty the emperor was quite ill. **[224a]** The only remedy is to sacrifice something very dear and precious. First it occurred to me to sacrifice my son Hoshang for the emperor's sake, but since he is so young and has not yet derived any enjoyment from life, I had compassion on him and decided to sacrifice myself for my lord and patron. I hope that since this comes from the bottom of my heart it will be accepted at the divine court." The arrow of his prayer immediately struck its target, and not long thereafter he detected symptoms of weakness and illness in himself. The illness soon turned critical, and as he passed away the Supreme Physician bestowed a complete recovery from the dispensary beyond upon this supplicant.

Although His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani paid inordinate attention to the Shaykh [Salim]'s sons and grandsons and patronized each and every one of them according to their ability and talents, when the turn to rule came to this supplicant they received enormous patronage in return for my obligation to that great man. Most of them attained the grand degree of amir and were promoted to the governorships of soubas. Each has been mentioned in the proper place.

❁

Since the eunuch Hilal Khan, a servant from my days as prince, had built a house and garden in this village, he presented his offering while we were stopped here, and in order to do him honor I accepted a bit of it.

From this station we proceeded four kos to the outskirts of Mathura.

On Thursday the eighth [October 21] I went to see Bindraban and the idol temple there.[9] Although during His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign the Rajput amirs built buildings in their own style, i.e., extremely ornate outside, inside so many bats and owls had nested that it was impossible to take a breath on account of the stench. "From without, as corrupt as an infidel's grave; from within, the wrath of God." **[224b]**

On this day Mukhlis Khan came as ordered from Bengal and paid homage, presenting a hundred mohurs and a hundred rupees as a vow, and a ruby and a jeweled aigrette as an offering.

On Friday the ninth [October 22] a treasury of six lacs of rupees was sent to the Sipahsalar Khankhanan to stock the fortress at Asir.

9. Bindraban is the modern Vrindavan.



JAHANGIR CONVERSES WITH GOSAIN JADRUP. From a *Jahangirnama* manuscript. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Paris, Musée des Arts asiatiques—Guimet. 85EE1944

❁ *Another Visit to Jadrup*

On previous pages something has been written about Gosain Jadrup, who lived as a hermit in Ujjain. Recently he had moved from Ujjain to Mathura, one of the major temple sites of the Hindus, and worshiped the true deity on the banks of the Jumna River. Since I was anxious to talk to him, I went to see him and spent a long time alone with him without interruption. He is truly a great resource, and one can enjoy and derive much benefit from sitting with him.

❁

On Saturday the tenth [October 23] the scouts reported a lion in the vicinity that was harassing ryots and travelers. I immediately ordered lots of elephants taken out and the forest closely surrounded. Toward the end of the day I rode out along with the ladies of the harem. Since I had sworn not to harm a living creature with my own hand, I told Nurjahan Begam to fire the musket. The elephant sensed the lion and wouldn't keep still, and to shoot a gun from on top of an elephant without missing is a very difficult task. (After me, Mirza Rustam has no equal in marksmanship, but it has often happened that he has shot three or four times from atop an elephant and still missed.) Nurjahan Begam hit it so well on the first shot that it died of the wound.

On Monday the twelfth [October 25] I had another overwhelming desire to see Gosain Jadrup. I went to his hut without any ceremony and had a discussion with him. Lofty things were spoken of. **[225a]** God has bestowed upon him a rare ability and given him a fine understanding, elevated mind, and quick comprehension together with knowledge. He has freed his heart from attachment to material things and turned his back on the world and everything in it, seated in a corner by himself in need of no one and nothing. Of worldly goods he has only a half a yard of old cotton to cover his private parts and a piece of pottery with which to take a sip of water. Winter, summer, and monsoon, he lives naked, head and feet bare, and has taken up residence in a hole in which it is extremely difficult to fit, with a passage so narrow a nursing babe would have trouble getting through. The following few lines by Hakim Sana'i are appropriate to his condition: "Luqman's cell was small and narrow to boot, / Like the throat of a pipe, or the breast of a lute. / A foolish one said to the grand old man— / 'What house is this—three feet and six span?' / With tears and emotion the sage made reply— / 'Ample for him whose task is to die.'"[10]

On Wednesday the fourteenth [October 27] I went off again to meet Gosain Jadrup and bid him farewell. Without exaggeration, it was hard for me to part from him.

On Thursday the fifteenth [October 28] we marched and camped opposite Bindraban. Here my son Shah Parvez was given leave to depart for Allahabad and his jagir estates. I had desired that he should accompany me on this trip, but since he was already showing signs of distress, I had no choice but to let him go. He was given a topchaq horse, a mottled, striated girth dagger, a personal sword, and a personal shield. I hope he will come to see me again soon and in good health.

❁ *Khusraw is Summoned from Prison*

Since Khusraw had been held in detention for a long time, it occurred to me that it was unfeeling to keep him in prison more than this and to deprive him of the felicity of serving me. I therefore summoned him, ordered him to perform körünüsh, once again pardoned and forgave his offenses, and wiped away the dust of shame from his brow. **[225b]** I hope he will prove satisfactory and be granted success in service.

10. Translation taken from Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (trans. Rogers), 106.

On Friday the sixteenth [October 29] I gave Mukhlis Khan leave to go join my son Shah Parvez's service as divan of his estate, for which reason I had summoned him. I left his rank, as it had been in Bengal, at 2000/700.

On Saturday the seventeenth [October 30] a halt was observed. At this stopping place Miran Sadr-i-Jahan's son Sayyid Nizam, the garrison commander of the Kannauj sarkar, paid homage. He presented two elephants and several hunting birds. One elephant and two hawks were accepted.

On Sunday the 1[8]th [October 31] we marched. The ruler of Iran had recently sent a falcon of good color with Piri Beg the chief falconer.[11] He had given another to Khan Alam, who had sent his falcon with the royal falcon destined for the court. Khan Alam's died along the way, and the royal falcon was clawed by a cat through the falconer's negligence. Although it was delivered alive, it didn't live more than a week before dying. What can I write of the beauty of this bird's color? It had black markings, and every feather on its wings, back, and sides was extremely beautiful. Since its was rather unusual, I ordered Master Mansur the painter, who has been entitled Nadirul'asr [Rarity of the Age], to draw its likeness to be kept. I gave the falconer a bonus of two thousand rupees and let him return home.

11. Emending the text's miscopied Pari Beg to Piri Beg, by which name several persons are mentioned in Iskandar Beg's *Alamara-yi Abbasi*

❁ *A Change in Weights*

During His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign the seer was thirty dams. When it came my turn to rule, it was ordered that the seer should be thirty-six dams. Now I thought, "Why should things be different from his standard? Maybe it would be better to have it thirty dams as it was before." One day Gosain Jadrup said, "In the book of the Veda, where the precepts of our religion are kept, **[226a]** the weight of the seer is recorded as thirty-six dams. Since by heaven-ordained coincidence your order corresponds to what is in our book, it would be better for you to keep it at thirty-six dams." It was ordered that henceforth throughout the realm thirty-six dams would be the standard.

On Monday the nineteenth [November 1] we marched. I assigned Raja Bhao Singh to reinforce the Deccan army and gave him a horse and a robe of honor. From this date until Wednesday the twenty-eighth [November 10] we marched continuously.

❁ *Arrival in Delhi*

On Thursday the twenty-ninth [November 11] Delhi was graced by our advent. I went first with my sons and the ladies of the harem to visit the blessed tomb of His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun], and vows were presented. From there I went to circumambulate the blessed tomb of the Sultan of Shaykhs, Shaykh Nizamuddin Chishti,[12] where I asked for his assistance. Toward the end of the day I dismounted in the imperial camp that had been set up in Salimgadh.

12. The well-known tomb of Shaykh Nizamuddin Awliya (d. 1324) of the Chishti order.

On Friday the thirtieth [November 12] we halted. Since recently the hunting ground in the pargana of Palam had been preserved by order, and it was reported that there were many antelopes, I mounted to go hunting with leopards on Saturday the first of Azar [November 13]. Toward the end of the day while we were hunting hailstones the size of apples fell and turned the weather very cold. On this day three antelopes were taken.

On Sunday the second [November 14] I hunted forty-six antelopes.

On Monday the third [November 15] twenty-four antelopes were taken by leopards, and two antelopes were shot by my son Shahjahan.

On Thursday the sixth [November 18] Sayyid Bahwa Bukhari, who had been assigned to protect and guard Delhi, presented three elephants, eighteen horses, and



SHAHJAHAN FIRING A MATCHLOCK, attributed to Balchand. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Ink on paper. 10.2 x 11 cm. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. 11A.4

other small items. One elephant and other things were accepted; I gave the rest back to him. Hashim Khosti the garrison commander of several parganas in Mewat paid homage. **[226b]**

We stayed in the vicinity of Palam hunting with leopards until Thursday the thirteenth [November 25], and over the course of twelve days 426 antelopes were taken. Then we returned to Delhi.

In the presence of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani I had heard that it was impossible for an antelope rescued from a leopard's grasp to remain alive, even if uninjured by tooth

or claw. During this hunt I had several beautiful and powerfully built antelopes saved before they could be bitten or scratched and ordered them kept in my presence and looked after with great care. The first day and night they remained as they were and stayed calm, but on the second day an incredible change came over them. They acted as though they were drunk and stumbled and reeled about, unable to control their legs. Although they were given doses of antidote and other appropriate remedies, they had no effect. They were like this for a watch and then died.

On this date came the unpleasant news that Shah Parvez's eldest son had passed away in Agra. Since he was almost grown, my son was extremely attached to and fond of him, and he was inordinately affected and distressed by this terrible event. In order to console him I sent letters and soothed his inner wound with the balm of kindness. It is hoped that God will grant him patience and fortitude, for they are the best consolations in such events.

❁ *A Visit to the Agha of Aghas*

On Friday the fourteenth [November 26] I went to the house of the Agha of Aghas at his invitation. He holds a high place with this dynasty by virtue of his past services and hereditary loyalty, and when His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani betrothed me he took the Agha of Aghas from my sister Shahzada Khanim and assigned him to service in my harem. [227a] He has been in my service for thirty-three years from that date, and I am very fond of him. He has served our dynasty loyally, and he has not willingly been parted from me during any trip or journey. When he was overtaken by old age, he made a request, saying, "If so ordered, I would live in Delhi and spend the years that remain to me praying for you, for I no longer have the ability to move about, and I suffer greatly from coming and going." One of his great good fortunes was to be the same age as His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. With a view to his comfort I told him to go live in Delhi. He has been constructing a garden, house, and tomb for himself there for a long time now. Anyway, since I am very fond of this old servant, I went to his house and stressed to Sayyid Bahwa, the governor of the city, that he was to make sure that everything he needed was there, that he was happy, and that in no case was he to suffer any concern or anxiety.

On this date Raja Kishan Das was promoted to the rank of 2000/300. Since Sayyid Bahwa had satisfactorily performed the duties of garrison commander in Delhi, and the people of the area were quite satisfied and pleased with his conduct, I maintained him as guardian of the city of Delhi and garrison commander as before, promoted him to the rank of 1000/600, awarded him an elephant, and gave him leave to depart.

On Saturday the fifteenth [November 27] I promoted Mirza Wali to the rank of 2000/1000, awarded him a banner and an elephant, and dismissed him. [227b]

❁ *A Meeting with Shaykh Abdul-Haqq of Delhi*

Shaykh Abdul-Haqq of Delhi, a learned and spiritual man, paid homage during this stay of ours. He had composed a book on the history of the shaykhs of India, and he presented it for my inspection.[13] He had certainly worked hard on it. He has lived for a very long time alone and unencumbered in a corner of Delhi. He is a worthwhile person, and conversation with him is not unpleasant. I showed him much favor and dismissed him.

On Sunday the sixteenth [November 28] we marched from Delhi.

On Friday the twenty-first [December 3] we stopped in the pargana of Kairana, Muqarrab Khan's native land. The climate is temperate, and the land is fertile.

13. The book is Abdul-Haqq (1551–1642)'s *Akhbar al-akhyar* (News of the best ones), a volume on the lives of the saints, mostly Indian.

Muqarrab Khan has constructed orchards and buildings there. Since praise of his garden had often been heard, I wanted to have a look at it. On Saturday the twenty-second [December 4] I enjoyed touring the garden with the ladies of the harem. Without exaggeration it was an extremely fine and pleasant garden. What is enclosed by a wall of baked bricks with paved avenues comprises 140 bighas.[14] In the middle of the garden a pool has been constructed, 220 cubits long and 200 cubits wide. In the middle of the pool is a moonlight terrace twenty-two cubits square.[15] There is no tree belonging to either warm or cool climate that hasn't been planted in that garden. Of the fruit-bearing trees found in Persia, even a pistachio sapling was growing. Beautifully shaped tall cypresses were seen. Nothing like them for beauty and elegance had been seen before. It has been heard from men whose word can be trusted that even in Persia few cypresses better than these have been seen. I ordered the cypresses counted. There were 300 of them. All around the pool are nicely proportioned pavilions, but they are still under construction.

On Monday the twenty-fourth [December 6] Khanjar Khan, the guardian of the Ahmadnagar fortress, was promoted to the rank of 2500/1000. Sarbulandi Rai was promoted to 2500/1600.

❁ *The Birth of Prince Muradbakhsh*

On Wednesday the twenty-sixth [December 8] God bestowed upon my son Shahjahan a son by Asaf Khan's daughter. He presented a vow of a thousand mohurs and requested a name. I named him Muradbakhsh. It is hoped that his advent will prove auspicious for this dynasty. **[228a]**

On Thursday the twenty-seventh [December 9] a halt was observed. During these few days I enjoyed hunting floricans and bustards. I ordered one white florican weighed. It came to two and a quarter Jahangiri seers. A striped one was two seers and an eighth, and one large bustard was a seer and a quarter heavier than the white florican.

On Thursday the fifth of Day [December 16] we got out of the boats at the station of Akbarpur and traveled by land. From Agra to that station, which is two kos from the pargana of Buria, is a distance of 123 kos by river, or a distance of ninety-one kos by land. We had done it in thirty-four marches and seventeen halts, not counting the week it took to get out of the city and the twelve days I spent hunting in Palam, the addition of which would make seventy days.

On this date Jahangir-Quli Khan came from Bihar and paid homage, presenting a vow of a hundred mohurs and a hundred rupees.

From the previous Wednesday until Wednesday the eleventh [December 22] we marched continually. On Thursday the twelfth [December 23] I enjoyed touring the garden of Sirhind. Although it is an old garden with trees past their prime and doesn't have the freshness it once had, it is still a site worth seeing. Khwaja Waysi, who knows all about horticulture and construction, was made the karori of Sirhind and dispatched before we left Agra especially to put this garden in good repair. He had put it in good order and made fairly good repairs. Once again I stressed that the dried-up old trees should be removed and fresh saplings planted, the *irqbandi* rebuilt,[16] and the old pavilions repaired. It was also ordered that other buildings like a bathhouse, et cetera, should be built in appropriate places.

On this date Dost Beg, one of Abdullah Khan's auxiliaries, was promoted to the rank of 700/350. Wazir Khan's son Muzaffar-Husayn was promoted to 800/300. **[228b]** Shaykh Qasim was given leave to depart for service in the Deccan.

14. 140 bighas is 354 square meters, or 87 1/2 acres.

15. A moonlight terrace (*suffa-i mahtabi*) is a raised, outdoor terrace with no obstructions around where one sits at night to enjoy the moonlight.

16. The word *irq* is attested by Babur, *Baburnama*, folio 186a, where it means a dais, or elevated platform; *irqbandi*, which is not attested in dictionaries, could be the retaining wall around a raised platform, which seems to accord with the context in which Jahangir uses the word here.

On Thursday the nineteenth [December 30], at my son Shahjahan's request, I went to his quarters for a celebration of the birth of his son. He made an offering that included a short broadsword made in Venice. The hilt and fastenings were made of sapphires cut in Europe. It was really nicely made. There was also an elephant the Raja of Baglana had presented to my son in Burhanpur. Since it was good-looking and well behaved, it was sent to the imperial stable. The total value of what was accepted from his offering was a hundred and thirty thousand rupees. He presented his stepmothers and patronesses nearly forty thousand rupees' worth.

During these days Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari, the commander of the Bhakkar garrison, sent as a gift an ibex he had captured young in the mountains and reared in his house. It was viewed. I liked it a lot. I have seen many markhor goats and mountain rams domestically reared, but I hadn't seen an ibex so reared. I ordered it kept with a Barbary goat so that they would mate and produce offspring. Without exaggeration, it was beyond comparison with a markhor or a mountain ram. Sayyid Bayazid was promoted to the rank of 1000/700.

On Monday the twenty-third [January 3, 1620] I awarded Muqim Khan a robe of honor, a horse, an elephant, and a jeweled khapwa and assigned him to the souba of Bihar.

On Saturday the twenty-eighth [January 8] Shahjahan gave a party on the banks of the Beas River. The same day Raja Bikramajit, who was involved in the siege of Kangra, came to court as ordered on business.

On Monday the thirtieth [January 10] my son Shahjahan requested a ten-day leave and went to Lahore to see the newly constructed palace buildings. Raja Bikramajit was awarded a royal dagger, a robe of honor, and a horse and returned to the siege of Kangra. **[229a]**

On Wednesday the second of Bahman [January 12] imperial camp was made in the garden at Kalanaur. It was here that His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani acceded to the throne. Since news of Khan Alam's approach had been received, every day a servant was sent out to greet him. In order to honor him with displays of my favor I added to the letters to him a hemistich or line of extemporaneous poetry suitable to the place. Once I sent him some Jahangiri attar and wrote this line: "I have sent my own scent in your direction to bring you to me more quickly."

❁ *Khan Alam Returns from Persia*

On Thursday the third [January 13] Khan Alam paid homage in the garden at Kalanaur and presented a hundred mohurs and a thousand rupees as a vow. He will present his gifts later. On his heels came Zaynal Beg, my brother Shah Abbas's ambassador,[17] bearing royal correspondence and rare gifts from that land.

If the acts of affectionate concern my brother did for Khan Alam were to be recorded, it would be attributed to exaggeration. He constantly engaged in conversation with Khan Alam and wouldn't allow him to be away from him for an instant. If, by chance, he wanted to stay at home for a day or an evening, the shah would come unceremoniously and show him even more affection. One day there was a qamargha hunt in Farahabad, and the shah told Khan Alam to shoot. Out of politeness he took out a bow and two arrows, but the shah handed him fifty more arrows from his own quiver. By chance, fifty of these arrows struck prey, and only two missed. Then the shah ordered his liege men who were admitted to intimate gatherings to shoot. Most of them shot well. One of them, the scout Muhammad Yusuf, shot an arrow that went through two boars, and all the intimates broke out in spontaneous applause. When

17. Khan Alam's obtaining permission to withdraw from Shah Abbas's court and the dispatch of the Persian ambassador Zaynal Beg Begdili Shamlu are recorded in Iskandar Beg, *Alamara-yi Abbasi*, 2:950f.

Khan Alam was given leave to depart, the shah showed him great honor and attention, and after he departed from the city [**229b**] he came out to his tent, offered his apologies [for any shortcomings], and bade him farewell.

Of the valuable and rare things Khan Alam brought—and truly it was through his auspicious ascendant that such things came into his possession—one was a picture of the Sahib-Qiran [Temür]'s battle with Iletmish Khan containing likenesses of his mighty sons and grand amirs who participated in the battle. Each portrait was identified by name. The picture contains 240 portraits. The painter has written his name as Khalil Mirza-Shahrukhi. His work is very masterful and fine. It bears every resemblance to the work of Master Bihzad.[18] Had the artist's name not been written, it would have been thought that it was by Bihzad. Since he preceded Bihzad in time, it can be safely concluded that Bihzad was a student of his who painted in his style. This valuable gift made its way from the library either of the late Shah Isma'il or of Shah Tahmasp into my brother Shah Abbas's establishment. His librarian, Sadiq by name, stole it and sold it to someone. By chance, the painting came into Khan Alam's possession in Isfahan. The shah, informed that he had obtained such a rarity, asked him for it on the pretext of having a look at it. Although Khan Alam wanted to get out of this obligation through some ruse or other, when it was asked for repeatedly and insistently, he had no choice but to send it to him. The shah recognized it as soon as he saw it. After keeping it for a few days, since he knew how intent we were upon such rarities and had never raised any objection to our requests large or small, he told Khan Alam the truth of the matter and gave the picture back to him.

When I sent Khan Alam to Persia, I sent with him a painter named Bishan Das, who was without equal in drawing likenesses, to take the likeness of the shah and his chief statesmen. He had drawn most of them and presented them for my inspection. He had drawn the portrait of my brother the shah in particular very, very well. Every one of the shah's servants to whom I showed it said that he had drawn him very well. [**230a**]

18. Kamaluddin Bihzad, by far the most famous of all Persian miniature painters in the literature, began his career under the Timurids in Herat and was later in service to the Safavids in Tabriz. See Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1989), 285–92.

❁

On the same date Qasim Khan paid homage along with the divan and bakhshi of Lahore. The painter Bishan Das was awarded an elephant. Baba Khwaja, an auxiliary in Kandahar, was promoted to the rank of 1000/550.

On Tuesday the eighth [January 18] I'timaduddawla paraded his troops for me. Although the souba of the Punjab is under the jurisdiction of his agents and he has miscellaneous jagirs in Hindustan, he paraded five thousand cavalrymen.

Since the land of Kashmir does not have a large enough crop production to handle the numbers that were accompanying the imperial retinue, and the multitude under imperial banners had already caused the prices of wheat and grain to rise, for the welfare of the common people it was ordered that those servants who were in my retinue should provision their own people and take along only those necessary, sending the rest back to their estates. They should also be extremely careful to reduce the numbers of beasts of burden and menial servants.

On Thursday the tenth [January 20] my son Shahjahan came from Lahore. I awarded Jahangir-Quli Khan a robe of honor, a horse, and an elephant and dismissed him and his brothers and sons to the Deccan.

❁ *Talib Amuli is Made Poet Laureate*

On this date Taliba received the title of Maliku'sh-shu'ara [king of poets] and was clad in a robe of honor. He is originally from Amul. He was with I'timaduddawla for a

while, but since the level of his poetry surpassed that of all others, he was enrolled as a court poet. These few lines are by him:

> Spring is much in your debt for having plundered the meadow, for the rose stays fresher in your hand than on the stem.
>
> I have so closed my mouth to speaking that you would say my mouth was a wound on my face that had healed.
>
> Love, from first to last, is nothing but singing and dancing. It is a wine that is enjoyable both new and aged.
>
> If I were a mirror instead of being a substance, how could I reveal you to yourself without a veil?
>
> I have two lips, one devoted to wine and the other apologizing for drunkenness. [**230b**]

❁

On Monday the fourteenth [January 24] Sultan Qawam's son Husayni presented this quatrain he had composed: "The dust that falls from your hem / Is water dripping from the cheek of Solomon's collyrium. / Were the dust of your threshold squeezed, / Sweat from kings' brows would drip from it."

Mu'tamad Khan also recited at this time a quatrain I liked a lot and wrote in my miscellany. It is this: "You make me taste the bitter poison of separation from you. What has happened? / You spill my blood and flick me from your sleeve. What has happened? / Unaware are you of what the blade of separation has done. / Squeeze my dust to find out what has happened."

Talib is originally from Isfahan.[19] In his youth he took on the garb of asceticism and wandered into Kashmir as a mendicant. Seduced by the marvelous climate of that land, he took up residence there. After Kashmir was conquered he joined Arsh-Ashyani's service and was enrolled among the servants of the court. He is now nearly a hundred years old and lives comfortably with his sons and retainers in Kashmir, praying for the perpetual success of this empire.

19. This is a Mulla Talib Isfahani, not the poet Talib Amuli. Mulla Talib is mentioned again on page 379.

I was told there was a dervish in Lahore called Mian Shaykh Muhammad Mir, a sayyid by descent who is very learned, ascetic, blessed, and powerful and lives in retirement, trusting in God, rich in spiritual poverty, and in no need of the world. I of course wanted to meet him, but since it was impossible for me to go to Lahore, I wrote him a letter in which I revealed my inner self. Despite his advanced years and decrepitude, he took the trouble to come to me. I sat alone with him for a long time and enjoyed his conversation. He is a truly noble person, a rarity in this age. I went out of my way to sit with him, and from him I heard many lofty words on mysticism. [**231a**] Although I wanted to offer him a token of my esteem, since I found him too high-minded for such a thing, I couldn't do it. I offered him a white antelope skin for a prayer mat. Immediately thereafter he bade me farewell and returned to Lahore.

❁ *A Bearded Woman*

On [Wednes]day the twenty-third [February 2] camp was made in the vicinity of Daulatabad. There I saw a gardener's daughter who had a full mustache and a good handful of beard. Outwardly she resembled a man. She had hair growing on her chest and also had no breasts. I thought she shouldn't have children. While I was talking with her, she said, "I haven't menstruated yet, and this is the cause." I told some of the women to take her aside and examine her, thinking she might be a hermaphrodite.

Apparently she did not differ from other women by an iota. This has been recorded because it was so strange.



On Thursday the twenty-fourth [February 3] Baqir Khan came from Multan and paid homage. It has been written previously that Jalala Pirtariki's son Allahdad fled in disarray before the imperial forces. In the meanwhile he repented and applied through his acquaintance with Baqir Khan to have I'timaduddawla intercede on his behalf. At I'timaduddawla's request I ordered that if he was really sorry for what he had done he could come to court and have his offenses forgiven. On this date Baqir Khan brought him to court and once again, through I'timaduddawla's intercession, the dust of humiliation and penance was washed from his brow with the water of pardon.

Sangram the zamindar of Jammu was awarded the title of raja, promoted to the rank of 1000/500, and given an elephant and a robe of honor. Arab Khwafi, the commander of the Mian Doab garrison, was promoted to the rank of 800/500. Khwaja Qasim was promoted to 700/250. Qasim Koka's son Tahamtan Beg was promoted to the rank of 500/300. [231b] I gave Khan Alam a royal elephant with trappings. I promoted Baqir Khan to the rank of 1500/500 and gave him leave to take up his duties as governor.

On Monday the twenty-eighth [February 8] imperial camp was made in the pargana of Garhi on the banks of the Bahat River. Since these hills contain major hunting grounds, the scouts had been ordered to precede us and arrange a hunting circle. On [Wednes]day the first of Isfandarmudh [February 9] game was driven from a distance of six kos, and on Thursday the second they were brought into a stockade. Caught were 101 head of mountain sheep and chikara antelopes.

Since Mahabat Khan had been deprived of my presence for a long time, at his request I had said that if he felt secure about his duties and had no worry on any front, he could leave his forces in their outposts and come unencumbered to court. On this day he paid homage and presented a hundred mohurs for a vow.

Khan Alam was raised to the rank of 5000/3000. At the same time a letter came from Nuruddin-Quli in Punch in which he said, "To the best of my ability the mountain passes have been smoothed out. By chance, it has been raining for several days and nights and three cubits of snow have fallen up in the high passes. If you stop outside the mountains for a month it will be possible to pass this way; otherwise it will be difficult." Since the purpose of this trip was to see the spring season and the flowers, the chance would be lost if we stopped for a month. There was nothing to do but set out and go via Pakhli and Dhamtur.

On Friday the third [February 11] the Bahat River was crossed. Although the water was only up to our waists, since it was flowing fast and the people were having a very hard time crossing, I ordered two hundred elephants brought to the crossings to get the people's baggage across. [232a] Those who were weak and infirm would also be taken across on elephant back so that there would be no loss of life or property.

The Death of Khwaja Jahan

On this date arrived news of the death of Khwaja Jahan. He was an old servant from my days as a prince. Although he left my service and joined Arsh-Ashyani's for a while, since he hadn't gone to a stranger it didn't bother me so much. After my accession I patronized him more than he had seen in his wildest dreams, and eventually he attained the rank of 5000/3000. He has been mentioned in various and sundry places

in this record. He performed outstanding services and was a very hard worker, however, he did not have a shred of natural aptitude for acquired traits and other things that adorn a human being. On this trip he developed a weak heart, but he remained in the imperial retinue a while despite his indisposition and illness. When he grew really weak he received permission at Kalanaur to go to Lahore, where he died.

❁

On Saturday the fourth [February 12] the imperial camp stopped at the fortress at Rohtas. I gave Qasim Khan a horse, a sword, and a personal cashmere shawl and let him go to Lahore.

There was a little garden along the way, and I went to look at the flowers. From this place on, the *tehu* partridge abounds. It is more delicious than ordinary partridge.

On Sunday the fifth [February 13] Mirza Rustam's son Mirza Hasan was promoted to the rank of 1000/400 and assigned to the Deccan. Khwaja Abdul-Latif the head falconer was also promoted to the rank of 1000/400. In this area I saw a flower that was white inside and red outside. Some are yellow inside and red outside. In Persian it is called *lala-i-begana* [stranger tulip]; in Hindi it is called *thal*, which means land. Since the kanwal [lotus] occurs only in water, they call this one *thal kanwal*, meaning "land lotus."[20]

20. Alvi and Rahman, *Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 97 suggest that the flower described here may be *Hibiscus mutabilis*.

On Thursday the ninth [February 17] a letter came from Dilawar Khan, the governor of Kashmir, **[232b]** giving the good news of victory in Kishtwar. The details will be given after he arrives at court. A warm letter was sent with a personal robe of honor and a jeweled dagger. He was awarded the one-year income of the conquered territory as a reward for this pleasing service.

On Tuesday the fourteenth [February 22] we stopped at Hasan Abdal. Because a description of this route and the particulars of the stopping places have already been written under the journey to Kabul,[21] they haven't been repeated here. All the stopping places from here to Kashmir will be recorded, God willing. From the time we disembarked from the boats in Akbarpur to Hasan Abdal we had covered 178 kos in sixty-nine days, with forty-eight marches and twenty-one halts.

21. Pages 72–75.

Since there were a spring, waterfall, and pool of the utmost delight at this stopping place, we halted for two days.

❁ *Lunar Weighing Ceremony*

On Thursday the sixteenth [February 24] the lunar weighing ceremony was held, and my fifty-third year by lunar calculation commenced under favorable auspices.

From this stage on, because there were mountains, passes, and many ups and downs ahead, and it would be very difficult for the imperial camp to pass all together, it was decided that Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani and the other begams would stop for a few days to rest. I'timaduddawla, Sadiq Khan Bakhshi, and Iradat Khan the chief steward together with the workers of the workshops would cross in succession, and thus Mirza Rustam Safavi, Khan A'zam, and some others were given leave to proceed via Punch while the imperial retinue set out unencumbered together with a few intimates and the necessary servants on Friday the seventeenth [February 25], marched three and a half kos, and stopped in the village of Sultanpur.

❁ *The Death of Rana Amar Singh*

On this date the news arrived of Rana Amar Singh's death by natural cause in Udaipur. **[233a]** His grandson Jagat Singh and his son Bhim were in the retinue. They were given robes of honor, and Raja Kishan Das was ordered to take a letter of commiseration

and the award of the title of raja with a robe of honor, a horse, and a royal elephant for Kunwar Karan and offer my condolences.



It was heard from the people of this area that other than during the monsoon season, a sound like thunder could be heard from the mountain when there wasn't a trace of a cloud or storm. They call the mountain Garaj [Roar] and say that after a year or two the sound will certainly be heard. I had heard the same thing often in His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's presence. Since it is not without strangeness, it has been written about. God only knows.

On Saturday the eighteenth [February 26] we went four and a half kos and stopped in the village of Sanji. From this station on, one is in the pargana of Hazara Qarlugh.[22]

22. Reading *QARLGH* (Qarlugh) for the text's meaningless *FARAN'*.

On Sunday the nineteenth [February 27] we proceeded three and three-quarters kos and stopped at the station of Nawashahr. From here on, one is in Dhamtur. As far as the eye could see there were green vales filled with thal kanwal flowers and patches of mustard flowers in bloom. It looked really beautiful.

On Monday the twentieth [February 28] we marched three and a half kos and camped in the village of Salhar. Mahabat Khan presented an offering of gems and jeweled utensils worth sixty thousand rupees. In this land I saw a flower, fiery red and shaped like a marshmallow flower but smaller.[23] So many flowers had blossomed next to each other that from afar it looked like one flower. The tree is the size of an apricot tree. There were also many wild violets growing on the mountain slopes. They were extremely fragrant and their color was lighter than that of a normal violet.

23. Alvi and Rahman, *Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 98 suggest that the flower here described may be the hollyhock.

On Tuesday the twenty-first [March 1] we went three kos and stopped in the village of Mangli. On this day I gave Mahabat Khan leave to depart for service in Bangash and awarded him a horse, a royal elephant, and a robe of honor with a sheepskin coat. Today it drizzled all the way to the station. It also rained on the eve of [Wednes]day the twenty-second [March 2]. At dawn it began to snow. **[233b]** Since most of the way was sheer cliffs and the rain had made them slippery, the weakened beasts of burden fell down and couldn't get up. Twenty-five elephants from the imperial establishment were lost. I ordered a halt for two days on account of the rain.

On Thursday the twenty-third [March 3] Sultan-Husayn the zamindar of Pakhli paid homage. From here on, we were in the pargana of Pakhli. By strange coincidence, when His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani was passing through here it snowed at this same station and it was snowing now, but for the last several years it hadn't snowed at all and there had been very little rain.

On Friday the twenty-fourth [March 4] we proceeded four kos and stopped in the village of Swadka. There were many sheer cliffs on this road too. Apricot and peach trees had blossomed by the field and clothed themselves in blooms. The young pine trees also delighted the eye.

On Saturday the twenty-fifth [March 5] we went nearly three and a half kos and stopped outside of Pakhli.

On Sunday the twenty-sixth [March 6] I mounted to go partridge hunting. At the end of the day I honored Sultan-Husayn by accepting his invitation to his house. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani had also visited him here. He presented horses, daggers, hawks, and falcons. I gave him back the horses and daggers, but I ordered the hawks and falcons tied loosely so that I could see those that flew well.

The sarkar of Pakhli is thirty-five kos in length and twenty-five in width. To the east are the mountains of Kashmir, and to the west is Attock Benares; to the north is

Kishtwar, and to the south is Gakhar territory. When the world-conquering Sahib-Qiran [Temür] triumphed over Hindustan and turned back to his capital in Turan, he gave this group of people, who were in his retinue, land in this area and stationed them here. They say they are originally Qarlughs,[24] but they don't really know who the chief was at that time or what his name was. Now they are pure Lahoris and speak in that language. The situation of the people of Dhamtur is the same. During His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's time the zamindar of Dhamtur was named Shahrukh. Now it is Bahadur, his son. **[234a]** Although they are all kin to one another, since feuds and disputes are inescapable among zamindars, they are always along the borders. These have always been loyal supporters of ours. Sultan-Husayn's son Sultan-Mahmud and Shahrukh paid homage to me during my princely days. Although Sultan-Husayn was eighty years old, there was absolutely no diminution in his bodily strength, and he could ride and charge as well as he had to.

24. The Qarlughs, or Qarluqs, were a Turkish tribe of major importance until the Timurid period (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries), when they were eclipsed by the Chaghatay.

In this land they make buza from bread and rice and call it *sar*. Effectively it is much stronger than buza, and it is their primary beverage. The older it is, the better it gets. They put the sar in vats, seal the lids tightly, and keep it in their houses for two or three years. After removing the scum from the surface they make . . . and call it *achhi*. There is even ten-year-old *achhi*. For them, the older it is the better. The least amount of time is one year.

Sultan-Mahmud used to drink this stuff by the cupful and gulp it down. Sultan-Husayn follows his example. He brought me some of the very best of it. I tried it once, although I had drunk some before. Its effect is stimulating, but it is somewhat numbing too. Apparently they take a little bhang with it. As it wears off, one is overcome by sleep. If there is no wine, it can certainly be used as a substitute.

The fruits found here are the apricot, peach, and pear. Since they are not cultivated and grow wild, they are all sour and unpleasant. One can certainly enjoy the blossoms, however. The houses and dwellings are of wood, and they build in the style of the people of Kashmir. They raise hunting birds and keep horses, camels, and oxen. Goats and fowl are very plentiful. Their mules are tiny and of no use for heavy loads.

Since it had been reported that there was a village several stops ahead where there would not be sufficient grain for the imperial camp, it was ordered that a reduced forward camp sufficient for our needs and the necessary workshops be taken along and the elephants' loads lightened to provisions for only three or four days. After the attendants who would go with me were selected, the rest of the people were to follow several stages behind under the leadership of Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan the bakhshi. **[234b]** After all precautions and arrangements had been made, seven hundred elephants were found to be necessary for the forward camp and the workshops.

Sultan-Husayn's rank was 400/300. At this time I promoted him to the rank of 600/350 and gave him a robe of honor, a jeweled dagger, and an elephant. Bahadur Dhamturi is assigned as an auxiliary to the Bangash army, and his rank was fixed at 200/100.

On Wednesday the twenty-ninth [March 9] I went five and a quarter kos, crossed the bridge over the Nainsukh River,[25] and camped. The Nainsukh flows from north to south and comes from the Dard Mountains between Badakhshan and Tibet.[26] Since the river forks at this place, two bridges had been constructed of wood for the crossing of the imperial army. One was eighteen cubits long, and the other was fourteen cubits long. They were both five cubits wide. In this land the method of building bridges is as follows. Trees with branches are laid across the surface of the water, and the two ends

25. The Nainsukh River is now known as the Kunhar.

26. This is the area known as Little Tibet, the vicinity of Ladakh.

are fastened tightly to rocks. Then thick wooden planks are laid on top and fastened with pegs and strong ropes. With a little repair they last for years.

At any rate, the elephants were made to wade across, and cavalry and foot soldiers crossed by the bridges. Sultan-Mahmud named this river Nainsukh, which means "repose of the eye."

On Thursday the thirtieth [March 10] we went nearly three and a half kos and camped on the banks of the Kishen Ganga River. There is an incredibly high pass on this road, a kos up and a kos and a half down. They call it Pim Drang. The reason they call it this is that in the Kashmiri language cotton is called *pim*. When the rulers of Kashmir stationed an official there to take a customs tax on loads of cotton, since people had to tarry (*dirang*) for the duty to be collected, it became known as Pim Drang.

Once through the pass there is an extremely lovely waterfall. We drank our usual bowls of wine by the brook in the shade of a tree, [**235a**] returning to camp at dinner time.

Long ago there used to be a bridge over this river fifty-four cubits long and a cubit and a half wide, over which one could cross on foot. By order, another bridge was built next to it fifty-three cubits long and three wide. Since the water was swift and deep, the elephants had to be taken across stripped while cavalry, foot soldiers, and horses crossed by the bridge. By order of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani a very strong rest house of stone and mortar had been built on top of the hill overlooking the water.

One day before the new year's transit of the sun, Mu'tamad Khan was sent ahead to select an appropriately elevated site for the throne and to hold the Nawroz celebration. By chance, after crossing the bridge there was a hill overlooking the water that was green and fresh, and on top of the hill was a flat space of fifty cubits—you would've said the workmen of destiny had prepared it for just such a day of celebration. Mu'tamad Khan had all the paraphernalia for Nawroz set up on top of the hill, and I approved wholeheartedly and praised him.

The Kishen Ganga River comes from the south and flows toward the north. The water of the Bahat comes from the east, joins the Kishen Ganga, and flows to the north.

Fifteenth Regnal Year: March 11, 1620–March 10, 1621

The Fifteenth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

The transition of the sun into Aries occurred on Friday the fifteenth of Rabi' II 1029 [March 11, 1620] after the elapse of twelve and a half gharis, which would be five sidereal hours, and the fifteenth regnal year of this petitioner at the divine court commenced with auspiciousness.

On Saturday the second [of Farvardin, March 12] we went four and an eighth kos and stopped in the village of Bakkar. There was no mountain pass along the way, but it was fairly rocky. Peafowl, black quail, and langur monkeys, all of which are warm-climate animals, were seen. Apparently they can live in cold climates too. From here to Kashmir the entire way is along the banks of the Bahat River, and there are mountains on both sides. In the valley bottom the river flows extremely fast with white water. **[235b]** Even the largest elephants can't keep a footing and are immediately swept away. There are also otters.

On Sunday the third [March 13] we proceeded four and a half kos and stopped in Musaran. On Thursday night the merchants who live in the pargana of Baramula came and paid homage. The reason the place was called Baramula was asked. They said that *barah* means boar in Hindi, and *mula* means place—that is, a place of boars. One of the major avatars in the Hindus' religion is a boar,[1] and with constant use Barah Mula has become Baramula.

1. The boar incarnation is the third incarnation of Vishnu.

On Monday the fourth [March 14] we went two and a half kos and stopped in Bhuliyas. Since the mountain passes were said to be extremely narrow and difficult, and since passage of a crowd of people could be made only with great effort, I told Mu'tamad Khan that aside from Asaf Khan and a few other indispensable servants, no one else was to be allowed to ride with the imperial retinue, and the camp was to be brought one stage behind. As it happened, Mu'tamad Khan had already sent his camp ahead before this order was given, so later he was going to write to his men telling them I had given such an order and they should stop at whatever place they had reached. His brothers received the news at the foot of the Bhuliyas Pass and pitched their tent there. Just as the imperial retinue was nearing their campsite it began to snow and rain. We hadn't gone the length of a playing field when his camp came into view. Counting this as a lucky coincidence, the ladies of the harem and I dismounted at Mu'tamad Khan's tent and sought shelter from the cold, snow, and rain. As ordered, Mu'tamad Khan's brothers sent a runner to summon him. When the news reached him that the elephants of the forward camp had made it to the top of the pass and blocked the way, since it was impossible to go on horseback, he was so anxious that he came on foot, having traversed a distance of two and a half kos in two hours. He was so ecstatic

he recited the following line of poetry: **[236a]** "Your image came to me at midnight. I offered my soul but I was ashamed. / A poor man is embarrassed when a guest arrives unexpectedly." As a gesture of welcome he offered me everything he had in his baggage, cash, goods, animal, mineral, and vegetable. I gave it all back to him, saying, "What value have the goods of this world in our eyes? We purchase the gem of loyalty at a high price." It must be reckoned as a sign of his loyalty and good fortune that an emperor like me and the ladies of his harem spent a comfortable day and a night in his quarters and so distinguished him among his peers.

On Tuesday the fifth [March 14], after traversing two kos, we stopped in the village of Ka[t]hai. I gave Mu'tamad Khan the cloak I had on my back and promoted him to the rank of 1500/500. From here on, we were inside the borders of Kashmir. Here at the Bhuliyas Pass, Yusuf Khan Kashmiri's son Ya'qub fought a battle with His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar]'s imperial forces under Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Man Singh's father.[2]

2. See Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 3:715, 738, 846.

The Drowning Death of Suhrab Khan

Today the news arrived that Mirza Rustam Khan's son Suhrab Khan had been drowned in the Bahat River. He had stayed behind one stage, as he had been ordered. Along the way, however, it occurred to him to go into the river to bathe although warm water was available. His men tried hard to keep him from doing it, saying that if one didn't have to, it was imprudent and unwise in such cold weather to go into a bloodthirsty, churning river that swept away must elephants. He refused to listen to them, however, and since his slated time had come, he stubbornly, conceitedly, and foolhardily grew even more reliant on his ability to swim—in which he was without peer. Along with a servant and one other, both of whom knew how to swim, he got up on a rock on the riverbank and dove in. No sooner had he hit the water than it became clear that he couldn't keep himself above the waves or swim. He died almost immediately upon hitting the water. **[236b]** Both Suhrab Khan and the servant were killed. The wrestler managed only with the greatest of difficulty to save himself. Mirza Rustam was inordinately attached to this son of his, and when he was informed on the road to Punch he went to pieces. He and all his retinue clad themselves in black and set out, bareheaded and barefoot, to come to me. What can one write of the mother's grief? Even though the mirza had other sons, he was most attached to this one. He was only twenty-six years old. In marksmanship he was his father's star pupil. He knew how to ride elephants and drive carriages very well. During the expedition to Gujarat most of the time he was told to ride in front of the royal elephant, and he was outstanding in military affairs.

On Wednesday we went three kos and stopped in the village of Rewand.

On Thursday the seventh [March 17] we crossed Kuwarmat Pass and camped in the village of Wacha. This stage was four and a quarter kos. Kuwarmat Pass is among the most difficult passes and the last one on this road.

On Friday the eighth [March 18] we went nearly four kos and stopped in the village of Bambyar.[3] There were no passes on this road, and it was so wide that there were plain after plain and meadow upon meadow full of blossoms and all sorts of herbs, narcissi, violets, and unfamiliar flowers peculiar to this region. There was one strange flower in particular with an odd shape. It had five or six orange-colored flowers blooming with their heads down, and several leaves were poking out from inside the flowers.

3. Reading *BNBYAR* (Bambyar, as on modern maps) for the text's miscopied *BLTAR*.

It was something like a pineapple. The name of this flower is *bulanik*.[4] There was another flower like the *boni*, and around it were tiny flowers shaped and colored like jasmine. Some were blue and others were pink with a yellow spot in the middle. It is extremely nice-looking and harmonious. Its name is *ledor posh*.[5] *Posh* means flower in general. There were also many yellow Judas trees along the road. The flowers of Kashmir are beyond counting or enumeration. Which ones shall I write about? How many can one write about? Only those that are really special can be recorded.

There is an extremely fine waterfall on the road at this station, really worth seeing, [237a] that pours down from a great height. No waterfall this fine had been seen on this trip. I stopped for a while to refresh my eye and heart by looking at it.

On Saturday the ninth [March 19] we marched four and three-quarters kos and entered Baramula, one of the major entrepôts of Kashmir. From here to the city [of Srinagar] is fourteen kos. Baramula is situated on the banks of the Bahat. Some Kashmiri merchants who live in this town have built houses and mosques overlooking the water, and there they live in comfort and prosperity. As ordered, boats had been prepared and readied for us at this station. Since the hour selected for entering the city was on Monday, I considered it best not to stay here and immediately got into the boats with the ladies of the harem and set out for my destination under good auspices. Two watches of Sunday had elapsed when we arrived in Shihabuddinpur, one of the major sarkars of Kashmir. I ordered the plane trees of the Shihabuddinpur meadow counted. There were ninety-four trees.

On this day Dilawar Khan, the governor of Kashmir, arrived from Kishtwar to pay homage and be honored by various shows of regal favor. Truly, he discharged his duty in an exemplary manner, and it is hoped that the Giver of All will bestow such glory upon all his loyal servants. Kishtwar is located to the south of Kashmir, and from the city of Kashmir to the gubernatorial seat of Kishtwar is a distance of sixty kos.

❁ *The Conquest of Kishtwar*

On the tenth of Shahrivar of the fourteenth regnal year [August 23, 1619], Dilawar Khan and ten thousand cavalry and foot soldiers set out to conquer Kishtwar, stationing his son Hasan and Gurd-Ali Mirbahri to guard the city and frontiers. Inasmuch as Gawhar Chak and Abih[6] Chak were stirring up trouble in Kishtwar and vicinity by claiming Kashmir by heredity, [237b] as a precautionary measure Dilawar Khan left one of his brothers, Haybat by name, with a troop at the Desu station, which is located next to the Pir Panjal Pass. At that station he divided his troops and set out with his division along the Sangipur road. He assigned his son Jalal along with Nasrullah Arab, Ali-Malik Kashmiri, and a troop of Jahangiri servants to the safe road, and his eldest son, Jamal, with a contingent of warriors to be the forward detachment of his division. He also assigned two other detachments to go on his right and left. Since the road was not passable by horse, he took a few horses along as a precaution but sent the soldiers' horses back to Kashmir in a herd,[7] leaving the battle-ready warriors to go up the mountains on foot. As the ghazis of Islam battled stage by stage with the benighted infidels, they advanced to Amarkot, one of the enemy's strongholds. There Jalal and Jamal's divisions came together from the various directions to which they had been assigned. The ill-starred enemy could offer no resistance and fled in retreat. The self-sacrificing champions trod over difficult mountains and up and down many valleys until they reached the Maru River, where battle broke out and the ghazis of Islam performed valiantly. The unfortunate Abih Chak and many of his men were killed. When Abih was killed, the raja lost heart and took flight, stopping at Bhandarkot on the other

4. The *bulanik* flower is the crowned imperial lily (*Fritillaria imperialis*) per Alvi and Rahman, *Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 100.

5. Alvi and Rahman (*Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 100) identify this as the thistle.

6. Text has *ABYH* (Abih); Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (trans. Rogers), 135 has Aiba; it may be *ANBH*, Amba.

7. Reading *gala* (herd) for the text's meaningless *KL*.

side of the river. Some of the champions advanced, wanting to cross the bridge, but a pitched battle broke out and some of the warriors were killed. The imperials continued trying to cross the bridge for eight days and nights, but the infidels kept attacking, fighting, and defending without shortcoming, until Dilawar Khan joined the army after having secured outposts and arranged for provisioning. [238a]

The raja, using a wily stratagem, sent representatives to Dilawar Khan and pleaded, saying, "I will send my brother to court with tribute, and when my offenses have been pardoned and I am no longer afraid, I will appear at court myself and pay homage." Paying no attention to these deceptive words, Dilawar Khan was not about to lose such an opportunity. He dismissed the raja's unsuccessful representatives and made every effort to get across the river. His son Jamal and a group of warriors swam courageously across and enjoined a pitched battle with the foe. Then our self-sacrificing warriors attacked from their side, and since the enemy did not have the power to resist, they broke the planks on the bridge and took flight. The victorious troops repaired the bridge and got the rest of the army across. Dilawar Khan camped in Bhandarkot. From the aforementioned river to the Chenab River, which was these blackguards' main bastion, was only a distance of two arrow shots. The bank of the Chenab is very high, and the river is very difficult to cross. To facilitate foot traffic, thick ropes have been strung across, and to the ropes wooden planks a cubit long have been fastened tightly one next to another. One end of the ropes is fastened to the summit of the mountain, and the other end is attached the other side of the river. Two other ropes are also stretched across, an ell above the first two, so those crossing on foot can walk on the planks while holding onto the higher ropes, thus crossing down from the top of the mountain to the other side of the river. This type of bridge is called *zampa* by the mountain people. Everywhere they suspected a zampa might be constructed, they stationed musketeers, yeomen, and warriors for better security. [238b] Dilawar Khan also had rafts made and put eighty courageous warriors on them by night, intending to get them across the river. Since the water was extremely swift and turbulent, the rafts were destroyed, and sixty-eight of the warriors were drowned. Only ten of them swam to safety. Two got to the other side and were captured in battle with the foe.

In short, Dilawar Khan persevered at Bhandarkot for four months and two days, trying to cross the river without success. Finally a zamindar guided him to a place where the enemy would not suspect him to cross. He built a zampa, and Dilawar Khan's son Jalal, several court servants, and a group of nearly two hundred Afghans crossed safely in the middle of the night, took the raja by surprise at dawn, and sounded the trumpets of victory. The few who were around the raja, half awake and half asleep, lost all semblance of order, and most were put to the sword. The rest managed to save themselves by fleeing on foot. During the chaos a soldier got to the raja and was about to finish him off with his sword when the raja cried out, "I'm the raja! Take me alive to Dilawar Khan!" The men rushed forward and seized him. After the raja was captured, his men, whoever and wherever they were, ran away and hid themselves. Hearing the good news, Dilawar Khan prostrated himself in thanks, crossed back over the river, and entered Mandal Badr, the gubernatorial seat of that land, a distance of three kos from the river.

The raja is married both to the sister of Sangram, the raja of Jammu, and to the daughter of Raja Baso's son, the accursed Jawhar Mal. [239a] By Sangram's sister he has children. Before our victory was achieved, as a precautionary measure he had sent his wives to take refuge with Raja Jaswal and other zamindars.

When the imperial retinue approached, Dilawar Khan, as ordered, took the raja along and set out to pay homage, having stationed Nasrullah Arab and a contingent of cavalry and infantry to guard the territory.

The Produce of Kishtwar

In Kishtwar wheat, barley, lentils, and millet are abundant, but, unlike in Kashmir, there is little rice. The saffron of Kishtwar is better than that of Kashmir. Nearly a hundred falcons and hawks are captured there. The oranges, citrons, and watermelons are of the very finest. The Persian melons are better than those of Kashmir. Other fruits like grapes, peaches, apricots, and pears are sour. If they were given some attention they might improve.

There is a minted gold coin called *sahnsi* left over from the rulers of Kashmir. They exchange one and a half of them for a rupee, and in commercial transactions fifteen sahnsis, which is the equivalent of ten rupees, are reckoned as one imperial mohur. Two Hindustani seers are the equivalent of one maund here. It is not customary for the raja to tax agricultural produce. Instead, he takes six sahnsis, or four rupees, annually per house. The saffron is assigned while in the flower as pay for a troop of Rajputs and seven hundred musketeers who are old retainers. When the saffron is sold, four rupees are taken from the buyer for every maund of two seers. The raja's entire income comes from fines, and he exacts enormous amounts for the slightest offense. Whenever he finds a wealthy or well-off person, he finds a pretext to get hold of everything he has. His income must be at least nearly a lac of rupees. During time of war he can muster six or seven thousand foot soldiers. Horses are rare among them. The raja and his chief men must have only fifty horses among them. **[239b]**

One year's income was given to Dilawar Khan as a gratuity, which would amount to approximately a jagir for a holder of 1000 zat and 1000 suwar by Jahangirid standards. Once the accountants of the supreme administration calculate the jagirdar's allowance, the exact amount will be known.

On Monday the eleventh [March 21], after the elapse of two watches and four gharis, the imperial retinue arrived under good auspices at the buildings that had been newly built on the edge of the lake. By order of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani a very strong fortress of stone and mortar was begun, but it is still incomplete—one side still remains unfinished. It is hoped that it will soon be completed.

From the station of [Baba] Hasan Abdal to Kashmir, the way we came, was a distance of 75 kos, which we did in 19 marches and 6 halts over a period of twenty-five days. From Agra to Kashmir we covered a distance of 376 kos in 102 marches and 63 halts over a period of five months and eighteen days. By land, the normal and ordinary way, it is a distance of $304^{1}/_{2}$ kos.

On Tuesday the twelfth [March 22] Dilawar Khan, as ordered, brought the raja of Kishtwar into my presence in chains and kissed the ground. The raja is not without dignity. His clothes are in the Indian fashion, and he knows both the Kashmiri and Hindi languages. Unlike other zamindars of this area, he looks totally citified. I ordered that, his many offenses and crimes notwithstanding, if he would send his sons to our court, he would be released from bondage and live in prosperity in the shadow of our eternal state, free from worry and concern. Otherwise, he would languish for all eternity in one of the fortresses of Hindustan. He replied, "I shall bring my family, wives, and sons to pay homage, and my hopes will lie in whatever His Majesty commands."

I shall now write a summary section on the conditions and peculiar characteristics of the land of Kashmir.

The Particular Characteristics of the Land of Kashmir

Kashmir is in the fourth clime. Its latitude from the equator is 35°. Of old this land was under the control of rajas [**240a**] who ruled for four thousand years. Their history and names are recorded in detail in the *Raj-tarang*,[8] which was translated at His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's order from the Hindi language into Persian. Kashmir became Muslim in the year 712 of the Hegira [1312–13], and thirty-two Muslims ruled for 282 years until the year 994 [1586], when His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani conquered it. From that date until the present, thirty-five years, it has been under the control of supporters of our eternal state.

The vale of Kashmir extends lengthwise from the Bhuliyas Pass to Qambarber, a distance of fifty-six Jahangiri kos. In width it is not more than twenty-seven kos or less than ten.

In the *Akbarnama* Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl has written that the length of the vale of Kashmir, from the Kishen Ganga River to Qambarber, is approximately 120 kos, and that the width is not less than ten kos or more than twenty-five.[9] As a precautionary measure, and in order to be precise, I ordered a group of reliable experts to measure the length and breadth by ropes so that the actual measurements could be recorded. What Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl wrote as 120 kos actually came out as sixty-seven. It is a rule that every land extends as far as the people speak the language of that country. On this basis, the border of Kashmir lies at Bhuliyas, which is located eleven kos this side of the Kishen Ganga, and [the length] is therefore fifty-six kos. In width a difference of not more than two kos was found.

The kos that is in use during the reign of this supplicant corresponds to the standard set by His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, i.e. every kos is five thousand cubits, and a cubit and a quarter is equivalent to two *shar'i* cubits,[10] each of which is twenty-four fingers. Everywhere "kos" and "ell" are mentioned, the kos and ell in use now are meant.

The name of the city [of Kashmir] is Srinagar. [**240b**]. The Bahat River flows through the midst of the inhabited area, and its source is a spring called Vernag, four kos south of the city. By my order, a pavilion and garden were built at the spring. Inside the city four extremely sound bridges of stone and wood have been constructed for the people to pass over. A bridge is called *kadal* in the language of this country.

There is an extremely fine mosque in the city, a monument built by Sultan Sikandar in 795 [1392–93]. After a time it burned and was repaired by Sultan Hasan. It was still not completed when he died, and in 909 [1503–4] Ibrahim Bakri, Sultan Muhammad's vizier, finished it. From that date until the present it has stood for 120 years. From the mihrab to the eastern wall is 145 cubits in length; the width is 144 cubits, including four arches. All around the arcade are very fine painted and decorated pillars. Truly no monument better than this has been left by the rulers of Kashmir.

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani lived in this city for a while, and there is a khanaqah in memory of him. There are two large lakes adjacent to the city that are full of water all year, and the taste does not change. The principal means of getting about and of transporting grain and firewood is by boat. In the city and surrounding parganas there are 5,700 boats and 7,400 boatmen. The province of Kashmir comprises thirty-eight parganas divided into two regions. The region above the river is called Marraj, below it is called Kamraj.

The use of gold and silver for land revenues and commercial transactions is not customary in this country, except for a small proportion of taxes. Cash and goods are counted in loads of rice, every load being three maunds and eight seers by currently

8. This is the *Rajatarangini*, a history of Kashmir in verse by Kalhana in the twelfth century. A Persian translation of the Sanskrit original was made at Akbar's order by Mulla Shah-Muhammad Shahabadi

9. Abu'l-Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 1:562. "Qambarber" is there written "Qambarwer."

10. The *shar'i* (legal) cubit defined as 24 fingers is 49.875 centimeters ($19^3/_5$ inches). The Ilahi cubit is defined as 40 fingers, or 81.28 centimeters ($31^7/_{10}$ inches). One and a quarter Ilahi cubits would be 50 fingers, near enough to the 48 fingers of two legal cubits. Five thousand Ilahi cubits make 4.06 kilometers, or approximately $2^1/_2$ miles, which is what the kos works out to in practice. See appendix on weights and measures.

standard weight. The Kashmiris consider two seers as one maund, and four maunds, which would be eight seers, as one *trakh*.[11] The total income of the province of Kashmir is 3,063,050 loads and eleven trakhs, which in cash would be 74,670,400 dams, or by current accounting sufficient income for a rank of 8500 suwar. **[241a]**

11. The *trakh*, primarily a grain measure, is now reckoned as six Kashmiri seers.

A Description of Springtime and the Flowers of Kashmir

There are many different ways to enter Kashmir. The best roads are via Bhimbar and Pakhli. Although the Bhimbar road is shorter, if one wants to enjoy the Kashmir springtime, one is restricted to the Pakhli road, for the other roads are piled high with snow during this season.

If I were to describe Kashmir, the description would fill volumes. Of necessity, I will give only a summary account of those things that are peculiar to Kashmir.

Kashmir is a perennial garden and an ironclad bastion. For monarchs it is a garden that delights the eye, and for poor people it is an enjoyable place of retreat. Its lovely meadows and beautiful waterfalls are beyond description. Its flowing waters and springs are beyond number. As far as the eye can see there is greenery and running water. Red roses, violets, and narcissi grow wild; there are fields after fields of all kinds of flowers; and the varieties of herbs are too many to count. During the enchanting spring, mountain and plain are filled with all sorts of blossoms; gateways, walls, courtyards, and roofs of houses come ablaze with tulips. What can be said of the plateaus covered with refreshing clover?

> The coquettes of the garden displayed themselves, cheeks adorned, each like a lamp. / Buds give off the fragrance of musk from beneath their skin, like musky amulets on the arm of the beloved. / The melody of the dawn-rising nightingale sharpens the desire of wine-drinkers. / At every spring a duck puts its beak to drink—like golden scissors cutting silk. / A carpet of flowers and greenery laid out in a garden: the lamp of the rose lit by the breeze. / The violet has twisted the ends of her locks, tying a tight knot in the heart of the rosebud.

The most beautiful blossoms are the almond and the peach. Outside the mountains, the beginning of the blooming season is the first of Isfandarmudh; in the vale of Kashmir it is around the beginning of Farvardin; and in the city gardens it is the ninth or tenth of that month.[12] **[241b]** The last of the blossoms coincides with the beginning of the blue jasmine season. In my exalted father's company I often toured the saffron fields and watched the autumn harvest. Thank God this time I have seen the beauties of spring. The beauties of autumn will be written about in their proper place.[13]

12. The beginning of Isfandarmudh corresponds to the third week of February of the modern calendar, the beginning of Farvardin is the third week in March; and the ninth of Farvardin falls at the end of March. In Jahangir's time the Julian dates would have been ten days earlier, but the times of the year would have been the same.

13. Page 347.

The buildings of Kashmir are all of wood. They build houses of two, three, and four stories and cover the roofs with mud in which they plant black tulip bulbs that bloom year after year in the spring. It really looks beautiful. This custom is peculiar to the people of Kashmir. This year the tulips bloomed exceptionally well in the palace garden and on the roof of the congregational mosque. There is abundant blue jasmine in the gardens, and the white jasmine, which the people of India call chambeli, is fragrant. Another variety is the color of sandalwood, and it, too, looks very beautiful and occurs only in Kashmir. Red roses of several varieties were seen, and one was very fragrant. There is another sandalwood-colored flower whose fragrance is extremely subtle and fine. It is something like a red rose, and its bush also resembles the rose. There are two sorts of lilies. The one that grows in gardens is very tall and green in color; the

other grows in fields. Although its color is less vibrant, it is fragrant. The *ja'fari* flower grows large and is fragrant, and its bush gets taller than a man. Some years, however, when it gets large and sets flowers, it gets worms that spin something like a spider's web over the leaves, destroying them and desiccating the bush. It happened this year.

The flowers seen in the summer pastures of Kashmir are beyond enumeration. Those drawn by Master Nadirul'asri Mansur the painter number more than a hundred.

The Fruits of Kashmir

Before His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign there were absolutely no cherries. Muhammad-Quli Afshar brought them from Kabul [**242a**] and grafted them. Now there are ten or fifteen fruit-bearing trees. There were also a few trees of grafted apricots. The same person spread grafting throughout the land, and they are now abundant. The Kashmiri apricot really grows well. There was a tree in Shahrara Garden in Kabul called the Mirza'i, which bore better fruit than any we had ever eaten. In Kashmir there are several such trees in the gardens. The pears are of the finest sort, better than those of Kabul and Badakhshan, and almost as good as the pears of Samarkand. The Kashmiri apple is renowned for being good, but the guavas are middling. Grapes are abundant, though most of them are sour and inferior. The pomegranates are not so great. Watermelons grow very well, and Persian melons get extremely sweet and aromatic. Mostly, however, when they ripen they get worms inside that spoil them. Occasionally, when they escape being wormy, they are extremely fine. There are no black mulberries, but there are fields and fields of ordinary mulberries. At the base of every mulberry tree climbs a grape vine. The mulberries are not edible—only those from a few trees that have been grafted in gardens are edible. The mulberry leaves are used for silk worms, and the eggs are brought from Gilgit and Tibet. Wine and vinegar are abundant. The wine is sour and inferior; in the language of Kashmir it is called *mas*. After gulping down several goblets of it, they get really excited. From vinegar they make all sorts of pickles. Since garlic grows well in Kashmir, the best pickle is garlic pickle.

Varieties of Grains and Animals

Aside from chickpeas, they have most sorts of grains. If they plant chickpeas, they get a crop the first year, but the second year they go bad. The third year they are like tiny little peas. There is more rice than anything else. The proportion of rice to all other grains is probably three to one. It is the principal food of the people of Kashmir, [**242b**] but it is of inferior quality. They cook it dry until it gets soft, let it get cold, and then eat it, calling it *bata*. It is not customary to eat hot food. People of limited means even keep a portion of the bata overnight and eat it the next day. They import salt from Hindustan, but it is not the rule to put salt in bata. They boil greens in water and put in a little salt to change the flavor, and that they eat with the bata. Those who want to indulge themselves put a little walnut oil in the greens. Walnut oil rapidly becomes bitter and bad-tasting, and so does cow butter unless it is rendered very fresh from the churn and put into the food. They call it *sada pak* in the Kashmiri language. Since the climate is cold and wet, as soon as it sits for three or four days it goes rancid.

There are no oxen. The cows are small and inferior. The wheat is tiny and has very small kernels. It is not customary to eat bread. The sheep have no fat tails—they look like the goats in Hindustan. They are called *hondu*. The meat is not devoid of a subtle flavor. Chickens, geese, ducks, et cetera are abundant. Fish of every description, with and without scales, are available, but they are inferior.

Clothing of the Kashmiris

Clothing of wool is normal. Both men and women wear a woolen shirt they call *potu*. If they don't wear a shirt they believe not only that the air will affect them but also that digestion of food is impossible. The cashmere shawl, which His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani dubbed the *parmnarm*,[14] is so famous that it needs no introduction. Another kind is the *therma*. It has more body than the shawl and is rippled and soft. Another is the *durma*, [243a] something like a quilted saddle cloth, which they spread on carpets. Aside from the cashmere shawl, other woolens are better in Tibet. Even though the wool comes from Tibet, they can't work it there. The wool for the shawls comes from a goat peculiar to Tibet. In Kashmir they also weave potus from shawl wool. Stitching two shawls together, they rub it into something like felt, which is not bad for rain wear.

14. Akbar's jingly name for the cashmere shawl is derived from *narm* (soft).

The people of Kashmir shave their heads and tie them up in turbans. The wearing of clean, washed clothes is not customary among the common women. They use one potu shirt for three or four years. After bringing the cloth unwashed from the weaver's house, they sew it into a shirt, and it doesn't touch water until it is worn to shreds. The wearing of pants is considered shameful: they wear a long, voluminous shirt that falls to the feet, and they tie a belt around the waist.

Although most people have houses right next to rivers, not a drop of water ever touches their bodies. In general, they are as filthy externally as they are internally. The arts and crafts made great progress during the time of Mirza Haydar,[15] and he made music popular. The viol, dulcimer, zither, harp, drum, and flute became widespread. In former times they had something like a viol, and they sang compositions in Kashmiri in the Indian modes, but it was limited to only two or three of the modes, and mostly they sang in one tune. A great debt is owed to Mirza Haydar for developing music in Kashmir.

15. Mirza Haydar Dughlat, a first cousin of Babur's and closely related to the khans of Moghulistan, conquered Kashmir for Humayun in 1540 and ruled there until his death in 1551. He is the author of the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, a history of the khans of Moghulistan.

Before His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign people generally rode ghunt ponies and had no large horses except for the Persian and Turkish horses brought in from the outside as gifts for the rulers. A ghunt is a pony with shoulders and flanks close to the ground. [243b] They are also plentiful in all the hill country of Hindustan. They are unruly and difficult to handle. After this God-given garden attained eternal splendor by the patronage of the Alexander-like emperor, many of the Oymaqs were given jagirs in this souba, and herds of Persian and Turkish horses were brought in to produce colts. The soldiers also made herds of their own, and in a short time there were so many horses that many Kashmiri horses are now bought and sold for two or three hundred rupees—occasionally for as much as a thousand rupees.

The merchants and craftsmen of this land are mostly Sunnis. The military are Imami Shiites, and some belong to the Nurbakhsh sect. There is a group of fakirs called *rishi*s. Although they have no knowledge or learning, they profess simplicity and unpretentiousness and speak ill of no one. They do not beg or practice mendicancy. They do not eat meat, and they do not take wives. They plant fruit-bearing trees in the wilderness with the intention that people might enjoy the fruits, although they themselves do not derive any enjoyment from the practice. There must be at least two thousand of these individuals.

There is also a group of Brahmins who have been living here for a long time and speak the language of other Kashmiris. Outwardly they cannot be distinguished from Muslims, but they have a book in the Sanskrit language they read, and they practice what amounts to idolatry. Sanskrit is the language in which the scholars of India write their books and hold in the greatest esteem. The idol temples that were built before

the appearance of Islam are still standing. [**244a**] They are all of stone, with huge dressed blocks weighing thirty to forty maunds placed one on top of another from the foundation to the roof.

Adjacent to the city is a small mountain called both Mount Maran and Hari Parbat. To the east of it is located Lake Dal, the perimeter of which is a fraction over six and a half kos. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani ordered an extremely strong fortress constructed here of stone and mortar, and during the reign of this supplicant it has neared completion. The small mountain mentioned above has been incorporated within the outer walls, and the walls of the fortress also enclose it. The lake is next to the outer wall. The palace buildings overlook the water.

The Nurafza Garden

On the palace grounds is a small garden with a small building in the middle, and there my exalted father used often to sit. On this trip it looked quite dried up and dilapidated. Since it is where my true lord and patron used to sit, its disrepair displeased me, and I ordered Mu'tamad Khan, one of my intimate servants, to exercise great care in tending to the garden and having the buildings repaired. Within a short span of time, thanks to his diligence, it came back to life splendidly. A fine platform in the middle of the garden, thirty-two cubits square with three levels, was redecorated. Mu'tamad Khan had the buildings reconstructed and decorated by master painters whose work would make the painters of China jealous. I named the garden Nurafza.

On Friday the fifteenth of Farvardin [March 25] two yaks presented by the zamindar of Tibet were viewed. [**244b**] In shape and form they look fairly much like oxen, but their limbs are wooly, a necessity for animals that live in cold climates. The ibex, for instance, which is brought from Bhakkar and the hills of Garmser, is extremely good-looking, but it has little wool. Animals that thrive in the mountains have a lot of hair and are ugly due to the severity of the cold and snow. The Kashmiris call the ibex *kela*.

At this time a musk deer was brought as a gift. Since I hadn't eaten musk deer meat, I ordered it to be cooked. It tasted horrible. The meat of no four-legged wild animal is so bad. When fresh, the musk sack has no odor, but after it sits for several days and dries out, it develops a nice smell. The female has no musk sack.

These two or three days I got into a boat and enjoyed touring and looking at the flowers in Phak and Shalimal.[16] Phak is the name of a pargana on the other side of Lake Dal. Shalimal is also adjacent to the lake and has a beautiful water channel that comes from the mountain and empties into Lake Dal. My son Khurram ordered it stopped up to create a waterfall one might enjoy. This spot is one of the scenic delights of Kashmir.

16. Shalimal, also known as Shalamar and Shalimar.

Shah-Shuja' Falls from a Palace Building

On Sunday the seventeenth [March 27] a remarkable event took place. Shah-Shuja' was playing in the palace buildings. By chance, there was a little door on the side toward the river. There was a curtain across it, but the door had not been shut. [**245a**] While playing, the prince ran toward the door to look out, but no sooner had he reached the door than he fell out. Fortuitously a rug had been heaped at the base of the wall, and a farrash was sitting next to it. The prince's head landed on the rug, and his feet hit the farrash's back before landing on the ground. Although the height was seven cubits, because God was protecting him, the farrash's body and the rug kept him from being killed. Had it been otherwise, God help us, it would have been difficult. Just



PORTRAIT OF SHAH-SHUJA'. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 12.4 x 7.2 cm. Art and History Trust; courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. LTS 1995.2.98

then Rai Man, the commander of the palace foot patrol, was standing beneath the jharoka. He immediately ran and picked the prince up, clasped him to his breast, and started up the stairs. In that state all the prince could do was ask, "Where are you taking me?"

"To His Majesty," he said. After that the prince was overcome by weakness and couldn't say anything else. I was taking a rest when the dreadful news was reported to me. I ran out in terror, and when I saw him like that, my head began to spin. I clasped him affectionately to my bosom for a long time, totally overcome by this divine gift. For a four-year-old child to fall from a height of ten cubits and not to be injured is truly amazing. I prostrated myself over and over in thanks for this new gift, had alms given, and ordered the deserving and the poor who lived in the city to be brought before me so that money for their livelihood might be given accordingly.

One of the strangest aspects is that three or four months prior to this incident Jotik Rai the astrologer, who is among the most skilled in the art of astrology, **[245b]** told me directly that it was apparent in the prince's horoscope that the next three or four months would be critical for him and that he might fall from a high place but his life would not be threatened. Because his predictions had repeatedly come true, I was constantly worried. Throughout all the dangerous roads and difficult passes I always kept him in view and exercised extreme care until we reached Kashmir. Since the event was inescapable, his nannies and nurses were just negligent enough. Thank God it ended well.



I saw a tree in Ayshabad Garden that had blossoms of a hundred petals. It was extremely elegant and beautiful. However, they said the apples were sour.

Since outstanding service had been performed by Dilawar Khan Kakar, I promoted him to the rank of 4000/3500 and also increased his sons' ranks. Qutbuddin Khan's son Shaykh Farid was promoted to the rank of 1000/400. Sarbarah Khan's rank was increased to 700/250. I promoted Nurullah Käräkaraq to the rank of 600/100 and gave him the title of Tashrif Khan. Offerings made on Thursday were given as a bonus to Qiyam Khan Qaravul. Since Pirtariki's son Allahdad the Afghan was repentant of his horrid deeds, he appeared at court, and his crimes were pardoned at I'timaduddawla's request. I gave him back his old rank of 2500/1200. **[246a]** Mirak Jalayir, an auxiliary in Bengal, was promoted to the rank of 1000/400.

Since it was reported that the black tulips on the congregational mosque roof were in full bloom, I went to see them on Saturday the thirtieth [April 9]. Truly one side had become a beautiful flower bed.

The parganas of Mau and Mehri had formerly been given to Raja Baso, and after his death they were held by his son,[17] the accursed Jawhar Mal. Recently I bestowed them upon Jagat Singh, the brother who had [not] received the ticka. The pargana of Jammu was given to Raja Sangram.

On Monday the first of Urdibihisht [April 11] I went to Khurram's quarters and entered his bath. After I came out he presented his offering, of which I accepted a little to make him feel good.

On Thursday the fourth [April 14] Mir Jumla was promoted to the rank of 2000/800.

On Sunday I rode to the village of Chahardara, Haydar Malik's home, to hunt partridge. It is truly a beautiful land and a delightful place to see. It has flowing water and fine plane trees. At his request I named it Nurpur. On the road is a tree called *hal thal*.

17. Reading *pisar-i u* (his son) for the text's *pisaran-i u u* (his sons and).

When one of its branches is taken and shaken, the whole tree moves. The common people believe that such motion is peculiar to this very tree, although, as it happened, another of the same sort of tree was seen in the aforementioned village, and it had the same kind of movement. It is clear that this motion pertains to the species of tree, not just that one.

In the village of Rawalpur, two kos from the city in the direction of Hindustan, there is a plane tree, the middle of which has been burned away. Twenty-five years ago I myself, mounted on a horse, got inside the tree along with five other saddled horses and two eunuchs. [**246b**] Every time I told the story, people thought it far-fetched. This time I ordered several people to get into it, and it turned out exactly as I remembered. It is recorded in the *Akbarnama* that His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani got thirty-four people inside it by having them stand close to one another.

On this date I was told that Rai Manohar's son Prithi Chand, an auxiliary on the Kangra campaign, had lost his life in a useless battle with the enemy.

On Thursday the eleventh [April 21] the following promotions were given: Tatar Khan to 2000/500, Abdul-Aziz to 2000/1000,[18] Dibi Chand of Gwalior to 1500/500, Abu'l-Qasim Maliki's son Mir Khan to 1000/600, Mirza Muhammad Ma'muri to 700/300, Lutfullah to 300/500, and Nasrullah Arab to 500/350. Tahawwur Khan was assigned as commandant of the garrison in the Mewat sarkar.

18. If this is Khwaja Abdul-Aziz Khan, his promotion to 2000/1000 has already been given on page 294.

On Thursday the twenty-fifth [May 5] Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari, the garrison commander in the Bhakkar sarkar, was made governor of the province of Thatta and promoted to 2000/1500. I also awarded him a banner. Shaja'at Khan Arab was promoted to the rank of 2500/2500. At Mahabat Khan's request Ani Rai Singhdalan was assigned to the souba of Bangash. Jansipar Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500.

Developments in the Deccan

Recently it had become obvious from reports from the Khankhanan [**247a**] and others of our supporters that the ill-starred Ambar had once again stepped over the boundary of politeness and was stirring up trouble, an unavoidable result of his evil nature. Because I had taken the imperial retinue to a far-away province, he took undue advantage of the situation and broke the promises and pacts he had made with our court servants and extended the hand of aggression into the imperial realm. It is hoped that soon he will suffer the consequences of his shameful actions.

Since a war chest had been requested, it was ordered that the treasurers in Agra send twenty lacs of rupees to the Sipahsalar. No sooner had this been done than news was received that the amirs had abandoned their outposts and gone to Darab Khan, that the Bargis had surrounded the camp,[19] and that Khanjar Khan was being besieged in Ahmadnagar. Until now the court servants had fought two or three battles with the damn enemy, and every time the foe had been vanquished and a number killed. The last time Darab Khan had taken some good equestrian warriors, attacked the opponents' base camp, and fought a pitched battle in which the enemy was defeated and took flight. The base camp had been plundered, and the victorious army had returned safe and sound to their own camp.

19. Bargi is another name for the Marathas.

Because the imperial army was suffering from shortage and want, our supporters took counsel and decided that they should descend through Rohankhera Pass and stop at the foot of the ghat in order that grain could be got in easily and the men not suffer want. There was nothing else to do but pitch camp in Balapur. [**247b**] When the villainous enemy appeared all around Balapur, making fun and shouting catcalls, Raja Bir

Singh Deo and some other self-sacrificing servants went out to repel them and killed many of them. An Abyssinian named Mansur in the army of the damn enemy was captured alive. No matter how hard they tried to get him on an elephant, he refused and created a ruckus. Finally Raja Bir Singh Deo ordered his head severed from his body. I hope the turning celestial sphere will similarly reward all untoward actions by the ungrateful.

On the thirtieth of Urdibihisht [May 10] I rode out to see Sukh Nag. It is really a beautiful summer pasture. There is a waterfall in the middle of a valley that pours down from a great height. There was still snow around. The Thursday party was held in that flowered meadow, and I enjoyed drinking my accustomed goblets beside the water in the shade of the mountain. In the stream I saw a bird something like a starling. [A starling] is black in color and has white spots, while this one was the color of a nightingale with white spots. It dives under the water, stays under for a while, and comes up somewhere else. I ordered two or three of them caught and brought to me so that I could see whether its feet were webbed like a duck's or open like other birds of the field. Two of them were caught and brought. One died immediately, and the other remained a day. Its feet were not webbed like a duck's. I ordered Master Nadirul'asri Mansur the painter to draw its likeness. The Kashmiris call them *gil kar,* that is, "water starlings."[20]

20. Alvi and Rahman (*Jahangir—The Naturalist,* 78) identify this bird as the dipper (*Ciaclus cinclus*).

A Case of Fraud in Lahore

Recently the cadi and the minister of justice reported that Hakim Ali's son Abdul-Wahhab **[248a]** had filed a claim for eighty thousand rupees against a group of sayyids who lived in Lahore. He had produced a letter with the seal of Qazi Nurullah and claimed that his father had entrusted the amount in deposit with Sayyid Wali, the father of the defendants. The sayyids denied it. The hakim's son had produced two witnesses in court, one of whom the sayyids had disqualified. Then the hakim's son had produced a third witness to prove his case legally. Nonetheless, the defendants persisted in their denial. If so ordered, the report said, as a precautionary measure the hakim's son could be made to swear an oath on the Koran to obtain his legal right from the defendants. I ordered whatever action was in accordance with the religious law taken. Mu'tamad Khan reported that the sayyids were very humble and submissive, but the case involved a lot of money, and the more investigation made into the case, the better the outcome would be. I therefore ordered Asaf Khan to investigate as thoroughly as possible and see to it that not a shred of doubt remained. Despite all this, **[248b]** if the truth were not conclusively ascertained, an investigation would be held in my presence.

As soon as he heard this, the hakim's son lost heart and withdrew from the case and got some of his friends to intercede on his behalf to make a compromise, saying, "If the sayyids will not refer the investigation of the case to Asaf Khan, I will hand over a quitclaim to the effect that I have no further claims against them." Every time Asaf Khan sent someone to summon him, since he was a cowardly cheat, he would stall for time and not appear. Finally he gave a writ of quitclaim to one of his friends, and the truth was clear to Asaf Khan. This time he had him brought by force to appear for investigation. There was nothing he could do but confess, saying, "One of my attendants forged the document, witnessed it himself, and thereby led me astray." He also gave an affidavit to this effect. When Asaf Khan reported the truth of the affair to me, I took away Abdul-Wahhab's rank and jagir and banished him from my sight. I gave the sayyids leave to return to Lahore, their honor intact.

On Thursday the eighth of Khurdad [May 12] I'tiqad Khan was promoted to the rank of 4000/1500. **[249a]** Sadiq Khan was promoted to 2500/1400. The late Asaf Khan's son Zaynul'abidin was assigned as bakhshi to the ahadis. Raja Bir Singh Deo Bundela was promoted to the high rank of 5000/5000.

The earliest fruit to mature in Kashmir is the *ashkin*. It is subacid. Smaller than a sour cherry, it is much better in terms of flavor and delicacy. One cannot eat more than three or four sour cherries while enjoying wine, but one can nibble on a hundred of these over a twenty-four-hour period—particularly the grafted variety. I commanded that henceforth the *ashkin* should be called *khoshkin*. Apparently it also grows in the mountainous regions of Badakhshan and Khurasan, where the people call it *najmad*. The largest ones weigh half a mithcal.[21]

The cherries appeared about the size of a chickpea on the fourth of Urdibihisht. By the twenty-seventh they changed color, and on the fifteenth of Khurdad they were perfectly ripe and the first crop was taken in.[22] The cherry, to my taste, is the most delicious of all fruits. Four trees had borne fruit in Nurafza Garden. I named one of them Shirinbar [Of Sweet Fruit], the second Khoshguvar [Of Good Taste], the third, which produced the most fruit of all, Purbar [Full of Fruit], and the fourth, which had the least fruit, Kambar [Of Little Fruit]. One tree in Khurram's garden had borne fruit, and I named it Shahwar [Kingly]. There was a sapling in Ishratafza Garden I named Nawbar [Newly Bearing]. Every day I picked with my own hands just enough to have as a relish with my cups. Although cherries were being brought from Kabul by post, one derives a special pleasure from picking them really fresh with one's own hand from the garden. The cherries of Kashmir are not inferior to those of Kabul; in fact, they are even larger. The biggest ones weighed a tank and five surkhs.

On Wednesday the twenty-first [June 1] Padishah Banu passed away, and the pain of this grievous event weighed heavily on my mind. It is hoped that God the Almighty will have mercy upon her. It is a remarkable coincidence that two months prior to this, Jotik Rai the astrologer had informed several of my intimate servants **[249b]** that one of the ladies of the harem would depart this world. He had read this in my horoscope, and so it happened.

Among the unexpected events of this time were the deaths of Sayyid Ghayrat Khan and Jalal Khan Kakar in the Bangash army. The details are as follows. When it was time to take in the crops, Mahabat Khan had assigned the army to go into the hills and graze their horses on the Afghans' crops and leave no stone unturned in pillaging, plundering, killing, and capturing prisoners. By chance, when the servants of our court reached the foot of the pass, the treacherous Afghans attacked from all directions, took the head of the pass, and fortified it. Jalal Khan, an experienced campaigner and battle-scarred warrior, figured that the best thing to do was to stop for two or three days until the villains had used up the few days' supplies they had brought on their backs. When they had undone themselves, it would be easy for the men to get through the difficult pass. "Once we are through the pass," he said, "they won't be able to do anything, and they can be given a suitable retribution."

Izzat Khan, a firebrand in battle, did not approve of Jalal Khan's plan and instead set out with some of the Barha sayyids. The Afghans poured down on them like locusts and ants and trapped him. Even though the ground on which he was fighting was not suitable for charging a horse, every direction he turned in his rage he felled some of the foe. During the fray his horse broke a hamstring, but he fought on as long as he

21. The *khosh-* part of the word Jahangir invents means nice, pleasing. Alvi and Rahman (*Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 108) identify the *ashkin* as the strawberry (*Fragaria vesca*)

22. In terms of our modern calendar, the fourth of Urdibihisht falls around April 14, the twenty-seventh of Urdibihisht is around May 17, and the fifteenth of Khurdad is around May 29.

had a breath of life in him. In the end he and his comrades were manfully brought down. While Izzat Khan was making his attack, Jalal Khan Kakar, Mas'ud Ahmad Beg Khan, Nadi-Ali Maydani's son Bezhan, and others failed to make a stand and headed for the pass. The villains seized the tops of the hills and fought with rocks and arrows. Our brave warriors, both court servants [**250a**] and Mahabat Khan's own retinue, fought bravely and killed many of the Afghans. During the fray Jalal Khan, Mas'ud, and many others valiantly lost their lives. Through this one rash, impetuous act of Izzat Khan's such a great disaster befell the imperial army.

When he heard the dreadful news, Mahabat Khan dispatched fresh reinforcements and refortified the outposts, and everywhere they found any trace of the blackguards, they killed or captured as many as they could.

When this news was reported to me, I summoned Jalal Khan's son Akbar-Quli, who had been a major contributor to the victory at the Kangra Fortress, promoted him to the rank of 1000/1000, awarded him his hereditary property as a jagir, gave him a horse and a robe of honor, and sent him as an auxiliary to the Bangash force. Since Izzat Khan had left behind a son of tender years, taking his self-sacrifice into view, I awarded the son Izzat Khan's rank and jagir so that those he had left behind would not fall into poverty and so that others would also be hopeful of such favor.

On this date I summoned to my presence Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, who had spent a while in prison on account of his pretentiousness and presumptuousness, and set him free. I also awarded him a robe of honor and a thousand rupees and gave him the choice of whether to leave or stay. "This chastisement has been a sufficient retribution for my soul," he replied. "I will remain in your retinue."

On the twenty-seventh of Khurdad [June 7] the apricots were ripe. Repairs had been ordered on the picture gallery in the garden, and it had recently been painted by the masters of the age. On the upper level was a picture of Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun] and His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar]. Opposite they had drawn a picture of me and my brother Shah Abbas. Then there were pictures of Mirza Kamran, Mirza Muhammad-Hakim, Shah-Murad, and Sultan Danyal. On the second level they had made pictures of the amirs and intimate servants. All around the outside they had painted landscapes of the stations along the road to Kashmir in the order by which we had come. One of the poets produced this chronogram: "An assembly of Solomonic kings."[23] On Thursday the fourth of Tir [June 16] a celebration of housewarming was held. [**250b**]

23. The chronogram *majlis-i shahan-i Sulayman-hasham* yields 1029.

On this day the cherries of Kashmir came to an end. From the four trees in the Nurafza Garden fifteen hundred cherries were picked, and from all other trees, five hundred. I ordered the officials of Kashmir to have cherry trees grafted in most of the gardens and let them propagate.

At this time Rana Amar Singh's son Bhim was awarded the title of raja. Sayyid Izzat Khan's brother Diler Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/800. Ahmad Beg Khan's son Sa'id was promoted to the rank of 600/400. His brother Mukhlisullah was awarded the rank of 500/250. Sayyid Ahmad Sadr was awarded the rank of 1000. I promoted Mirza Rustam Safavi's son Mirza Hasan to the rank of 1000/500 and gave him leave to depart for service in the Deccan.

On Sunday the fourteenth of Tir [June 26] Hasan-Ali Khan Türkmän was appointed governor of Orissa and given the rank of 3000/3000. On this date nine Persian horses, several toquzes of gold brocade and gold-spun velvet, ermine pelts, and other things Bahadur Khan, the governor of Kandahar, had sent as an offering were viewed.

On Monday the fifteenth [June 27] I rode to tour the summer pasture of Tusi Marg. In two marches we reached the foot of the pass. On Wednesday the seventeenth [June 29] we came out on the top of the pass, having traversed a distance of two kos at a very high altitude with great difficulty. From the top of the pass to the summer pasture was another kos of hilly terrain. Although there were patches of various flowers in blossom, it did not look anything like what they had said it would or what I had imagined.

I had heard that there was a valley hereabouts with really beautiful flowers. On Thursday the eighteenth [June 30] I went off to see it. Really, no amount of exaggeration could do justice to this flowered land. **[251a]** As far as the eye could see there were flowers in bloom. Fifty different varieties of flowers were picked in my presence. There must have been several other varieties too that weren't noticed. I returned toward the end of the day. That night the siege of the Ahmadnagar fortress happened to be mentioned. Khan Jahan told a strange story I had heard several times before. Since it is so strange it will be recorded.

One day when my brother Prince Danyal was laying siege to the fortress at Ahmadnagar, the defenders aimed the cannon Malik-i-Maydan at the prince's camp and fired it. The ball landed near the prince's tent, bounced, and fell on the tent of Qazi Bayazid, one of the prince's companions. The *qazi*'s horse was tied three or four ells away, and as soon as the ball landed, the horse's tongue broke off and fell out. The ball was of stone and weighed ten standard Indian maunds, which would be eighty Khurasani maunds. The cannon mentioned above was so big that a man could sit inside it.

On this date I promoted Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan the mirbakhshi to the rank of 5000/2000. Mubariz Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1700. Nadi-Ali's son Bezhan was promoted to the rank of 1000/500. Amanat Khan was promoted to 2000/400.

On Thursday the twenty-fifth [July 7] Sa'id Khan's son Nawazish Khan was promoted to the rank of 3000/2000, and Himmat Khan was promoted to 2000/500. Sayyid Kamal Bukhari's son Sayyid Ya'qub was given the rank of 800/500. Mir Ali-Akbar Musavi's son Mir Ali-Asghar was awarded the title of Musavi Khan.

Having repeatedly heard praise of the Guri Marg summer pasture, I had a desire to go see it. On Tuesday the sixth of Murdad [July 19] I rode out in that direction. What can one write in praise of it? **[251b]** As far as the eye could see there were all sorts of flowers in bloom, and flowing through the midst of the greenery and flowers were streams of the purest water. You'd think it was a picture drawn by the master painter of destiny. Seeing it caused the bud of the heart to burst into blossom. Without exaggeration, there is no comparison between this pasture and any others, and in all respects it can be called the most scenic spot in Kashmir.

In Hindustan there is a bird called *papiha*.[24] It has a beautiful voice, and during the monsoon season it sings heart-rending laments. Just as the cuckoo lays its eggs in a raven's nest, and the raven raises the young as its own, in Kashmir the papiha was seen to have laid its eggs in a *ghawghai*'s nest, and the ghawghai raised the chicks.[25]

On Thursday the fifteenth [July 28] Fidai Khan was promoted to the rank of 1500/700. On this date Muhammad Zahid, emissary of Ghayrat Khan the ruler of Urgench, arrived at court and presented a letter with a few items sent to remind us of our ancestral connections. They were viewed with favor, and for the time being ten thousand drabs were awarded to the emissary. I ordered the officials of the workshops to have the things he requested made to be sent.

24. The *papiha* is the hawk-cuckoo (*Hierococcyx varius*)

25. *Ghawghai*, literally, would be a bird that makes a racket (*ghawgha*)—some sort of raven, perhaps, or crow.

At this time my "son" Khan Jahan had a great success. Through over-fondness for wine he had grown very thin and wan, and because of the murderous addiction he was on the point of dying. Suddenly he began to take care of himself, and God made him successful in the endeavor. He had sworn never again to sully his lips with wine, and no matter how strenuously I advised him that giving it up all at once was not a good idea, and that one should cut down wisely with planning and moderation, he refused to listen and gave it up manfully.

On the twenty-fifth of Amurdad [August 7] Bahadur Khan the governor of the souba of Kandahar was promoted to the rank of 5000/4000.

On the second of Shahrivar [August 15] Rawat Shankar's son Man Singh was promoted to the rank of 1500/800, Mir Husamuddin was promoted to 1500/500, **[252a]** and Alimardan Bahadur's son Karamullah was promoted to 600/300.

Since recently I had developed such a liking for striated tusk, the great amirs had really been diligent in their searches for more. One of them, Abdul-Aziz Khan Naqshbandi, had sent one of his liege men, Abdullah by name, to Khwaja Husayn and Khwaja Abdul-Rahim, sons of the great Khwaja Juybari, the spiritual leader of Transoxiana today, and along with him he had sent a letter intimating a desire for this commodity. As it happened, Khwaja Husayn possessed a whole tusk of extreme fineness, and he immediately sent it to court with the messenger. On this date it arrived and gave me much joy. I ordered the equivalent of thirty thousand rupees in precious objects and goods to be sent to the khwaja. Mir Baraka Bukhari was entrusted with the task of delivering them.

On Thursday the twelfth of Shahrivar [August 25] the Mirmiran was appointed garrison commander in the Mewat sarkar, his rank was increased to 2000/1500, and I gave him a royal horse, a robe of honor, and a sword.

From Sundar [Raja Bikramajit]'s report it was learned that the accursed Jawhar Mal had died and gone to hell. It was also reported that he had dispatched a troop against one of the zamindars, but he had not taken sufficient precaution, and without securing the way in and out or taking the mountain tops, they had entered a mountain pass and fought a useless battle. When the day was over, they turned their reins away without having accomplished anything, and while galloping in retreat, many were killed. One group in particular who considered retreat dishonorable suffered martyrdom. Shahbaz Khan of the . . . ,[26] which is a clan of Lodi Afghans, lost his life along with a group of his clansmen and liege men. He was really a good servant who combined courage with intelligence and modesty. Jamal Khan Afghan and his brother Rustam, Sayyid Nasib Barha, and several others were wounded. Also included in the report was that close siege had been laid, and the beleaguered men were hard pressed. **[252b]** They had sent out negotiators and had requested quarter. It is hoped that soon the fortress will be taken through our daily-increasing good fortune.

On Thursday the eighteenth [August 31] Dilawar Khan Kakar died a natural death. He was one of the amirs who was chieftain of a nation. He possessed not only bravery but also leadership and expertise to perfection. He had been in my service from the time I was a prince. Without peer in loyalty and allegiance, he had attained the lofty rank of amir. Toward the end of his life God granted him success, and the conquest of Kishtwar, which was an outstanding service, was accomplished through his efforts. It is hoped that God will show him mercy. I showed his sons and relatives all sorts of favor and kindness and enrolled several who were worthy of rank as court servants. I ordered the others to remain with his sons as they had been with him, lest their solidarity be broken up.

26. Text has *WTWYANY*; variants occur in the MSS, but none is identifiable

On this date Qor Yasavul brought a diamond Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang had sent from the mine in Bengal. Wazir Khan, the divan of Bengal and an old servant of this court, died a natural death.

On the eve of Thursday the nineteenth [September 1] the Kashmiris lit lamps on both sides of the Bahat River. An ancient custom observed every year, everyone, rich and poor alike, who has a house on the banks of the river lights lanterns, as they do on Shab-i-Barat. The Brahmins were asked the reason, and they said that the source spring of the Bahat River appeared on this date, and it had long been the custom to celebrate it on this day. It is called Veth Truwah. *Veth* means the Bahat River, and *truwah* means thirteen. Because they light the lamps on the thirteenth of Shawwal,[27] they call it Veth Truwah. Without exaggeration, it was a beautiful illumination. I got in a boat and watched it.

27. September 1, 1620 was 13 Shawwal 1029. The "nineteenth" at the head of the paragraph refers to the nineteenth of Shahrivar.

Solar Weighing Ceremony

On Thursday the nineteenth [September 1] the solar weighing ceremony was held, and as usual I had myself weighed against gold and eleven other items, assigning the proceeds to the deserving. **[253a]** The fifty-first year of my life ended, and my fifty-second year commenced. It is hoped that my whole life may be spent in deeds that please God.

The Thursday party on the twenty-sixth [September 8] was held in Asaf Khan's quarters, and he performed the ritual of offering gifts.

On the first of Shahrivar [August 14] ducks appeared on Lake Wular. On the twenty-fourth [September 6] they appeared on Lake Dal. The birds that are found in Kashmir are as follows: saras crane, peacock, bustard, stork, lesser bustard, great bustard, karwanak crane, golden oriole, white-legged courser, spotted-billed duck, ibis, pelican, magpie, wild goose, cuckoo, quail, starling, red-billed pochard, *hariyal* [green pigeon], adjutant, parrot, *mahokha*, *maharlat*, *hans*, *kalchiri*, sandpiper (which the Turks call . . . ,[28] and I call "screecher").[29] Since the names of some of these are not known in Persia—they don't even exist in Persia—they have been written in Hindi.

28. Word missing from the MSS.

29. The *mahokha* is the crow-pheasant; the *maharlat* (or *mahalat*) may be the tree pie; the *hans* is the bareheaded goose; the *kalchidr* is the black robin.

The names of carnivorous and herbivorous animals that do not exist in Kashmir are the following: yellow lion, leopard, wolf,[30] wild ox, black antelope, chikara antelope, hog deer, nilgai, wild ass, hare, lynx, wild cat, *mushak-i-karbalai*,[31] *susmar*,[32] porcupine.

30. The word may be *gurg* (wolf) or *karg* (rhinoceros). The two words are written identically in Persian. Apparently wolves are very rare in Kashmir.

31. *Mushak-i-karbalai*, not found in the dictionaries, must be some kind of rodent, possibly the muskrat or mole.

32. In Persian *susmar* is a lizard, which is out of place in this list; in India *susmar* is also used for porpoise, equally out of place here.

On this date peaches arrived by post from Kabul. The largest weighed twenty-six tolas, which would be sixty-five mithcals. As long as peaches were in season enough kept coming to be given to most of the amirs and special servants.

On Friday the twenty-seventh [September 9] I rode out to see Vernag, the spring that is the source of the Bahat River. We went five kos up the river by boat and stopped in the village of Pampur.[33]

33. Emending text's "Manpur" with the identifiable "Pampur."

On this day disturbing news arrived from Kishtwar, the details of which are as follows. After conquering it, Dilawar Khan set out for court, stationing Nasrullah Arab and several officers to guard the region. **[253b]** Nasrullah made two mistakes in judgment. First, he really put the squeeze on the zamindars and the people and adopted a severe stance; secondly, the troop that had been assigned to him as reinforcement, hoping for promotions, asked for permission to leave and come to court to advance their own careers. He gave them permission and let most of them leave. Since only a small number remained with him, the zamindars there, all of whom held grudges against him, were just waiting for a chance to stir up trouble. Finding the opportunity, they attacked from all directions, burned the bridge that was the only access his soldiers and reinforcements had, and created a ruckus. Nasrullah holed up in the fortress

and managed to defend himself for a few days with the greatest of difficulty. Once his supplies ran out, and access to water was blocked, he gave in to his fate and fought bravely with the few who were with him until most of them had been killed.

When this news reached my ears, I promoted Dilawar Khan's son Jalal, whose maturity and bravery had been shown by the feats he performed during the conquest of Kishtwar, to the rank of 1000/600. To help him I assigned to him his father's liege men who were enrolled as court servants along with a troop from the Kashmir army and many zamindars and musketeers, and I assigned him the task of reducing the blackguards to naught. It was also ordered that Raja Sangram, the zamindar of Jammu, should come via the mountains of Jammu with his men. It is hoped that soon the rebels will pay for their actions.

On Saturday the twenty-eighth [September 10] I traveled four and a half kos, went one kos past the village of Kakapur, and stopped on the edge of the river. The bhang of Kakapur is famous. On the banks of the river were fields upon fields of it growing wild.

On Sunday the twenty-ninth [September 11] camp was made in the village of Bijbihara.[34] This village has been bestowed upon my fortunate son Parvez. **[254a]** His agents have made a little garden overlooking the river and a small pavilion. There is a very delightful and pleasant glen in the vicinity of Bijbihara with seven fine plane trees in the middle of the glen with a brook running around them. The Kashmiris call it Satha Phuli. It is one of the finest scenic places in Kashmir.

34. Reading *BYJ BHARH* (Bijbihara, Bijbiara on the modern map) for the text's *PNJ HZARH*, which makes no sense in this context.

❁ *The Death of Khan Dawran*

On this date news arrived of the death of Khan Dawran of natural causes in Lahore. He was around ninety years old and was one of the major champions of the day and heroes of the battlefield. He combined bravery with leadership ability, and this dynasty was much in his debt. It is hoped that his sins will be forgiven. He left four sons, but none of them is worthy of being his son. His legacy amounted to four lacs of rupees in cash and goods, and it was all awarded to the sons.

On Monday the thirtieth [September 12] I had my first chance to see the spring at Inch. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani gave this place to Ram Das Kachhwaha, and he had pavilions and pools constructed on the skirt of the mountain and the slope where the spring is. Without exaggeration, it is an extremely lovely spot. The water is perfectly pure and sweet, and there are many fish in it.

> The water is so pure that the fine sand at the bottom can be counted by a blind man in the heart of the night.

Since I had awarded this village to my son Shahjahan, he undertook to host a party and make offerings. I accepted a little bit to make him feel good. Half a kos before this spring is the Machhi Bhawan spring, over which Rai Bihari Chand, one of Arsh-Ashyani's servants, built an idol temple. This spring puts out more water than can be described, and around it have grown large, aged trees—plane, poplar, and black willow. Having spent the night here, I camped on Tuesday the thirty-first [September 13] at the Achhival spring.[35] This spring has even more water than the others, and it has a beautiful waterfall. Around it are fine plane trees and elegant poplars whose top branches have grown together. Delightful places to sit have also been provided. As far as the eye could see was a splendid garden with ja'fari flowers in bloom. **[254b]** You'd say it was a patch of paradise.

35. The place is given as Achhibal on modern maps. It is also known as Achabal

On Wednesday the first of Mihr [September 14] we decamped from Achhival and stopped near the Vernag spring.

On Thursday the second [September 15] a drinking party was held at the spring. I ordered particular servants to sit, cups were measured out brimful, and I gave out Kabul peaches for them to eat. At dinner time everybody went home drunk.

The Vernag Spring

This spring is the source of the Bahat River. It is situated at the foot of a mountain, but there are so many trees, so much greenery, and so many plants that the earth cannot be seen. When I was a prince I ordered a building worthy of the site constructed at this spring. It has recently been completed. It has an octagonal pool forty-two cubits across and four ells deep.[36] The water looks dark green because of the reflection of the greenery that grows on the mountain, and there are many fish in the pool. All around the pool are arched walkways, and there is a garden in front of the building. From the edge of the pool to the garden gate runs a canal 4 ells wide, 180 ells long, and 2 ells deep.[37] On both sides of the canal are avenues paved with stone. The water is so pure and clear that, although it is four ells deep, if a chickpea fell to the bottom it could be seen.

What can be written of the purity of the canal or of the greenery and the plants that sprout below the spring? Bitter herbs, aromatic herbs, various dark green and pale green herbs all grow together. One bush that was seen was as multicolored as a peacock's tail and shimmering like wavy water with isolated flowers blooming here and there. In all of Kashmir there is no scenic spot so beautiful or charming as this one. It is obvious that Kashmir above the river is beyond any comparison with what is below the river. I should really have stayed in this area for a few days and enjoyed myself fully, but since the hour for marching was near and it had begun to snow in the passes and there was no time to stop, I turned my reins back toward the city. It was ordered that plane trees should be planted on both sides of the canal.

On Saturday the fourth [September 17] camp was made at the Lukabawan spring. **[255a]** This spring is also a nice place even if at present it is not equal to the others. If it were repaired it would be a beautiful place. I ordered a building worthy of the site constructed and the pool in front of the spring repaired.

Along the way we passed by a spring called Anantnag. It is well known that the fish of this spring are blind. I stopped a moment at the spring and cast a net in. Twelve fish were caught in the net. Three of them were blind, and the other nine had eyes. Apparently the water of this spring has the effect of making the fish blind. In any case, it is not a little strange.

On Sunday the fifth [September 18] I passed by the Machhi Bhawan spring again, headed for the city.

On Wednesday the eighth [September 21] came the news of the death of Qasim Khan's son Hashim Khan.

On Thursday the ninth [September 22] I appointed Iradat Khan governor of Kashmir. With his transfer, Mir Jumla was made head steward. Mu'tamad Khan was appointed to the post of reviser of petitions, and Mir Jumla's rank was increased to 2000/500.

On the eve of Saturday the eleventh [September 24] we stopped in the city. Safi Khan was appointed to service in Gujarat. Sangram, the Raja of Jammu, was promoted to the rank of 1500/1000.

36. Emending the text's *chabardah* (fourteen) with *chabar* (four). The depth of four ells is repeated below.

37. Reading *du* (two) for the text's *dah* (ten).

❁ *A Remarkable Method of Fishing*

On this day I witnessed an unprecedented way of catching fish on the part of Kashmiri fishermen. In a place where the water was up to a man's chest two boats were taken out next to each other in such a way that one end of the boats were together and the other ends were fourteen to fifteen cubits apart. Two boatmen stand on the outer edges of the boats with long poles in their hands so as not to allow the boats to get too close together or too far apart and to keep them going in tandem. Ten or twelve boatmen got into the water. Taking hold of the ends of the boats that were together, they proceeded, walking on the bottom. Any fish that got between the boats and wanted to escape would brush against the boatmen's legs. A boatman would immediately dive in to the bottom with another boatman pressing on his back and pushing him down with both hands so that he wouldn't float up. He would catch the fish in his hands and bring it up. [**255b**] Some who are experts in this technique can catch two fish, one in each hand, and bring them up. There was one old boatman who caught more than two fish on every dive. This type of fishing is done at Bijbihara and is peculiar to the Bahat River. It is not done in the lakes or other rivers. It is also limited to the spring when the water is not bitterly cold.

On Monday the thirteenth [September 26] the festival of Dasehra was held. As is done every year, horses from the royal stable and the amirs' establishments were paraded before my view. It was at this time that I felt shortness of breath. I hope it will pass without complication, God willing.

On Wednesday the fifteenth [September 28] I went out for an autumn hunt in the direction of Safapur and the Lar Valley, which is the lower part of Kashmir. Above the river in Safapur it is nice, and to the north is a mountain filled with trees. Although it was only the beginning of autumn, it was a remarkable spectacle. The reflection of the variously colored trees like plane, apricot, et cetera in the lake looked beautiful. Without exaggeration, the beauties of autumn are no less than those of spring.

> Did it not bode annihilation, the splendor of autumn would be more beautiful to behold than spring.

Since time was getting short and the hour for marching was approaching, an abbreviated tour was made, and we returned. During these few days I enjoyed hunting water fowl. One day during the hunt a boatman caught a baby demoiselle crane and brought it to me. It was extremely thin and miserable. It didn't live more than one night. Demoiselle cranes are not usually found in Kashmir. Apparently it had fallen during the migration to Hindustan because it was so thin and sick.

❁ *The Death of Rahmandad*

At this time news arrived that the Khankhanan's son Rahmandad had died of natural causes in Bala[pur]. Apparently he had a fever for several days, and then one day while he was recuperating, some Deccanis appeared in a troop. Rahmandad's elder brother Darab Khan mounted, intent upon battle, and when the news reached Rahmandad, he too mounted in bravery and valor despite his weakness and illness and joined his brother. After crushing the foe, he returned to camp but failed to take sufficient precaution when he was divesting himself of his armor padding. Once the air got to him, he went into convulsions and couldn't speak. [**256a**] He passed two or three days in

this state and then died. He was a really fine warrior. He loved to wield the sword and fight battles. No matter where he was he wanted to show his prowess with the sword. Although, as they say, "death and fire burn wet and dry alike," it was hard for me to take. Imagine what it was like for his poor, broken-hearted father. He hadn't recovered from the loss of Shahnawaz Khan when he was afflicted by this new wound. It is hoped that God the Almighty will grant him sufficient patience and forbearance.

On Thursday the sixteenth [September 29] Khanjar Khan was promoted to the rank of 3000/3000. Qasim Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000. I awarded Khwaja Jahan's brother Muhammad-Husayn the rank of 800/800. He had been assigned to the post of bakhshi on the Kangra campaign.

Return to Hindustan from Kashmir

On the eve of Monday the twenty-seventh of Mihr [October 10], after the elapse of one watch and seven gharis, the imperial banners set out under good auspices for Hindustan.

Since the saffron had blossomed, a march was ordered from the outskirts of the city to the village of Pampur. In all of the land of Kashmir, saffron occurs nowhere other than here.

On Thursday the thirtieth [October 13] the wine party was held in a saffron field. Field after field, as far as the eye could see there was nothing but blossoms, and the breeze perfumed the nostrils. The plant lies close to the ground, and the flower has four violet-colored petals, about as large as a champa flower. In the middle grow three saffron stalks. It is planted in bulbs, and in good years 400 maunds (or 3,200 maunds of Khurasan) are gathered. The normal distribution is half to the royal demesne and half to the ryots. A seer sells for ten rupees, though the price fluctuates occasionally. It is established custom for the saffron flowers to be weighed and given to specialists who take them home and pick out the saffron. By ancient custom they take half the weight in salt as a wage, for there is no salt in Kashmir and it has to be brought in from Hindustan.

Another of the rarities of Kashmir is the turban plume, which is a bird's feather. Yearly up to 10,700 of them are obtained. **[256b]** Up to two hundred hawks and falcons are also caught. There are also sparrow-hawk nests, and sparrow-hawks from the wild are not bad.

On Friday the first of Aban [October 14] we marched from Pampur and stopped at the station of Khanapur. Since it had been reported that Zaynal Beg, an emissary from my brother Shah Abbas, had arrived in the vicinity of Lahore, I awarded him a robe of honor and thirty thousand rupees to cover expenses, to be taken to him by Azududdawla Injü's son Mir Husamuddin. I also ordered that Mir Husamuddin should be reimbursed up to five thousand rupees for whatever he might spend out of his own pocket on entertaining the emissary.[38]

38. This sentence is extremely obscure in the text. It has been liberally translated according to what it seems to mean.

I had ordered that a building should be constructed at every stopping place from Kashmir to the end of the mountains for the emperor and the ladies of the harem to sit so we wouldn't have to spend our time in the cold and snow in tents. Although the buildings at this station had been completed, since they were still damp and reeked of lime plaster, we rested in tents.

On Saturday the second [October 15] camp was made in Kalampur. I had often been told that there was an extremely fine waterfall in the vicinity of Hirapur.[39] Although it was three or four kos off the road to the left, I went unencumbered to see it. How can I describe it? The water tumbles down in three or four tiers. I had never before seen such a waterfall so beautiful or fine. Without exaggeration, it is an

39. On modern maps, Hurapur.

extremely marvelous scenic sight. I stayed enjoying myself there until the third or fourth watch of the day, filling my eyes and heart with the beauty. However, when it is stormy or rainy it is not without a certain wildness. I remounted after the third watch, reached Hirapur at dinner time, and spent the night at that station.

On Monday the fourth [October 17] I went through the Bari Brari Pass and camped at the top of the Pir Panjal Pass. What can I write of the difficulty of this pass and the roughness of the road? It is beyond imagining. For the last few days it had been snowing continuously, and the mountains had turned white. In some places there was ice on the roads. The horses couldn't get a foothold, and it was difficult to travel on horseback. God was merciful, and today it didn't snow, although both those who had gone ahead and those who were following behind got caught in the snow.

On Tuesday we went through the Pir Panjal Pass and stopped at Poshiana. Although on this side it is all downhill, it is so steep that most of the men went on foot.

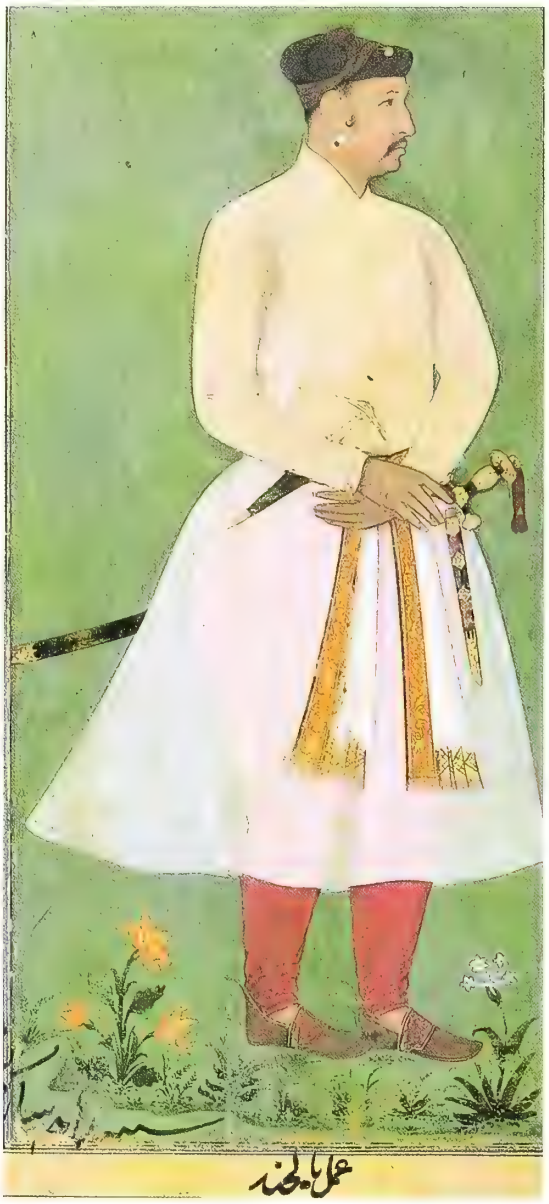
On Wednesday the sixth [October 19] camp was made at Bahramgala. **[257a]** There is an extremely fine waterfall near this place. As had been ordered, a platform for sitting had been built. It is really a beautiful sight. I ordered the date of my passage inscribed on a stone tablet and installed over the platform. Bebadal Khan composed several lines of poetry that will record our prosperity for all time.

Two zamindars live along this road, and they control all coming and going. In reality they are the keys to Kashmir. One is named Mahdi Nayak, and the other is called Husayn Nayak. They are in charge of the road between Hirapur and Bahramgala. Mahdi Nayak's father, Bahram Nayak, was of importance during the rule of the Kashmiris. When the rule came to the servants of this court and Mirza Yusuf Khan was governor, he had Bahram Nayak killed. At present these two [i.e. Mahdi Nayak and Husayn Nayak] are equal in terms of what they control and income. Although they are ostensibly at peace with each other, they are actually implacable enemies.

On this day Shaykh Ibn-i-Yamin, an old and trusted servant, died. He was a good person who did no ill to anyone, and he was extremely trustworthy. He was in charge of the royal opium and wine. The night we were at the top of the Pir Panjal Pass, and the tents and paraphernalia hadn't arrived, since he was already fairly weak, he caught cold, went into convulsions, and couldn't speak. He remained alive for two days in this state and then passed away. I entrusted the royal opium to Khawass Khan and turned the stewardship of libations over to Musa Khan.

On Thursday the seventh [October 20] camp was made at Thana [?]. In Bahramgala many monkeys had been seen, and from this station on, an enormous change in the air, language, clothing, flora and fauna—everything that pertains to a warm climate—was seen. The people here speak both Persian and Hindi. Apparently their native language is Hindi, and they have also learned the Kashmiri language because of the proximity. More or less, from here on, one is in India. The women do not wear woolen garments, and they have rings in their noses like women in India.

On Friday the eighth [October 21] the site for the imperial camp was in Rajaor. **[257b]** In olden times the people here were Hindus and called the zamindars rajas. Sultan Firoz made them Muslim, but they still call themselves rajas. The heretical customs of pre-Islamic times still continue among them. Just as some Hindu women are burned along with their husbands, here they put them in the grave with their husbands. It was heard that within the last few days a ten- or twelve-year-old girl was buried alive with her husband, who was the same age as she. People without means kill daughters by strangulation when they are born. They intermarry with Hindus by both giving their daughters in marriage and taking them from Hindus.



PORTRAIT OF RAJA SARANG DEO, by Balchand. India, Mughal period, 1615. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 28.7 x 26.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.29r

Taking them is all well and good, but giving them to Hindus—God forbid! It was commanded that henceforth such customs would not be allowed, and anyone who committed such practices would be executed.

There is a river in Rajaor the water of which becomes extremely poisonous during the monsoon season. Most of the people get a swelling on their necks and turn yellow and weak. The rice of Rajaor is much better than the rice in Kashmir. There are fragrant wild violets on the mountain slopes.

On Sunday the tenth [October 23] camp was made in Naushahra. At this station a fortress was built of stone by order of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, and the governor of Kashmir always keeps a troop at this outpost.

On Monday the eleventh [October 24] camp was made at Chauki Hatti [?]. A slave named Murad had planned the buildings at this station, and he had done them beautifully. There is a nice platform in the middle of the palace. It is much better than other stations, and I increased his rank.

On Tuesday we stopped at the station of Bhimbar. This day we left the passes and mountains and entered the plains of Hindustan. The scouts had previously been ordered to arrange qamargha hunts and to make circles in Bhimbar, Girjhak, and Makhiyala. On Wednesday and Thursday the prey was rounded up alive. On Friday I enjoyed hunting. Fifty-six head of mountain rams and other things were caught. On this date Raja Sarang Deo, an intimate old servant, **[258a]** was promoted to the rank of 800/400.

On Saturday the sixteenth [October 29] I set out for Girjhak, and camp was made after five marches on the banks of the Bahat.

On Thursday the twenty-first [November 3] I hunted in the circle at Girjhak. Relative to other times, less was hunted, and I didn't enjoy myself as much as I had hoped.

On Monday the twenty-fifth [November 7] I had a good time hunting in the circle at Makhiyala. Taken were seventy-six head of markhor goats and other things. From here we made it in ten stops to the hunting ground of Jahangirabad.[40] When I was a prince this was my hunting preserve, and I built a village called after my own name and had a building constructed. I gave it to Sikandar Mu'in, one of my intimate scouts, and after my accession I made it a pargana and gave it to him as a jagir. I ordered him to build a building as a royal place and a tank. After he died the pargana was given as a jagir to Iradat Khan, and supervision of the buildings also went to him. Recently construction has been completed, and without exaggeration it has turned out to be a really fine reservoir with splendid buildings in the middle. One hundred fifty thousand rupees have been spent on construction. Now it is really an imperial hunting ground.

On Thursday and Friday halts were observed, and I enjoyed hunting all sorts of animals. Qasim Khan, who had been stationed to guard Lahore, attained the felicity of paying homage and presenting fifty mohurs. After this place there was one more stop

40. Now known as Sheikhupura.

before camp was made in the garden of Mu'min Ishqbaz next to the river at Lahore. The garden has fine plane trees and beautiful tall cypresses. Without exaggeration, it is a rather pretty garden.

On Monday the ninth of Azar [November 21], corresponding to the fifth of Muharram 1031, I mounted an elephant named Tund in Mu'min's garden and proceeded, scattering coins, into the city. After the elapse of two watches and three gharis of the day I entered the royal precincts at an auspicious hour and descended in the building that had been renovated by Ma'mur Khan. [**258b**] They were really delightful quarters and gorgeous sitting places done with the utmost subtlety and taste, and all had been painted and decorated by the masters of the age. The gardens were fresh and green with all sorts of charming flowers and herbs.

> All over, everywhere I look, a blandishment catches my heart by the skirt,
> saying, "This is the place!"

In toto, seven lacs of rupees, which is twenty-three thousand tumans of Iranian currency, have been spent on this building.

❁ *The Conquest of Kangra Fortress*

On this happy day the news of victory over the Kangra fortress gave everyone cause for rejoicing. In thanks for this great gift of triumph all heads were bowed to the threshold of the court of the Almighty, and drums of rejoicing and gladness were beaten.

Kangra is an ancient fortress situated in the mountains to the north of Lahore. It is renowned for its strength and impregnability. From the time it was built—and only God knows the truth—it is the belief of the landholders of the Punjab that the fortress has not changed hands and has never been taken by a foreigner. God only knows. At any rate, from the time that Islam and the Muhammadan religion reached Hindustan, not one of the exalted rulers has been able to conquer it.

Sultan Firozshah, with all his might, went off to take it, and he besieged it for a long time. When he realized that the strength of the fortress was such that it was impossible to take it so long as the defenders had supplies, he had to satisfy himself with the raja's coming to pay homage, and he withdrew. They say the raja arranged an offering of tribute and invited the sultan inside the fortress for a banquet. After examining the fortress, the sultan said to the raja, "To take a monarch like me inside the fortress is an injudicious and incautious thing to do. [**259a**] If those in my retinue attacked you and gained control of the fortress, what could you do about it?" The raja simply motioned in the direction of his men, and instantly a troop of fully armed warriors appeared from nowhere and made obeisance to the sultan. Seeing the onslaught of these men, the sultan grew fearful and worried about treachery, but the raja came forward, kissed the ground, and said, "We have no thought of anything but obedience and servitude in our head. However, as has been well said, precaution and foresight must be maintained." The sultan applauded him. After accompanying him for several stages, the raja received permission to return home.

After that, everyone who sat on the throne of Delhi sent an army to subdue Kangra, but nothing was ever accomplished. My exalted father also once sent a huge expeditionary force under the leadership of Husayn-Quli Khan, who was awarded the title of Khan Jahan for outstanding service. During the siege Mirza Ibrahim-Husayn's rebellion took place, and that ingrate fled from Gujarat, spreading trouble into the

Punjab. Khan Jahan had to withdraw from the siege of the fortress and go off to quench the fires of rebellion, and thus the conquest of the fortress remained in abeyance. His Majesty was constantly thinking about it, but his desire never came to fruition.

When, by God's grace, the throne came to me, this was one of the ghazas that weighed on my conscience. First I sent Murtaza Khan, the governor of the Punjab, with a troop of battle-ready warriors to conquer it. Murtaza Khan died before success was achieved. Then Raja Baso's son Jawhar Mal contracted to do it, and I made him commander and sent him off. That ungrateful bastard rebelled, **[259b]** and the army fell to pieces. Once again the conquest of the fortress was left in abeyance. Of course, it wasn't long before that ingrate fell prey to his own actions and went to hell, as has been reported previously in the proper place.[41]

41. Page 343.

Then Khurram promised to perform the service and dispatched his servant Sundar [Das] with full preparedness. Many imperial amirs were assigned as reinforcements, and on the sixteenth of Shawwal 1029 [September 14, 1620] they joined forces around the fortress, stations were divided, the entrances and exits to the stronghold were inspected, and supply routes were blocked. Little by little things got tough for the defenders, and after grain and everything else that could be eaten was used up inside, they boiled straw with salt and ate it for four months. When starvation was imminent and there was no hope of relief from any direction, they sued for amnesty and surrendered the fortress.

On Thursday the first of Muharram 1031 [November 16, 1621] God in his graciousness granted me a victory that no mighty ruler had been able to achieve, and which appeared unfeasible in the narrow view of the short-sighted. Our servants who had performed outstandingly in this endeavor were promoted and rewarded according to their talents and worthiness.

On Thursday the twelfth [November 24], at his request I went to the house Khurram had newly built, and I took of his offering what I liked. Three elephants were sent to the royal stable. On the same day I assigned Abdul-Aziz Khan Naqshbandi as garrison commander for the area around the Kangra fortress and promoted him to the rank of 2000/1500. A royal elephant was given to I'tiqad Khan. **[260a]** Alif Khan Qiyamkhani was sent to guard the Kangra fortress itself, and his rank was increased to 1500/1000. Murtaza Khan's son-in-law Shaykh Fayzullah was also assigned to accompany him to the top of the fortress.

On the eve of Saturday the thirteenth [November 25] there was a lunar eclipse. Petitions was made to the divine court, and alms appropriate to the time in cash and goods were given to the poor and unfortunate.

At this time Zaynal Beg, the emissary of the ruler of Iran, attained the felicity of paying homage. After performing körünüsh he presented a letter from my exalted brother that contained many expressions of cooperativeness and affection. As an offering he presented twelve Abbasi coins[42] as a vow and fourteen horses with trappings, three white falcons, five beasts of burden, five camels, nine bows, and nine swords. He had been given leave to accompany Khan Alam, but on account of some unavoidable business he wasn't able to go with him. He reached the court on this date and was given a sumptuous robe of honor, a turban ornament, a jeweled aigrette, and a jeweled dagger. Wisal Beg and Hajji Ni'mat, who had accompanied him, also paid homage and were honored. Mahabat Khan's son Amanullah was promoted to the rank of 2000/700. At Mahabat Khan's request 300 suwar were added to Mubariz Khan Afghan's rank, making it 2000/1700 in all. A hundred suwar were added to Kang's

42. I.e. coins, or more probably, medallions of Shah Abbas.

[?] rank. Winter robes of honor were awarded to Abdullah Khan and Lashkar Khan and sent to them.

At Qasim Khan's request I went to his garden on the outskirts of the city. While riding out I scattered ten thousand charans. I accepted a diamond and the textiles I liked of his offering.

❁ *Departure from Lahore for Agra*

On the eve of [Satur]day the twenty-first [December 3] the forward camp set out under good auspices in the direction of Agra. Barqandaz Khan was assigned the post of supervisor of the arsenal of the Deccan army. **[260b]** Shaykh Ishaq was assigned to Kangra. Allahdad Khan Afghan's brothers were released from prison and given an award of a thousand rupees. I sent two white falcons as a gift to Khurram.

On Thursday the twenty-sixth [December 8] a wine party was held as usual, and the gifts from the ruler of Iran that he had sent with Zaynal Beg were presented for my inspection. I gave Sultan-Husayn of Pakhli an elephant. I awarded Mulla Muhammad Kashmiri a thousand rupees. At Mahabat Khan's request Pirdad Afghan's rank was increased to 1000/400. Since Raja Rup Chand of Gwalior had performed valiant service on the Kangra campaign, an order was given to the administrators to give him half his home territory as a reward and make the other half his jagir.

On the thirtieth [December 12] I asked for the hand of I'timaduddawla's granddaughter in marriage to my son Shahryar, and a lac of rupees in cash and goods was sent as a sachïq. Most of the great amirs and important courtiers accompanied the sachïq to I'timaduddawla's quarters, where a large celebration of the utmost elaborateness was held. It is hoped the marriage will be blessed. Since I'timaduddawla had built fine buildings and very elaborate sitting places in his quarters, he invited me to be his guest. I went with the ladies of the harem. He had arranged a splendid celebration and paraded before my view worthy offerings of every description. To please him I took what I liked. On this day fifty thousand rupees were given to the emissary Zaynal Beg.

Zibardast Khan's rank was increased to 1000/500. Qasim Khan's brother Maqsud was promoted to the rank of 500/300. Mirza Rustam's son Mirza Dakkani was promoted to 500/200.

❁ *Developments in the Deccan*

During the happy days when the imperial banners were in the perennial spring of Kashmir **[261a]** and we were enjoying touring and hunting, dispatches from officials in the south continually arrived reporting that since the imperial retinue was far from the center of the empire, the rulers of the Deccan had taken advantage of the opportunity to break their pledges and stir up trouble by overstepping their boundaries and taking over many dependencies of Ahmadnagar and Berar. According to many reports, the malefactors' actions consisted of raiding, plundering, setting fires, and destroying fields and pasture lands. It had therefore been decided as a first response that the banners of the world-conquering empire would set out to conquer the southern realms and to reduce the miscreants to naught, and Khurram had gone as vanguard to the imperial army and reached Burhanpur. With the trickery and deceit that is inherent to these villains' natures, they had persuaded him to act as an intercessor, and they had ceded imperial lands, sending large amounts in cash and goods to court as tribute and promising henceforth to be subservient and not make any further breaches of propriety. As has been described in past pages, at his own request Khurram remained in the fortress



CALLIGRAPHIC SPECIMEN, copied by Nurjahan. India, Mughal period, dated A.H. 1029 (1619–20). Gold on tinted paper. 6 x 2.2 cm. Art and History Trust, courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. LTS1995.2.147

at Shadiabad for a few days, and their offenses were pardoned through his intercession and their humble entreaty.

Now in their villainy they have broken their pledge and deviated from the path of obedience and subservience. Once again the imperial army would have to be assigned to his leadership to make them pay for their ingratitude and bad conduct and make them serve as an example to other villains and blackguards. However, since the Kangra affair was in his hands and he had sent most of his battle-worthy men into service there, all efforts were being exerted to achieve that goal. Then reports began pouring in saying that the foe had gained strength, assembled a force of sixty thousand rabble horsemen, taken over large portions of imperial territory, attacked all outposts everywhere, and assembled in Mehkar. The imperials had battled with their opponents for three months there. **[261b]** During that time three major battles were fought, and each time our self-sacrificing servants gained the upper hand over the ill-starred miscreants. But because grain and supplies could not reach the camp from any direction, and the enemy was busy engaging in harassment on all sides of the camp, there was a critical shortage of grain, and the animals were in a bad state. There was nothing to do but descend through Balaghat and camp in Balapur. The damn enemy grew bold, came into the Balapur vicinity, and started making raids and strikes. The servants of the court selected six or seven thousand elite cavalry men who were well horsed and made a strike on the enemy's base camp. The enemy numbered around sixty thousand. In short, a huge battle took place, the base camp was plundered, many of the foe were killed, and our men returned safe and sound. While they were returning, the wretched foe attacked from all sides and fought all the way to the camp. Nearly a thousand men were killed on both sides.

Four months were spent in Balapur, and when the grain shortage reached the critical stage, many hired servants joined the enemy. Groups continually deserted and joined the foe. It was then considered best not to remain there, so they went to Burhanpur. Again the wretched miscreants followed them and laid siege to Burhanpur for six months, taking over the parganas of Berar and Khandesh and aggressively extracting imposts from the ryots and underlings. Because the army had suffered such exhaustion and travails, and the animals were in such a miserable state, they couldn't get out of the city to inflict chastisement on the foe. This caused the foe's confidence to increase and spurred their short-sighted audacity.

At this point the imperial banners arrived in the capital, **[262a]** and through divine favor Kangra was conquered.

Shahjahan is Sent Back to the Deccan

Accordingly, on Friday the fourth of Day [December 16] I dispatched Khurram in that direction and awarded him a robe of honor, a jeweled sword, and an elephant. Nurjahan Begam also gave him an elephant. I ordered that after the subjugation of the Deccan he might take ten crores of dams as a reward from the conquered territory. Six

hundred fifty officers, a thousand ahadis, a thousand musketeers, fifty thousand mounted and infantry artillerymen—in addition to the thirty-one thousand cavalry who were already in the souba—were assigned to accompany him along with a huge arsenal and many elephants. I gave him a crore of rupees for expenditure on the army, and our servants who had already been assigned to this service were each awarded horses, elephants, and robes according to their ranks and stations. At that auspicious hour the imperial banners set forth for the capital Agra, camping in the outskirts of the city.

Muhammad-Riza Jabiri was assigned the post of divan to the souba of Bengal, and Khwaja Maliki was assigned as bakhshi to the same souba. They were both given promotions. Rana Karan's son Jagat Singh came from home and paid homage.

On the sixth [December 18] camp was made beside Raja Toda Mal's tank. We halted there for four days. Several officers who had been assigned to the Deccan campaign were promoted. Zahid Khan, who had been 1000/400, was made 1000/500. A hundred suwar were added to Khwaja Abdul-Latif Naqshbandi's rank, making it 500 suwar. I promoted Hardi Narayan Hada to 900/600. Khan Dawran's son Ya'qub was promoted to 800/400. A large number of servants were also promoted as they deserved. Mu'tamad Khan was assigned as bakhshi and recorder for the campaign and was awarded a *tugh*.[43] The offering of Lachhmi Chand, the Raja of Kumaun, consisting of hawks, falcons, and other hunting birds, was viewed. Rana Karan's son Jagat Singh was given leave to depart as an auxiliary to the Deccan force, and he was awarded a royal horse with a saddle. **[262b]**

43. A *tugh* is a yak-tail standard attached beneath the chin of a officer's horse. It was an insignium of high military command.

On the twelfth [December 24] I honored my "son" Khan Jahan with the governorship of the souba of Multan and gave him leave to depart. He was awarded a robe with a nadiri jacket, a jeweled dagger, a royal elephant with trappings, a female elephant, a horse named Khadang, and two falcons. Sayyid Hizhabr Khan held the rank of 1000/400, to which 500/200 was added; and he was assigned to accompany Khan Jahan. Muhammad-Shafi' was assigned bakhshi and recorder for the souba of Multan. Bhawal, an old servant, was given the post of overseer of the arsenal and the title of rai.

On the thirteenth [December 25] camp was made beside the river at Gobindwal, and we stayed there for four days. I awarded a royal elephant named Jai Singh with a female elephant to Mahabat Khan and sent them to him with his liege man Safia. Robes of honor were sent with Isa Beg to the amirs in Bangash.

Lunar Weighing Ceremony

On the seventeenth [December 29] the lunar weighing ceremony was held. Since Mu'tamad Khan had been assigned as bakhshi to the Deccan campaign, I gave the office of reviser of petitions to Khwaja Qasim. Mir Sharaf became bakhshi to the ahadis, and Fazil Beg was made bakhshi to the souba of the Punjab.

Bahadur Khan the governor of Kandahar had repeatedly reported suffering from pain in his eyes and requested permission to come to court. Now the governorship and guardianship of Kandahar was transferred to Abdul-Aziz Khan, and an order was issued to Bahadur Khan to turn over the fortress to Abdul-Aziz Khan when he arrived and to set out for court.

On the twenty-first [January 2, 1621] camp was made in Nur Saray. Here Nurjahan Begam's agents had built a fine palace and regal garden. Since it had recently been completed, the begam requested that I attend an entertainment. She arranged a splendid and very elaborate party at which she presented all sorts of rare items and objects. To please her some things I liked were taken. We halted at this station for

two days. The officials of the Punjab were ordered to dispatch another two lacs of rupees, [**263a**] over and above the sixty thousand rupees already assigned, to pro-vision Kandahar. Mir Qawamuddin, the divan of the Punjab, was given leave to go to Lahore and awarded a robe of honor. I gave Qasim Khan leave to chastise rebels in the vicinity of Kangra and to consolidate the area. I gave him a royal nadiri jacket, a dagger, a horse, and an elephant and increased his rank to 2000/1500. At Qasim Khan's request Raja Sangram was given leave to go to that area too, and he was given a robe, a horse, and an elephant. Around this time Baqir Khan came from Multan to pay homage.

On Thursday the first of Bahman [January 12] we camped outside the town of Sirhind. Halting here for a day, I enjoyed touring the garden.

On Sunday the fourth [January 15] Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan was sent on service to the Deccan. He was awarded a robe of honor with a nadiri jacket, a royal shawl, an elephant named Subhdam, a tugh, and drums. A robe of honor and a royal horse named Subh-i-Sadiq were given to Mu'tamad Khan, and he was dismissed.

On the seventh [January 18] camp was made on the banks of the Saraswati in the vicinity of the town of Mustafaabad. The next day I stopped in Akbarpur, and from there I got into a boat on the Jumna and headed for my destination. On this day Arab Khan Khwafi, the commander of the garrison of this area, paid homage. I gave Muhammad-Shafi' leave to depart for Multan and awarded him a horse, a robe of honor, and a nurshahi mohur.[44] By him I also sent a royal turban for my "son" Khan Jahan.

44. See page 27.

After five marches we reached the vicinity of the pargana of Kairana, Muqarrab Khan's home. His agents presented ninety-one carnelians and four diamonds as an offering and a thousand ells of velvet as a payandaz along with his report. He had also offered a hundred camels in alms. I ordered them distributed among the poor. From here it was five marches to Delhi.

I dispatched I'timad Rai to my son Parvez with a royal faraji garment[45] for my son. He was ordered to return to me within a month. [**263b**]

45. Reading *faraji* (see glossary) for the text's meaningless *kharji*.

We halted two days in Salimgadh, and on Thursday the 2[2]nd [February 2], with an intention to go hunting in the pargana of Palam, I passed through the inhabited part of Delhi and stopped beside the Shamsi pool. Along the way I scattered four thousand charans with my own hands. The offering of Iftikhar Khan's son Allahyar, consisting of twenty-two male and female elephants, had arrived from Bengal, and they were viewed. Zulqarnayn was assigned as garrison commander to Sambhar. He is the son of Iskandar the Armenian, and his father had the good fortune to be in His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's service. His Majesty married him to Abdul-Hayy the Armenian's daughter, who served in the royal harem, and by her he had two sons. One was Zulqarnayn, who was intelligent and possessed valor, and during my reign the great administrators of the imperial demesnes entrusted the salt works to him. He discharged his duties very well. Recently he was assigned as garrison commander of that area. His hobby is Indian music, and he has correct taste in that art. His compositions have often been played for me, and I liked them.

La'l Beg was appointed supervisor of accounting following the transfer of Nuruddin-Quli.

I enjoyed hunting in the Palam vicinity for fourteen days and then returned to Salimgadh.

On the twenty-ninth [February 9] Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang's offering of nineteen elephants, two eunuchs, one slave boy, forty gamecocks, twelve oxen, and seven cows was viewed.

Lunar Weighing Ceremony

On Thursday the thirtieth [February 10], corresponding to the twenty-fifth of Rabi' I, the lunar weighing ceremony was held.

I had sent Kawkab Khan to the Khankhanan to deliver some messages. Recently he came back with the Khankhanan's report. The Mirmiran, whom I had sent as garrison commander in the souba of Mewat, came on this date to pay homage, and he was made governor of Delhi after the transfer of Sayyid Bahwa. Also on this date Aqa Beg and Muhibb-Ali, emissaries of the ruler of Iran, paid homage and delivered a friendly letter from my exalted brother. A mottled turban ornament he had sent was viewed. **[264a]** The jewelers valued it at fifty thousand rupees. A ruby weighing twelve tanks, originally from the treasury of Mirza Ulughbeg, the son of Mirza Shahrukh, had found its way down the ages into the hands of the Safavid dynasty. On it was inscribed in the *naskh* script, "Ulughbeg son of Mirza Shahrukh Bahadur son of Amir Temür Küragän." My brother Shah Abbas had had it shaped and fitted into this turban ornament and sent it to me as a memento.[46] Since it had my ancestors' names inscribed on it, I took it as a very good omen and ordered Sa'ida, the supervisor of the goldsmithery, to have "Jahangir Shah son of Akbar Shah" and the date inscribed in another corner. A few days later, when the news of victory in the Deccan arrived, I awarded the ruby to Khurram and sent it to him.

46. The dispatch of this ruby is mentioned in Iskandar Beg, *Alamara-yi Abbasi* 2:951. It is now in the collection of the Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait. It is actually a spinel, not a ruby.

On Saturday the first of Isfandarmudh [February 11] we moved out from Salimgadh. Arriving first at His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun]'s blessed tomb, I performed the rites of supplication and gave two thousand charans to those who lived at the tomb. Then we camped beside the Jumna in the outskirts of the city. Hizhabr Khan, who had been assigned as an auxiliary to Khan Jahan, was awarded a robe of honor, a horse, a sword, a dagger, and a banner and received permission to depart. His brothers Sayyid Alam and Sayyid Abdul-Hadi were also given horses and robes of honor. Mir Baraka Bukhari received permission to depart for Transoxiana, and I entrusted ten thousand rupees to him, five thousand of which he was to take to Khwaja Salih Dahbedi, who, like his ancestors, prayed for the welfare of this dynasty, and the other five thousand of which were for distribution among the officials and residents at the blessed tomb of His Majesty the Sahib-Qiran [Temür]. A royal turban was also sent with him for Mahabat Khan, and I told him that he should be diligent in locating striated fish tusk, and wherever and at whatever price he found any he should buy it.

I got into a boat next to Delhi and proceeded six kos, stopping at the imperial camp in Bindraban. **[264b]** I awarded the Mirmiran an elephant and gave him permission to go to Delhi. Zibardast Khan was assigned to the post of mir tüzük after the transfer of Fidai Khan, and I gave him a royal cashmere shawl. The next day camp was made in the vicinity of Gokul (Mahaban). At this station Lashkar Khan the governor of Agra, Mir Abdul-Wahhab the divan, Raja Nath Mal, Khizr Khan Faruqi the governor of Asir and Burhanpur, his brother Ahmad Khan, the cadi, the mufti, and other city dignitaries attained the felicity of paying homage.

On the eleventh of the month [February 21] I stopped under good auspices in Nurafshan Garden, which is situated right on the Jumna. Since the hour for entering the city had been set for the fourteenth, I halted at this station for three days.

Entry into Agra

At the auspicious hour chosen I set out for the citadel and entered the palace under favorable portents.

The auspicious journey from Lahore to Agra had taken two months and ten days and had been done in forty-nine marches and twenty-one halts. Not one day had passed, neither marching nor halting, and neither on dry land nor on water, without hunting. Taken along the way were 114 antelopes, 51 ducks, 4 karwanak cranes, 10 quail, and 200 *bödänä* quail.

Since Lashkar Khan had maintained Agra satisfactorily, I increased his rank to 4000/2500 and assigned him as an auxiliary to the army of the Deccan. Sa'ida, the supervisor of the goldsmithery, was awarded the title of Bebadal Khan. Four horses, some silver vessels, and textiles the ruler of Iran had sent with Aqa Beg and Muhibb-Ali were viewed.

The Thursday party on the twentieth [March 2] was held in Nur Manzil Garden. A lac of rupees was presented to my son Shahryar. Muzaffar Khan arrived from Thatta as ordered and paid homage, presenting a hundred mohurs and a hundred rupees as a vow. Lashkar Khan offered a ruby valued at four thousand rupees. **[265a]** I awarded a royal horse named Musahib to Abdullah Khan and sent it off. Mu'azzam Khan's son Abdul-Salam came from Orissa and paid homage, presenting a hundred rupees and a hundred mohurs in fulfillment of his vow. Tüläk Khan's son Dost Beg's rank was increased to 900/400.

The Thursday party on the twenty-seventh [March 9] was held in the Nurafshan Garden. A royal robe of honor was awarded to Mirza Rustam, a horse was given to his son Dakkani, and a royal horse and an elephant were given to Lashkar Khan.

On Friday the twenty-eighth [March 10] I set out in the direction of Samugarh to go hunting, returning that night. Seven Persian horses with trappings, Aqa Beg's and Muhibb-Ali's offerings, were viewed. I gave a nurjahani mohur weighing a hundred tolas to Zaynal Beg the ambassador. I gave a jeweled pen box to Sadiq Khan the mir-bakhshi. I awarded a village in Agra as a gratuity to Khizr Khan Faruqi.

During this year 85,000 bighas of land, 3,325 loads, 14 villages, 2 fields, 1 garden, 2,327 rupees, 1 mohur, 6,200 drabs, 7,880 charans, 1,512 tolas of gold and silver, and ten thousand dams by weight from the treasury were given away in alms in my presence to the poor and deserving. Eight elephants worth two hundred forty-one thousand rupees were presented and put into the imperial elephant stable, and I gave away fifty-one elephants to the great amirs and servants of the court.

The Sixteenth Regnal Year: March 11, 1621–March 10, 1622

The Sixteenth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

On Saturday the twenty-seventh of Rabi' II 1030 of the Hegira [March 11, 1621] the sun lit its castle of Aries with its world-illuminating brilliance to the delight of all worldlings, and the sixteenth year of the reign of this petitioner at the divine court commenced with auspiciousness. At the auspicious hour I ascended the throne in Agra. [**265b**]

On this felicitous day my son Shahryar was raised to the rank of 8000/4000. My exalted father had also once awarded this rank to my brothers. It is hoped that he will attain long life in the shadow of divine protection and contentment.

On this date Baqir Khan paraded his troops in array. The bakhshis reckoned a thousand horsemen and two thousand foot soldiers. I promoted him to the rank of 2000/1000 and put the garrison in Agra under his command.

On Wednesday I got into a boat with the ladies of the harem and went to Nurafshan Garden. I rested there that night. Since this garden belongs to Nurjahan Begam's desmesne, on Thursday she held a regal party and presented a superb offering. I selected what I liked of the jeweled vessels and various fine textiles worth around a lac of rupees. These days I get into a boat every day after the second watch and go hunting in Samugarh, which is four kos from the city, and return to the palace in the evening.

I dispatched Raja Sarang Deo to my fortunate son Shah Parvez, sending with him a royal robe of honor with a jewel-studded belt containing a blue carnelian and several valuable red carnelians. With the transfer of Muqarrab Khan, I had awarded the souba of Bihar to this son and sent a herald to escort him from the souba of Allahabad to Bihar.

Mirza Muhammad, Muzaffar Khan's son-in-law, came from Thatta and paid homage. Since Mir Azududdawla had grown very old and bent and was no longer able to run a troop or jagir, I retired him from active service and ordered him to receive from the treasury four thousand rupees a month in cash and take up residence in Lahore or Agra, or wherever he liked, to live comfortably and prosperously and pray for our long life and good fortune.

On the ninth of Farvardin [March 19] I'tibar Khan's offering was viewed. Seventy thousand rupees worth of gems, textiles, et cetera were accepted, and I gave the rest back to him. [**266a**] Muhibb-Ali and Aqa Beg, emissaries of the ruler of Iran, presented 24 horses, 2 pack horses, 3 camels, 7 hunting dogs, 27 bolts of gold brocade, 3 of gold-spun velvet, 1 bottle of fine ambergris, 2 pairs of carpets, and 2 felt coverlets. Two mares with foals my brother had sent with them were also viewed.



ZEBRA, by Mansur. India, Mughal period, dated A.H. 1030 (1620–21). Opaque watercolor and ink on paper. 18.3 x 24 cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum. IM 23–1925

On Thursday, at Asaf Khan's request, I went with the ladies of the harem to his house, where he had arranged a splendid party and presented for my inspection many valuables, gems, precious textiles, and rare objects. One hundred thirty thousand rupees' worth was accepted, and I gave him back the rest. Mukarram Khan had sent thirty-two elephants, both male and female, from Orissa, and they were accepted.

A Strange Striped Animal

At this time I was shown a wild ass. It was extremely strange, for it was for all the world exactly like a tiger. Tigers have black and yellow stripes, but this one was black and white. There were black stripes, large and small in proportion to where they were, from the tip of its nose to the end of its tail and from the tip of its ear to the top of its hoof. Around its eyes were black stripes of great fineness—you'd say the painter of destiny had produced a tour de force on the canvas of time with his wonder-working brush.

It was so strange some thought it might have been painted, but after inspection it was clear that that was how God had made it. Since it was so rare it was included among the gifts for my brother Shah Abbas.

Bahadur Khan Uzbek had sent topchaq horses and Persian textiles as an offering, and they were viewed. Winter robes of honor were sent with Mu'min Shirazi for Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang and the amirs in Bengal.

On the fifteenth [March 25] Sadiq Khan's offering was viewed. Goods of all sorts worth fifteen thousand rupees were taken, and I gave the rest back to him. Fazil Khan also presented what he could as an offering on this day; only a little was taken.

On Thursday the nineteenth, I'timaduddawla arranged the celebration of culmination. I mounted the throne after the elapse of two watches and one ghari of the day. **[266b]** At I'timaduddawla's request the culmination celebration was held in his house, and he presented an outstanding offering of rarities and valuables from every region. He had really outdone himself. One hundred thirty-eight thousand rupees' worth was accepted. On this day I gave a two-hundred-tola mohur to Zaynal Beg, the ambassador.

Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang had sent several eunuchs from Bengal as an offering. One of them appeared to be a hermaphrodite, for he had both a male organ and the place that only women have, but he had no testicles. Also included in Ibrahim Khan's offering were two very fine, well-proportioned boats made in Bengal. Ten thousand rupees had been spent on the decoration alone. Without exaggeration they were really regal boats.

I made Shaykh Qasim governor of Allahabad, awarded him the title of Muhtasham Khan, and promoted him to the rank of 5000. I ordered the administrators to assign the jagir for his increase out of unapportioned lands. Raja Shyam Singh, the zamindar of Srinagar,[1] was given a horse and an elephant.

1. This is the Srinagar in Garhwal, not the Srinagar in Kashmir

It was now reported that Husayn Khan's son Yusuf Khan had died suddenly while serving in the Deccan. It had been heard that while he was in his jagir he had become so fat that he got short of breath with the slightest movement or exertion. On the day he paid homage to Khurram he was huffing and puffing coming and going. When he was given a robe he couldn't even get it on and make a salute. All his limbs were trembling, and only with the greatest of difficulty did he manage to make a salute and get himself out. Then, taking shelter in an enclosure, he fainted. His servants put him in a palanquin and carried him home. No sooner had he arrived than he died, leaving the heap of dust he purchased so dearly to the mortal world.

On the first of Urdibihisht [April 10] I gave Zaynal Beg, the ambassador, a royal dagger.

Shahryar's Wedding

On the fourth of the month [April 13] a celebration was held for my son Shahryar's marriage. The henna party was held in Maryamuzzamani's quarters,[2] and the marriage was performed in I'timaduddawla's house. I went myself with the ladies of the harem and participated in the celebration.

2. The "henna party," called *hana-bandi,* is customary before weddings. The bride's hands and feet are decorated with patterns in henna. The custom is still observed in Iran and the Indian subcontinent.

After eight gharis had elapsed of Thursday night, the wedding took place under favorable auspices. It is hoped that it will prove to be auspicious for this dynasty. **[267a]**

On Tuesday the ninth [April 18] a jeweled charqab with a turban and cummerbund and two horses, one Persian with a golden saddle and the other Turkish with a painted saddle, were given to my son Shahryar in Nurafshan Garden.

Shah-Shuja' Falls Ill

During these days Shah-Shuja' got smallpox, and it was so severe that water wouldn't go down his throat, and his life was despaired of.

Since it was recorded in his father's horoscope that during this year a son would die, all the astrologers agreed that Shah-Shuja' would not survive. Jotik Rai, however, said to the contrary that his life was not threatened. I asked him by virtue of what indication. "It has been written in Your Majesty's horoscope," he replied, "that during this year no worry or concern will afflict your mind from any quarter. Since you are so fond of him, it follows that no harm will befall him, and it will be another son who dies." Fortuitously it happened exactly as he said: Shah-Shuja' escaped the brink of death, and another son born of Shahnawaz Khan's daughter in Burhanpur died.

In addition to this one, many of Jotik Rai's predictions came true, and since this episode is not without strangeness, it is recorded here. I ordered him weighed against gold. It came to sixty-five hundred rupees, which I gave him as a reward.

Muhammad-Husayn Jabiri was appointed as bakhshi and recorder for the souba of Orissa. At Mahabat Khan's request Lachin Qaqshal's rank was increased to 1000/500. Khwaja Jahan's brother Muhammad-Husayn came from Kangra to pay homage. An elephant was awarded to Bahadur Khan Uzbek and sent to him by his agent.

The late Mirza Hakim's grandsons Hurmuz and Hoshang had been imprisoned in the Gwalior fortress as a necessary precaution for maintaining the rule. Around this time I summoned them both to my presence and ordered them to live in Agra with a daily stipend to cover their necessary expenses.

During these days a Brahmin named Raudr Bhattacharj, a learned man of his caste **[267b]** who lived in Benares studying and teaching, paid homage. He was truly learned in the rational and traditional sciences and was perfect in his calling.[3]

3. The "rational and traditional sciences" were the two categories of subjects taught in the Islamic world. The "rational sciences" are the disciplines that were taken from the Hellenistic world, such as mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy. The "traditional sciences" are those that revolve around Arabic and Islamic religious learning, like Koranic exegesis, the study of *hadith*, and lexicography.

A Meteor Lands in Jalandhar

One of the strangest things that happened during this period occurred on the thirtieth of Farvardin of the present year [April 9] in a village in the pargana of Jalandhar. At dawn a tremendous noise arose in the east. It was so terrifying that it nearly frightened the inhabitants out of their skins. Then, in the midst of the tumultuous noise, something bright fell to the earth from above. The people thought fire was falling from heaven. A moment later the noise ceased, and the people regained their composure. A swift messenger was sent to Muhammad Sa'id the tax collector to inform him of the event. He got on his horse at once and went to the site to see for himself. For a distance of ten or twelve ells in length and breadth the earth had been so scorched that no trace of greenery or plants remained and it was still hot. He ordered the earth dug up. The deeper they dug, the hotter it was. Finally they reached a spot where a piece of hot iron appeared. It was so hot it was as though it had been taken out of a furnace. After a while it cooled off, and Muhammad Sa'id took it home with him. He placed it in a purse, sealed it, and sent it to court.

I ordered it weighed in my presence. It weighed 160 tolas. I ordered Master Daud to make a sword, dagger, and knife of it and show them to me. He said that the metal wouldn't hold up under the hammer and would break apart. I said that in that case he could mix it with other iron to make it workable. Just as I had ordered, he mixed three parts of the "lightning" iron with one part of other iron and produced



This knife, one of those made from the meteor for Jahangir, is the only one known to have survived. India, Mughal period, 1621. Meteoritic iron and gold. 126.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase.' F55.27

two swords and one dagger he showed me. From the admixture of the other iron it had acquired a watered effect and flexed like a real Yemeni or southern blade. I ordered it tried in my presence. [**268a**] It cut beautifully, as well as the very best swords. I named one of them Shamsher-i-Qati' (cutting sword) and the other Barqsirisht (lightning-essence).

Bebadal Khan composed and presented the following quatrain for the occasion: "The world attained order from the world-seizing monarch,[4] / And during his reign raw iron fell from lightning. / From that iron was made by his world-conquering order / A dagger and a knife and two swords."[5]

A chronogram was found in the words "spark of imperial lightning."[6]

At this time Raja Sarang Deo, who had been sent to my son Shah Parvez, came to pay homage and report that Parvez had proceeded as ordered from Allahabad to Bihar. It is hoped that he will enjoy long life.

Qasim Khan was awarded the privilege of drums. On this date one of Khurram's servants named Alamuddin brought a report from him that contained the good news of conquest and a jeweled archer's ring he had sent as a vow. I awarded him a robe of honor and dismissed him.

Fazil Khan's brother Amir Beg was appointed divan to my son Shahryar's demesne. Khwaja Jahan's brother Muhammad-Husayn was made his bakhshi, and Ma'sum was appointed his chief steward. Sayyid Hajji was assigned as auxiliary to the Deccan army, and I gave him a horse. Muzaffar Khan was assigned as mirbakhshi.

A Letter from the Mother of Imam-Quli Khan, the Ruler of Turan, to Nurjahan Begam

The mother of Imam-Quli Khan, the ruler of Turan, sent a letter filled with expressions of loyalty and friendship to Nurjahan Begam and sent rarities from that land as gifts. Therefore Khwaja Nasir, an old servant from my princely days, was dispatched as an emissary from Nurjahan Begam with a letter and rarities from this land.

4. The words for "world-seizing monarch," *shah-i-jahangir,* form a pun on Shah Jahangir.

5. The actual inscription varies wholly from the wording given here, although the content is similar.

6. The chronogram *shu'la-i barq-i padishahi* yields 1030.

While we were stopping in Nurafshan Garden, an eight-day-old baby ibex jumped off the roof of the palace, which is eight ells high, landed on the ground, and began to leap about. There was absolutely no sign of injury.

News of Victory from Shahjahan in the Deccan

On the fourth of Khurdad [circa May 14] Khurram's divan Afzal Khan brought a report from Khurram with news of victory. **[268b]** The details are as follows. When the imperial army reached the vicinity of Ujjain, a group of servants of the court who were in the Mandu fortress wrote that a troop of the enemy had boldly and audaciously crossed the Narbada River, burned several villages situated below the fortress, and engaged in pillage and plunder. Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan was assigned five thousand cavalry as a vanguard and rushed out to chastise the wrong-headed attackers. The khwaja had ridden through the night, and at dawn he reached the banks of the Narbada. Those he was after got wind of his approach, and not a moment later they hurled themselves into the river and got themselves to safety on the opposite bank.

Our champion warriors set out in pursuit, driving them another four kos and putting many to the sword. The ill-starred foe did not pull in their reins until they reached Burhanpur. Khurram's letter then reached Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan telling him to stop on the other side of the river until he arrived. At the same time he and the imperial troops joined the vanguard and hurried stage by stage to Burhanpur. The blithering enemy were still sitting around the city. Since the servants of our court had been fighting and struggling with the damn enemy for two years and had suffered all sorts of tribulation and exhaustion, from ambushes to scarcity of grain, and their mounts were in a miserable state from having been ridden constantly, a halt of nine days was declared so that the soldiers could replenish their supplies. During those nine days thirty lacs of rupees and many armaments were distributed among the imperial soldiers, and the sazavuls were sent out to bring in men from the city. The battle-loving champions had not yet begun to fight when the ill-fated rebels realized that they could not offer resistance and scattered like the Pleiades. Our fleet-steeded heroes lit out in pursuit and ground many of them into the dust of annihilation with their vengeful swords.

Thus, giving them no chance to escape, they pursued them to Kharki, the residence of Nizamulmulk and the other damned rebels. **[269a]** That ill-fated one had learned of the approach of imperial troops the day before and gone with his wives, goods, and possessions to the fortress at Daulatabad. In a place fronted by mud and mire he sat with his back to the fortress. Most of his men scattered in all directions. The leaders of the imperial army stopped in Kharki for three days, and a city that had been built up over twenty years was so destroyed that it is doubtful whether it can return to its original splendor in another twenty years. Anyway, after razing all the buildings, it was decided that since one of the enemy troops still had the fortress at Ahmadnagar under siege, they should go there at once to chastise the troublemakers and, after replenishing their stores and posting auxiliaries, they should return. With this plan in mind they set off for the town of Patan.

Meanwhile the treacherous trickster, the damn Ambar, sent agents to the amirs to bewail his plight, saying, "Henceforth I will not fail to be obedient and servile, and I will disobey no order. I will gladly pay any tribute and fine that is levied on me."

As it happened, around the same time a great scarcity of grain occurred in the camp, and news was also received that the damn enemy's troop that was besieging

Ahmadnagar had abandoned the siege in fear of the imperial troops and withdrawn from the stronghold. A troop was therefore sent to reinforce Khanjar Khan, and a sum of money was dispatched to help with expenses. Their minds at ease on all fronts, the imperials returned victorious and triumphant. After much weeping and wailing, it was decided that the territory that had been under the control of the servants of our court of old, together with fourteen kos more of the region adjacent to the imperial borders should be ceded, and fifty lacs of rupees should be sent to the imperial treasury as tribute.

I dismissed Afzal Khan and sent with him for Khurram the ruby plume holder the ruler of Iran had sent, a description of which has already been given in its proper place.[7] [**269b**] To Afzal Khan I gave a robe of honor, an elephant, and a jeweled ink pot and pen. Khanjar Khan, who had rendered such good service by maintaining the Ahmadnagar fortress, was promoted to the rank of 4000/4000. Mukarram Khan had come as ordered from the souba of Orissa to pay homage, presenting a pearl necklace as a gift. Baha'ulmulk's son Muzaffarulmulk was awarded the title of Nusrat Khan. A banner was awarded to Udai Ram Dakkani. Yusuf Khan's son Azizullah was promoted to the rank of 1000/500.

7. Page 357.

On Thursday Muqarrab Khan arrived from Bihar to pay homage. At this time I gave leave to depart to Aqa Beg, Muhibb-Ali, Fazil Beg, and Hajji Beg, emissaries of the ruler of Iran who had come at various times. Aqa Beg was given a robe, a jeweled dagger, and forty thousand rupees in cash. Muhibb-Ali Beg was given a robe of honor and thirty thousand rupees. The others were also given bonuses according to their stations. I sent an appropriate memento with them for my exalted brother.

On the same date Mukarram Khan was appointed governor of Delhi and commander of the Mewat garrison. Shaja'at Khan Arab was promoted by 1000/1000. Sharza Khan was promoted to 2000/1000, and Rai Sal Kachhwaha's son Gridhr was promoted to 1200/900.

On the twenty-ninth [circa June 9] an emissary of the ruler of Iran named Qasim Beg arrived and paid homage, bringing a letter from that magnificent brother of mine in which he affirmed amity and unity, and presenting for my inspection the gifts he had sent.

On the first of Tir [circa June 11] I sent the royal elephant named Gaj Ratan to my "son" Khan Jahan. Khurram's attendant Nazar Beg presented a report he had brought. He had requested horses for giving away. I ordered Raja Kishan Das the overseer to get together a thousand horses from the stables of my establishments within fifteen days and send them with Nazar Beg. I awarded Khurram the horse named Rum Ratan, which the ruler of Iran had taken in booty from the army of Anatolia and sent to me. [**270a**]

During these days Iradat Khan's attendant Ghiyasuddin presented Iradat Khan's report on victory in Kishtwar. The unruliness and trouble caused by the zamindars of Kishtwar, as well as the dispatch of Dilawar Khan's son Jalal, have been recorded on previous pages. Since the mission had not been conducted satisfactorily by him, Iradat Khan was ordered to undertake the mission himself and give the miscreants a suitable chastisement, and so to get that mountainous area under control that it would cause no further worry. He had gone as commanded and performed well, driving the troublemakers half dead into exile, which resulted in that land's being cleared once again of the brambles of rebellion. Having reinforced the troops and strengthened the

outposts, he had returned to Kashmir. As a reward for this service I increased Iradat Khan's rank by 500 suwar.

Since Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan had made outstanding showings in the Deccan campaign, I increased his rank by 1000 suwar.

Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang's nephew Ahmad Beg was assigned as governor of Orissa, awarded the title of khan, and granted the privilege of a banner and drums. I increased his rank to 2000/1500.

Having heard much about Qazi Nasir Burhanpuri's great learning, I was quite desirous of meeting him. At this time he arrived at court as summoned. Respecting his level of learning, I received him with all honor and dignity. The qazi is unequaled in this age for his knowledge of the rational and traditional sciences, and few are the books he hasn't gone through. However, his external mien is a far cry from his inner being, and I did not derive much pleasure from talking with him. Finding him extremely inclined to dervishdom, I did as he desired and did not offer him a place in my retinue. Awarding him five thousand rupees, I dismissed him to return to his home and live in peace.

On the first of Amurdad [circa July 12] Baqir Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1200. Thirty-two of the amirs and court servants who had performed outstandingly in the conquest of the Deccan were given promotions. **[270b]** Abdul-Aziz Khan Naqshbandi, who had been assigned to the governorship of Kandahar, was grant a promotion to 3000/2000 at my "son" Khan Jahan's request.

On the first of Shahrivar [circa August 12] I awarded a jeweled sword to Zaynal Beg, the ambassador. A village dependency of the capital with an income of sixteen thousand rupees was also given to him. At this time Hakim Rukna was dismissed on account of his bad temperament and nastiness, and because I thought he did not have the competence necessary to carry out the duties of his post, and he was told to go wherever he wanted.

Since it was reported that Khan Alam's nephew Hoshang had committed murder, I summoned him into my presence and conducted an investigation. When his guilt was proved, an order was given for retribution. In such cases even princes are not shown favoritism—God forbid amirs or other courtiers be shown any!

On the first of Shahrivar [circa August 12], I went to Asaf Khan's house at his request and had a bath in the bathhouse he had recently built. Without exaggeration, it is a very fine and tasteful bath. After the bath he presented a suitable offering, of which I took what I liked and gave the rest back.

Khizr Khan Khandesi's pension was fixed at thirty thousand rupees.

A Self-Sacrificing Lover

At this time it was reported that a blacksmith named Kalyan had fallen desperately in love with a woman from his own caste and was constantly following her around and acting love-crazed. Although she was a widow, the woman refused him absolutely, for the lovesick wretch's love had made no impression on her whatsoever. I summoned them both for an investigation. No matter how I tried to placate the woman and persuade her to accept him, she refused. Then the blacksmith said, "If I knew for certain that you would give her to me, I'd throw myself off the top of the Shah Burj tower." **[271a]**

Just as a joke I said, "Never mind the Shah Burj. If your claim of love has any truth to it, you'll have to throw yourself off the roof of this building. Then I'll give her to you by command." These words were scarcely out of my mouth when he raced like a streak

of lightning and threw himself down. As soon as he hit the ground blood began to stream from his eyes and mouth.

I really regretted having spoken in jest and was dreadfully sorry. I ordered Asaf Khan to take him home and tend to him. However, since the cup of his life was full, he died of his injuries.

> A lover who sacrifices himself at that threshold dies of ecstasy using fate as a pretext.

At Mahabat Khan's request Lachin Qaqshal's rank was increased to 1000/500.

My Protracted Illness

In previous pages a mention has been made that on the day of the Dasehra celebration in Kashmir I felt a constriction in my chest and a shortness of breath. Later, due to the great amount of rain and the wetness of the weather, a heaviness and constriction appeared in my windpipe on the left side near the heart. Little by little it got worse.

Of the physicians in my retinue Hakim Ruhullah first undertook the treatment, and for a while he applied warm and gentle remedies. A little superficial benefit resulted. When I came down from the mountains it got worse again. This time he tried goat's milk and then camel's milk for a few days. I got no relief from either one.

Then Hakim Rukna, whom I had exempted from going to Kashmir and left in Agra, took over. He applied aggressive and powerful remedies, concentrating on warm and dry medicines.[8] His treatment not only didn't do any good either but actually increased the heat and dryness of my brain and constitution. I got extremely weak, and the illness was getting worse.

While I was in such a state that a heart of stone would have melted, I summoned Hakim Mirza Muhammad's son Sadra, one of the great physicians of Persia who had come from there during my exalted father's reign. After I had acceded to the throne, since he was superior to all in terms of talent and control of nature, I patronized him and awarded him the title of Masihu'z-Zaman and raised his position above that of the other physicians in the retinue,[9] [271b] thinking that some time or other he might be of use. All the favor I had shown him notwithstanding, the ungrateful wretch saw me today in such a state and made absolutely no attempt to treat me. Although he was superior to any of the physicians in the retinue, he did not offer to take over my treatment. No matter how much favor I showed him and begged him to treat me, he grew adamant and said, "I do not have sufficient reliance on my knowledge and skill to undertake your treatment."



THE EMPEROR JAHANGIR. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Ink on paper. 16.3 x 11.3 cm. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. 1920.9–17.013(15). ©British Museum

8. "Warm and dry medicines" are categories of Galenic medicine, according to which the four natures of the body—warm, dry, cold, and wet—were to be kept in balance. An illness diagnosed as cold and wet would be treated with warm and dry medicines.

9. The title Masihu'z-Zaman means "messiah of the age," a ref-



Miniature portrait, possibly of Nurjahan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 2.9 x 1.9 cm. Private collection.

So also did Hakimulmulk's son Hakim Abu'l-Qasim, despite his relationship as a khanazad and all the favor he has enjoyed, show himself so fearful and terrified that I was repulsed and disgusted by him—never mind asking him to treat me.

There was nothing to do but abandon hope of them all, cease to rely on physical remedies, and entrust myself to the Absolute Physician. Since drinking wine gave me some relief, I began drinking during the day, contrary to established custom, and little by little I was overdoing it. At the same time the weather was growing hotter, and its effects could be felt too. My weakness and suffering were increasing.

Nurjahan Begam's remedies and experience were greater than any of the physicians', especially since she treated me with affection and sympathy. She made me drink less and applied remedies that were suitable and efficacious. Although the treatments the physicians had prescribed before were done with her approval, I now relied on her affection, gradually reduced my intake of wine, and avoided unsuitable things and disagreeable food. It is hoped that the True Physician will grant me a complete recovery from the other world.

Solar Weighing Ceremony

On Monday the twenty-second of the month, corresponding to the twenty-fifth of Shawwal 1030 [September 2, 1621], the solar weighing ceremony was held under good auspices. Since I had been seriously ill during the past year and spent it in suffering and agony, I was thankful that such a year had ended well and in good health and that the new year promised recovery. Nurjahan Begam requested that her agents take charge of the ceremony. [272a] She really arranged a splendid celebration that astonished all who saw it. Although Nurjahan Begam has made suitable arrangements for every solar and lunar weighing ceremony since she entered into marriage with me—and she has considered it a pleasure to do so—she made this celebration even more ornate and took special pains to decorate the hall and arrange the banquet.

Servants who had rendered pleasing service and those elite who knew me well had been fluttering around me like butterflies in loyalty and self-sacrifice during my illness. They were given suitable rewards like robes of honor, jeweled girth swords, horses, elephants, and trays of gold coins, each according to his station. Although the physicians had not served me as they should have, for the two or three days of relief I experienced I restored them to favor, and they too received appropriate awards of cash and goods at this regal celebration. After the weighing the trays of gems and gold were scattered in the hopeful laps of the entertainers and deserving poor.

I ordered Jotik Rai, the astrologer who had predicted recovery and health, to be weighed against mohurs and rupees. Five hundred mohurs and seven thousand rupees were given him as a gratuity. At the end of the assembly the offers that had been arranged for me were displayed. I selected the gems, jeweled vessels, textiles, and various rarities I liked. Two lacs of rupees were recorded for the expenditures on this

erence to Jesus's life-bestowing breath ("Verily I come unto you with a sign from your Lord; for I will make before you, of clay, as it were the figure of a bird; then I will breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird," Koran 3:49).

celebration and the gratuities that Nurjahan Begam had given, aside from the offering she made as a gift. In past years, when I was well, I had weighed three maunds and one or two seers, more or less.[10] This year I was so weak and thin I weighed only two maunds and twenty-seven seers.[11]

10. Three maunds, two seers is around 113 kilograms, or 250 pounds.

11. Three maunds, twenty-seven seers is around 98 kilograms, or 218 pounds.

❁

On Thursday the first of Mihr [September 12] I'tiqad Khan the governor of Kashmir was promoted to the rank of 4000/2500. **[272b]**

When word of my illness reached my son Shah Parvez, he set out to come see me without waiting for a summons, arriving and attaining the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold at an auspicious hour on the fourteenth of the month [September 25]. He circled the bed thrice, and no matter how insistent I was and swore that I was all right, he wept and cried all the more. I took him by the hand, pulled him to my side, and held him close to me in love and affection, showing him great favor and kindness. It is hoped that he will enjoy a long life.

At this time a treasury of twenty lacs of rupees was sent with Allahdad Khan to be spent on necessities for the Deccan campaign. Allahdad Khan was also given an elephant and a banner.

On the twenty-eighth [October 8] Qiyam Khan Qaravulbegi died a natural death. He was an intimate servant. Aside from his expertise in the arts of hunting, he was aware of most details and knew my temperament very well. I was very grieved by this event. May God have mercy on his soul.

❁ *The Death of Nurjahan Begam's Mother*

On the twenty-ninth [October 9] Nurjahan Begam's mother passed away. What can I write of the praiseworthy qualities of the lady of that exalted family? Without exaggeration, in purity, wisdom, and all other good qualities with which women are adorned, Mother Time has never given birth to her equal, and I had no less consideration for her than for my real mother. No husband has ever had the affection and attachment for his spouse that I'timaduddawla had for her. One can therefore imagine what befell the poor grief-stricken old man. What can be written of Nurjahan Begam's attachment to such a mother, when a son like Asaf Khan, with all his wisdom and learning, ripped his clothing in distraction and took off his fine raiments, only adding to the father's grief and increasing his pain by seeing his son in this state? No matter how much consolation he gave him, it did no good. **[273a]** The day I went to offer my condolences, since it was the initial stages of his grief, I offered several words of consolation in affection and kindness, but I did not persist and left him until he could recover from his distress.

Several days later, when his internal wounds had been healed by the balm of kindness, he put his fine raiments back on. Although I'timaduddawla kept himself externally under control and exhibited forbearance in order to please me, given the attachment he had for her, forbearance could not replace her as a companion.

❁

On the first of Aban [circa October 12] Sarbuland Khan, Jansipar Khan, and Baqi Khan were awarded drums. Abdullah Khan went to his jagir without leave from the governor of the Deccan. I ordered the administrators to take his jagir away, and I'timad Rai was ordered to escort him back to the Deccan.

Prior to now a summary account has been given of Masihu'z-Zaman saying how,



PORTRAIT OF HAKIM MASIHUZ-ZAMAN, by Mir Hashim. India, Mughal period, ca. 1640. Ink on paper. 21.1 x 10.7 cm. By Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. 1920.9–17.013(29). ©British Museum

despite all the patronage and favors he had been shown, he didn't serve me well during my illness. Even stranger is the fact that without warning he upped and requested permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and visit the Kaaba. Inasmuch as this supplicant puts his trust in the divine at every time and in every endeavor, I willingly gave him leave. Although he had stores and supplies of every description, he was given a gratuity of twenty thousand rupees for travel expenses. I hope the Absolute Physician will grant me a complete recovery and good health without the intermediary of physicians and medicine.

The Imperial Banners Move in the Direction of the Hill Country

Since the weather in Agra with its intense heat did not suit my constitution, on Monday the twelfth of Aban of the sixteenth regnal year [circa October 23] the imperial banners set out in the direction of the hill country to the north. If the weather there was temperate, a nice site on the banks of the Ganges would be chosen and a city built for a residence during the summer. Otherwise, we would head for Kashmir.

I stationed Muzaffar Khan to protect the capital Agra and awarded him drums, a horse, and an elephant. I assigned his nephew Mirza Muhammad as garrison commander of the environs of the city, gave him the title of Asad Khan, [**273b**] and increased his rank.

I made Baqir Khan governor of the souba of Oudh and gave him leave to depart.

On the twenty-sixth of the month [circa November 6] in the vicinity of Mathura my fortunate son Shah Parvez was given leave to go to Bihar and his estates. I gave him a royal robe with a nadiri jacket, a jeweled dagger, a horse, and an elephant and let him go. It is hoped that he will enjoy a long life.

On the fourth of Azar [circa November 14] Mukarram Khan the governor of Delhi attained the felicity of paying homage.

On the sixth [circa November 16] I stopped in Delhi, spent two days at Salimgadh, and enjoyed hunting. During this time it was reported that Jadu Rai Kathiya, one of the major commanders of the Deccan, had elected to give allegiance to the empire and

be enrolled among the well-wishers of this court. I sent him an amicable decree with a robe of honor and a jeweled dagger by Narayan Das Rathor.

On the first of Day, corresponding to the seventh of Safar A.H. 1031 [December 12, 1621], Qasim Khan's brother Maqsud was awarded the title of Hashim Khan, and Hashim Beg Khosti was awarded the title of Janbaz Khan.

On the seventh [December 18] we camped at the station of Hardwar on the Ganges. Hardwar is one of the major temple sites of the Hindus, and many Brahmins and hermits lead a life of seclusion here, worshiping God according to their religion. I gave alms of cash and goods to each and every one according to their merits. Since I didn't like the climate of these foothills, and no place suitable for residence had been seen, I set out for the foothills of Jammu and Kangra.

At this time it was reported that Raja Bhao Singh had passed away in the Deccan. He had become extremely weak and frail from overindulgence in wine. Without warning he went into a coma. No matter what remedies the physicians applied, even placing burning brands on his head, he didn't regain consciousness. He was without consciousness for a day and a night and then died. [**274a**] Two wives and eight of his concubines immolated themselves in fidelity to him. His elder brother Jagat Singh and his nephew Maha Singh had both died from drinking. Raja Bhao Singh learned nothing from their example and paid the price with his life. He was extremely dignified, good-natured, and grave. He had served me from my days as a prince, and through my patronage he had attained the exalted rank of 5000. Since he left no sons, I awarded his elder brother's grandson the title of raja despite his extreme youth and gave him the rank of 2000/1000. The pargana of Amber, their home, was left as before as his jagir so that his troops would not be dispersed.



PORTRAIT OF JADUN RAI OF THE DECCAN, by Hashim. India, Mughal period, ca. 1615. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 38.9 x 25.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.6r

Khan Jahan's son Asalat Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/500.

On the twentieth of the month [December 31] camp was made in the serai at Aluwa. I constantly enjoy hunting, and I have a natural inclination to eat the meat of animals I have hunted with my own hand. Therefore, because of the fastidiousness and caution I have in such matters, I order them cleaned in my presence, and I take

it upon myself to inspect their stomachs in order to ascertain what they have eaten and of what each animal's diet consists. If on occasion something disgusting is seen, I stop eating it. I didn't use to like any kind of waterfowl other than drakes. When the imperial camp was at Ajmer, I saw a domestic drake eating disgusting worms. Upon seeing this my nature developed an aversion, and I stopped eating them.

On this date I ordered a waterfowl that had been hunted cleaned in my presence. From its stomach came first a tiny little fish, and then a bug so big that if I hadn't seen it with my own eyes I wouldn't have believed anything so large could be swallowed. In short, as of today I have decided not to eat any more waterfowl.

Khan Alam reported that white heron meat was extremely delicious and delicate. I therefore ordered a white heron brought and cleaned in my presence. **[274b]** As it happened, ten bugs came out of its stomach, and they were so revolting that I shudder to think about them.

On the twenty-first [January 1, 1622] we were pleased to see the splendors of the garden at Sirhind, where we halted for two days and I enjoyed strolling around and seeing the sights. During this time Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan came from the Deccan and paid homage.

On the first of Bahman [January 11] camp was made in Nur Saray. Mu'tamad Khan's rank was increased to 2000/600. Khan Alam was made governor of Allahabad. I awarded him a horse, a robe, and a jeweled sword and gave him leave to depart. Muqarrab Khan was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000.

On Thursday we camped on the banks of the Beas River. Qasim Khan came from Lahore and paid homage. His brother Hashim Khan also attained the felicity of paying homage along with the zamindars of the foothills. Baso the zamindar of Talwara brought for my inspection a bird the people of the hills call *jan bahman*. Its tail is like that of a *qirqavul*, which is also called *tazarv* [pheasant]. In color it is exactly like a female *qirqavul*, but its body is larger by a ratio of ten to fifteen. Around this bird's eyes is red, while around a pheasant's eyes is white. Baso reported that this bird lives in snowy mountains and eats grass and herbs.[12]

I have kept pheasants in the house, and offspring have been produced. All sorts of pheasants, young and old, have often been eaten. One could certainly say that pheasant's flesh could not be compared with this bird's. This bird's flesh was much, much better.

One of the birds seen in the hill country is the horned pheasant, which the Kashmiris call *sunal*.[13] It is an eighth smaller than a peahen. The tail and both wings are blackish, rather like the wings of a bustard, and have white spots. The belly up to the breast is black with white spots, and in some places there are red spots too. The ends of the legs are a brilliant, beautiful fiery red. **[275a]** From the tip of its beak to the front of the neck is also shiny black, and on top of its head are two fleshy turquoise-colored horns. Around its eyes and mouth the skin is red, and its crop is a piece of round skin about the size of two palms. In the middle of that skin is a violet-colored patch the size of a hand with turquoise-colored spots, and turquoise-colored spots around it too consisting of eight plumes, and around those is a line two fingers wide that is peach-blossom red. Around that is another turquoise-colored line. Its feet are also red. I ordered it weighed alive, and it was 152 tolas. After being killed and cleaned it weighed 139 tolas.

Another is the *zarrin* bird, which the inhabitants of Lahore call *sal* and the Kashmiris call *putu*.[14] In color it is something like a peacock's breast.[15] It has a tuft on top of its

12. Alvi and Rahman (*Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 61f.) identify this bird as the Himalayan snow-cock (*Tetraogallus himalayensis*), although the name Jahangir gives is not now found in native names.

13. This is the horned Monaul pheasant described by Babur (*Baburnama*, folio 279b). *Sunal* is the Kashmiri word; text has *SWTLW*, for which read *SWNL* (*sunal*)

14. *Putu* actually means fledgling or chick in Kashmiri. Alvi and Rahman (*Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 56) identify this bird as the impeyan pheasant (*Lophophorus impejanus*). Despite its name *zarrin*, which means golden in Persian, the impeyant pheasant is "of a predominantly blue and green

head, and its tail is yellow the length of four or five fingers, like the long feathers of a peacock. Its body is equal in size to a goose, although a goose's neck is long and ill-proportioned, while the zarrin's is short and elegant. My brother Shah Abbas had requested a zarrin. Several were sent with an emissary.

Lunar Weighing Ceremony

On Monday the lunar weighing ceremony was held. Nurjahan Begam gave robes of honor to forty-five great amirs and intimate servants.

On the fourteenth of the month [January 24] the imperial camp was made in the village of Bhalon, a dependency of Sibah. Since I was constantly yearning to tour Kangra and the hill country, I left the main camp at this station and set out with a group of chosen courtiers and servants to see the fortress.

The Death of I'timaduddawla

Because I'timaduddawla was ill, I left him in the camp and stationed Sadiq Khan the mirbakhshi to watch over him and guard the camp. The next day news arrived that I'timaduddawla's condition had worsened and there was no hope. Both because of Nurjahan Begam's distress and because of the affection I had for him, I had to turn back to the camp. I went in to see him toward the end of the day. [275b] He was hallucinating and drifting in and out of consciousness. Motioning to me, Nurjahan Begam asked, "Do you recognize him?" At such a time he recited this line of Anvari's: "It is he on whose world-adorning forehead a man blind from birth could see greatness."[16] I stayed by his bedside for two hours. Every time he regained consciousness he spoke lucidly and with full understanding. Finally he passed away on the eve of the seventeenth [January 27] after the elapse of three gharis.



PORTRAIT OF I'TIMADUDDAWLA, copy after Balchand. India, Mughal period, early 19th century. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 14.7 x 7.9 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F48.20

What can I say of how I felt over this terrible event? He was not only a perfectly intelligent vizier but also a kind and wise companion. "By the reckoning of my two eyes he is less than one body, but by the reckoning of wisdom he is more than thousands." Despite the fact that the weight of the administration of such an empire was on his shoulders, and it is not within human capability that one keep everyone happy in matters of income and disbursement, no one ever went before I'timaduddawla on business and came away with a grudge. He maintained loyalty to his sovereign and made the poor happy and hopeful. Such conduct was truly peculiarly his.

From the day his spouse passed away he no longer took care of himself and wasted away day by day. Although externally he took great pains in administering the empire and tending to fiscal affairs, and he wouldn't leave his post, he suffered inwardly from loneliness until he died three months and twenty days later.

The next day I went to offer my condolences to his sons and relatives. I gave robes to forty-one of his sons and clansmen and twelve of his munshees and took them out of their mourning clothes.

color, a yellow tail, a crest and an appearance between the partridge and the common peacock."

15. Reading *sina* (breast) for the text's meaningless *SYH*

16. Anvari, *Divan*, 470, line 9

The next day we proceeded on our march to see the Kangra fortress. After four stations camp was pitched at the Banganga River. Alif Khan and Shaykh Fayzullah, the wardens of the fortress, came to pay homage. At this station the offering of the raja of Chamba[17] was inspected. His land is twenty-five [276a] kos from Kangra, and there is no zamindar mightier than he in this hill country. His land is an asylum for all the zamindars of the area because it has defiles that are so difficult to negotiate. Until now he has neither paid homage to any monarch nor sent any tribute. His brother also paid homage and performed the rituals of subservience and allegiance on the zamindar's behalf. He seemed rather urbane and intelligent, and he was received with shows of favor.

17. Reading Chamba (north of Kangra) for the text's "Chanta."

A Tour of the Kangra Fortress

On the twenty-fourth of the month [February 3] I set out to tour the Kangra fortress. I ordered the cadi, the chief justice, and the other Islamic ulema to accompany me and carry out in the fortress whatever was in accordance with the precepts of the Muhammadan religion. After proceeding about a half a kos we came out on top of the fortress, and I had things done in my presence that had not previously been done there since the bastion was built, like the call for prayer, reciting the khutba, slaughtering a cow, et cetera. After making prostrations in thanks for this gift, which no previous monarch had achieved, I ordered a fine mosque built inside the fortress.

The Kangra fortress is situated on a high hill, and it is so strong and impregnable that so long as the provisions necessary for holding out are available, it cannot be taken by force or stratagem. Although there are some hilltops around from which cannon and musket fire would reach the fortress, those inside would not be harmed, for they could easily move to another place and be safe from injury. The fortress has 23 towers and 7 gates. The inside perimeter is 1 kos, 15 tanabs; it is $^1/_4$ kos, 2 tanabs long and not more than 22 tanabs or less than 15 wide. The height is 114 cubits. There are two pools inside the fortress, one of which is 2 tanabs in length and $1^1/_2$ in width.

After finishing my tour of the fortress I went to see the Durga idol temple known as Bhawan, where an immense crowd of people wandering in the desert of error congregates. [276b] In addition to the miserable infidels who worship idols, hordes of Muslim folk traverse vast distances to offer vows and seek blessings by worshipping this black stone. Near the idol temple at the foot of a mountain is a sulphur pit so hot that tongues of flame continually leap out. They call it Jwala Mukhi and deceive the common people by attributing it to the idol's miraculousness.

The Legend of Mahadeva

The Hindus say that when Mahadeva's wife reached the end of her life and tasted the potion of death, Mahadeva loved her so much and was so attached to her that he took her lifeless body on his back and set out to wander through the earth, taking her corpse with him. After a long time had passed, her body disintegrated, every limb falling in a different place, and the people honored and venerated those places in proportion to the nobility of the limb. Since the head, the noblest of the limbs, fell in this place, it is venerated the most.[18]

18. Mahadeva is Shiva. His consort, Mahadevi, is also known variously by the names Chandi, Bhairavi, Durga, and Kali.

Some people believe that the stone that is now set up and worshiped by the benighted infidels is not the same stone that used to be there, and that the one that used to be there was carried away by an Islamic army and thrown into the bottom of a river in such a way that it can never be found. The tumult of such heathen polytheism had long died down when a fraudulent Brahmin, in order to further his own selfish interests, hid a stone in a certain place and then went to the raja of the time and said, "I dreamed of Durga, and she said to me, 'They have thrown me in such-and-such a place. Go quickly and find me.'" The raja was such a simpleton—and also so avaricious for the gold that would come from vows—that he lent credence to the Brahmin's words and sent a band of men with him to retrieve the stone and set it up in this place with all honor. Thus, the shop of error and misguidance started up once again. God only knows.

From the idol temple mentioned above we crossed to see a valley known as Koh-i-Madar. It is a fine spot, [**277a**] and from the point of view of water, air, freshness of the greenery, and delicacy of locality, it is a beautiful vantage point. It has two waterfalls that pour down from the tops of hills. I ordered harmonious buildings worthy of the spot to be built.

On the twenty-fifth of the month [February 4] we turned back. I awarded Alif Khan and Shaykh Fayzullah horses and elephants and gave them permission to depart to guard the fortress.

On the second day imperial camp was made at the fortress of Nurpur. It was reported that in the vicinity were many "forest birds."[19] As I hadn't hunted these so far, I ordered a halt the next day and enjoyed hunting. Four birds were hunted. In body, color, and shape they are indistinguishable from domestic fowl. Their distinguishing characteristic lies in the fact that when they are caught by the legs and held upside down, no matter how far they are carried they do not make a noise but remain silent, unlike domestic fowl, which do cry out. A domestic fowl's feathers cannot be easily plucked unless it is dipped in hot water, while the forest bird's feathers can be plucked dry like quail and bödänä quail. I ordered some cooked and roasted. It didn't taste bad. The larger they are, the less taste the meat has and the drier it is. Young ones are pretty moist but they taste bad. They cannot fly more than an arrow shot. While the rooster is red, the female is black and yellow. There are many of them in the forests of Nurpur.

19. The crow-pheasant, also described by Babur, *Baburnama*, folio 281a.

The old name of Nurpur was Dhameri. After Raja Baso built a fortress of stone and pavilions and orchards, he named it Nurpur after me. Approximately thirty thousand rupees must have been spent on the construction. However, buildings Hindus build in their own taste, no matter how elaborate they may be, are not pleasing. Since the site was acceptable and was a nice place to stop, I ordered a lac of rupees from the imperial treasury assigned to the development of this place and to have fine pavilions worthy of the site constructed.

At this time it was reported that a *sanyasi moni* lived in the vicinity, [**277b**] and he had totally given up all voluntary motion. I ordered him brought to me so that I could investigate. Hindu ascetics and hermits are called *sarbnyasi*, which means abandoning everything. With constant use the word has become sanyasi. There are many degrees among them and several groups within the rank of sanyasi. One of them is the *moni*, who give up personal decision and surrender themselves. They absolutely do not let their tongues speak, and if they stand for ten days and nights in the same place they don't even move their feet backwards or forwards. In general they make no voluntary

movement and are like inanimate objects. When they brought him into my presence, an investigation was made. An amazing rigidity could be seen in him. It occurred to me that in a state of drunkenness or unconsciousness some external movement might happen. He was therefore given several bowls of double-distilled spirits to drink. He was in such control of himself that he didn't change an iota and stood just as rigidly as before until he lost consciousness and was carried away like a corpse. God was merciful that no mortal injury was done to him. He certainly had a strange, powerful rigidity of its kind.

At this time Bebadal Khan produced and presented a chronogram for the conquest of Kangra and the building of the mosque in the fortress. Since it was well composed, it is recorded here: "Emperor of the age, Shah Jahangir son of Shah Akbar, who became padishah of the seven climes by destiny's order, / Is the world-seizer, world-giver, world-holder, and world-adorner by virtue of whose good luck the world is safe from old age.[20] With the sword of ghaza he conquered this fortress, and the date was spoken by wisdom: 'Jahangir's fortune conquered this fortress.'"[21] The chronogram for the building of the mosque is as follows: "Light of religion, Shah Jahangir son of the King of Kings Akbar is a monarch without equal in time. / The fortress of Kangra he took with divine assistance, and when the cloud of his sword makes drops they are floods. / When this light-filled mosque, by prostration in which the forehead is illuminated, was built at his order, / A voice from the other world said for the date of its construction, 'May Shah Jahangir's mosque be luminous.'"[22] **[278a]**

On the first of Isfandarmudh [circa February 9] I awarded I'timaduddawla's jagir, household, and paraphernalia of chieftainship and amirship to Nurjahan Begam, and I ordered that her drums should be sounded after the imperial ones.

On the fourth of the month [circa February 12] we camped in the vicinity of the pargana of Kathua.[23] On this day Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan was promoted to the high post of chief divan, and robes of honor were awarded to thirty-two of the amirs in the Deccan. I'timaduddawla's grandson Abusa'id was promoted to the rank of 1000/500.

The Death of Khusraw

Around this time a reported was received from Khurram containing the news that Khusraw had died on the eighth of the month [circa February 16] after an attack of colic pain.

On the nineteenth [circa February 27] camp was made on the banks of the Bahat River. Qasim Khan was promoted to the rank of 3000/2000. Raja Kishan Das was made garrison commander in Delhi and promoted to the rank of 2000/500.

Prior to this scouts and reconnoiterers had been assigned to make a circle in the Girjhak hunting grounds. When it was reported that game had been gathered within the barricades, I went out on the twenty-fourth of the month [March 4] with a few of my elite servants to hunt. Taken were 121 mountain rams and chikara antelopes.

On this day it was reported that Zayn Khan's son Zafar Khan had passed away in Ghazni. I promoted his son Sa'adatullah to the rank of 800/400.

20. "Good luck" in Persian is "young luck" (*bakht-i javan*), which provides a rhetorical antithesis to "old age."

21. The chronogram *gushud in qal'a iqbal-i jahangiri* yields 1029.

22. The chronogram *masjid-i Shah Jahangir buvad nurani* yields 1031.

23. Reading Kathua for the text's garbled *KHNWTH*. Kathua lies directly on the route being followed.

The Seventeenth Regnal Year: March 11, 1622–March 11, 1623

The Seventeenth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

On the eve of Monday the eighth of Jumada I 1031 [March 11, 1622], after the elapse of one watch and a fraction over five gharis, the world-illuminating sun lit the palace of Aries, and the seventeenth year of my accession began auspiciously.

On this glorious day Asaf Khan was promoted to the rank of 6000/6000. I gave Qasim Khan leave to return to the governorship of the Punjab and awarded him an elephant and a robe. **[278b]** Eighty thousand drabs were given as a gratuity to Zaynal Beg, emissary of the ruler of Iran.

On the sixth of the month [March 16] we stopped in Rawalpindi. Fazil Khan was appointed bakhshi. An order was given to Zaynal to relax in Lahore until the imperial retinue returned from touring Kashmir. An elephant was awarded to Akbar-Quli Khan Gakhar.

It was being repeatedly heard that the ruler of Iran had set out from Khurasan to take over Kandahar. Since in view of our past and present relations it seemed extremely unlikely that such a great monarch would rush into a rash adventure and pit himself against the preparedness of one of my servants who had three or four hundred of his liege horsemen in Kandahar. Nonetheless, since caution is a prerequisite of rule, I dispatched Zaynul'abidin the bakhshi of the ahadis with a message to Khurram to say that he should get himself to me as quickly as possible with all the soldiers, elephants, and artillery he had in his souba so that if there were any truth to the rumor, he could be sent with an innumerable army and uncountable treasury and make Shah Abbas realize what it meant to break his oath in ingratitude.

On the eighth of the month [March 18] camp was made at the Hasan Abdal spring. Fidai Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000. Badi'uzzaman was posted as bakhshi to the ahadis.

On Friday the twelfth [March 22] Mahabat Khan came from Kabul to pay homage, attain the felicity of kissing the ground, and be shown favor. He presented a hundred mohurs as a vow and ten thousand rupees in alms. Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan arrayed his personal troop and paraded them for my view. One thousand fifty well-mounted cavalrymen were counted, of which four hundred were mounted musketeers. **[279a]** At the station mentioned above a qamargha hunt was held, and I shot thirty-three mountain rams and other things.

At this time Hakim Mu'mina attained the felicity of paying homage through the good offices of Ruknussaltana Mahabat Khan.[1] He undertook to give me an aggressive

1. The sobriquet here accorded Mahabat Khan, Ruknussaltana, means "pillar of the sultanate." On page 397 it occurs as Ruknuddawla (pillar of the state).

and potent treatment. It is hoped that his advent will prove to be auspicious. Mahabat Khan's son Amanullah was promoted to the rank of 2000/1800.

On the nineteenth [March 29] camp was made outside Pakhli, and the celebration of culmination was held there. I gave Mahabat Khan leave to depart and go back to the governorship of Kabul, awarding him a horse, an elephant, and a robe of honor. I'tibar Khan's rank was increased to 5000/4000. Since he is a servant of long tenure and has become very old, I honored him with the governorship of the souba of Agra and assigned him the wardenship of the fortress and treasuries. Awarding him a horse, elephant, and robe of honor, I dismissed him.

On the twenty-ninth [April 8] Iradat Khan came from Kashmir and paid homage in the ghati of Kunwarmast.

On the second of Urdibihisht [circa April 12] encampment was made in the happy vale of Kashmir. The Mirmiran was promoted to the rank of 2500/4400. At this time the garrison tax was eliminated for the welfare of the ryots and soldiers, and it was decreed that throughout the realm the people were not to be bothered by paying the garrison tax. Zibardast Khan the mir tüzük was promoted to the rank of 2000/700.

On the thirteenth [circa April 23], upon my physicians' recommendation, particularly Hakim Mu'mina, I was bled from my left leg and was "lightened." A robe was awarded to Muqarrab Khan and a thousand drabs to Hakim Mu'mina. At Khurram's request Abdullah Khan was promoted to 6000. Sarafraz Khan was awarded the privilege of drums. Bahadur Khan Uzbek came from Kandahar and paid homage. He presented a hundred mohurs as a vow and four thousand rupees as alms. Mustafa Khan the governor of Thatta had sent a *Shahnama* and a *Khamsa* of Nizami illustrated by masters along with other rarities, and they were viewed.[2]

2. The *Shahnama* is the great epic of Persian kingship completed by Abu'l-Qasim Firdawsi of Tus in 1010. For Nizami's *Khamsa*, see note 11, page 136.

On the first of Khurdad [circa May 12] Lashkar Khan was promoted to 4000/3000. Mir Jumla was awarded the rank of 2500/1000. **[279b]** The following promotions were granted to the amirs of the Deccan: Sardar Khan, 3000/2500; Sarbuland Khan, 2500/1200; Baqi Khan, 2500/2000; Sharza Khan, 2500/1200; Jansipar Khan, 2000/2000; Mirza Wali, 2500/1000; Mirza Shahrukh's son Mirza Badi'uzzaman, 1500/1500; Zahid Khan, 1500/700; Aqidat Khan, 1200/300; Ibrahim-Husayn Kashghari, 1200/600; Zulfaqar Khan, 1000/500. Raja Gaj Singh and Himmat Khan were granted the privilege of drums.

On the second of Tir [circa June 13] Sayyid Bayazid was awarded the title of Mustafa Khan and granted the privilege of drums. At this time Tahawwur Khan, one of my intimate servants, was dispatched with an affectionate decree to summon my fortunate son Shah Parvez.

Reports from Kandahar

Several days prior to this, reports had been received from officials in Kandahar telling of the ruler of Iran's campaign against Kandahar. In view of our past and present relations, I couldn't believe it, but now a report came from my "son" Khan Jahan saying that Shah Abbas had come with the armies of Persia and Khurasan and laid siege to the fortress at Kandahar. I ordered an hour fixed to leave Kashmir, and Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan the divan and Sadiq Khan the bakhshi set out in advance of the retinue for Lahore so that when the great princes arrived with the armies of the Deccan, Gujarat, Bengal, and Bihar, and when the amirs who were in their retinues and those who were on their estates arrived, they could be sent to my "son" Khan Jahan in Multan. They are also to prepare an arsenal, war elephants, treasury, and armaments and send them. Since there is very little habitable territory between Multan and Kandahar, and it is

impossible to send supplies or a large army, [**280a**] it was decided to persuade the grain sellers, who are called *banjara* in the parlance of India, and pay them money to accompany the army so the men wouldn't suffer a shortage of grain. The banjara are an established caste. Some have a thousand oxen, some more, some fewer. They bring grain from the agricultural districts into the cities and sell it. They normally accompany the army, and on such a expedition there would be at least a hundred thousand oxen or more. It is hoped that divine assistance will be given to the provisioning and equipping of this expedition so that [Shah Abbas] will have no place to stop and reflect all the way back to Isfahan, his capital.

An order was issued to Khan Jahan not to proceed from Multan until the imperial army arrived, not to worry, and to listen to orders. Bahadur Khan Uzbek was given a horse and robe and sent as an auxiliary to the Kandahar expedition. Fazil Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/750.

Since it was reported that the poor people of Kashmir suffered greatly from the cold in winter and had a hard time surviving, I ordered a village belonging to Kashmir with an income of four thousand rupees turned over to Mulla Talib Isfahani to spend the proceeds on purchasing clothing for the poor and heating water for making ablutions in the mosques.

Because a report had arrived that the zamindars of Kishtwar were in rebellion and making trouble again, an order was given to Iradat Khan to go quickly and chastise and exterminate them before they could get themselves into position.

On this date Zaynul'abidin, who had gone to summon Khurram, returned and reported that Khurram was going to spend the monsoon in the fortress at Mandu and then set out for court. His letter was read. From the contents of the letter and the requests he made the aroma of goodness did not come—indeed, signs of rebelliousness were apparent. A decree was therefore issued saying that inasmuch as he desired to come to me after the monsoon, he would have to dispatch to court all the great amirs and court servants [**280b**] who had been assigned to him as auxiliaries, in particular the Barha and Bukhari sayyids, the shaykhzadas, the Afghans, and the Rajputs.

Mirza Rustam and I'tiqad Khan were ordered to go in advance to Lahore and see to preparations for the Kandahar expedition. An advance of a lac of rupees was granted them. I awarded I'tiqad Khan the privilege of drums. Iradat Khan, who had gone to chastise the rebels in Kishtwar, had killed many of them, consolidated the region yet again, refortified it, and returned to court. Mu'tamad Khan, who had been assigned the post of bakhshi to the Deccan army, had been recalled at his own request, that mission having been completed. On this date he came and paid homage.

A Lost Pearl

A strange thing happened. A pearl worth fourteen or fifteen thousand rupees got lost in the harem. Jotik Rai the astrologer said it would be found within the next two or three days, and Sadiq Khan the geomancer said it would appear within two days in a place that could be qualified by purity and cleanliness, like a place devoted to prayer or the rosary, or some such. A woman geomancer said it would be found soon and a white-skinned woman would bring it in glee and hand it to His Majesty. By chance, on the third day one of the Turkish maidservants found it in the prayer hall and, smiling in utter delight, handed it to me. Since the predictions of all three came true unanimously, each of them was well rewarded. Since the episode is not without strangeness, it is recorded.

At this time I assigned Kawkab [Khan], Khidmatgar Khan, and twelve other

intimate servants to escort the amirs of the Deccan as quickly as possible to court so they could be sent on the Kandahar expedition.

Shahjahan Interferes in Nurjahan Begam's and Shahryar's Jagirs, and the Dust of Contention Flies

During these days it was repeatedly reported that Khurram had taken over some of Nurjahan Begam's and Shahryar's jagirs, among them the pargana of Dholpur, which had been assigned as my son Shahryar's jagir by the supreme administration. He had sent an Afghan named Darya, one of his liege men, with a troop, and this Darya had fought a battle with Sharifulmulk, Shahryar's liege man who was in command of the garrison there, and many on both sides were killed. Although it was clear from his stopping in the Mandu fortress and from the unreasonable requests he had dared make in his letter that he was rebellious, it was indubitable from this news that he did not have the capacity for all the favor and patronage he had been shown, [**281a**] and it had all gone to his head. I sent Raja Rozafzun, one of my intimate servants, to him and made an inquiry into his audacious effrontery. An order was issued with the following points: henceforth he would mind his own business, not step off the highway of propriety, and be content with the estates the supreme administration had assigned him; by no means was he to desire not to come to pay homage to me; he should send to court at the earliest opportunity my servants who had been summoned for the Kandahar expedition; and if he acted contrary to orders, he would regret it.

Around this time Mir Zahiruddin, the grandson of the famous Shah Ni'matullah's son the Mirmiran, came from Iran and paid homage. He was awarded a robe of honor and a thousand drabs. Ujala Dakkani was sent with a courteous letter to Raja Bir Singh Deo to muster his men and present himself.

Prior to this, because of the favor and overwhelming affection I bore Khurram and his sons, when his son fell critically ill I had sworn that if God spared his life I would never hunt with a gun again and never harm an animal with my own hand. Despite the enjoyment I derived from hunting, particularly hunting with guns, I didn't do it for five years. Now I was really irritated by Khurram's conduct, and I took up hunting with guns again and ordered that no one be allowed in the palace without a gun. Within a short span of time most of the courtiers had developed a taste for guns, and quiver-holders started exercising on horseback to improve their chance for advancement.

On the twenty-fifth of the month, corresponding to the seventh of Shawwal [August 5, 1622], I left Kashmir at an hour chosen for its auspiciousness, headed for Lahore. I dispatched Bihari Das Brahmin with an amiably worded decree to Rana Karan to bring his son to me with his troops. Mir Zahiruddin was promoted to the rank of 1000/400. [**281b**] Since it had been reported that he was in debt, I awarded him a gratuity of ten thousand rupees.

On the first of Shahrivar [circa August 12] camp was made at the Achhival spring. On Thursday the wine party was held at Vernag. On this auspicious day my son Shahryar took over the Kandahar expedition and was promoted to the rank of 12,000/8000. He was also given a royal robe of honor with a nadiri jacket with pearl buttons.

At this time a merchant brought two large pearls from Anatolia. One of them weighed one and a quarter mithcals, and the other was one surkh less. Both were worth sixty thousand rupees. Nurjahan Begam bought them and presented them to me on this day.

On Friday, at Hakim Mu'mina's recommendation, I was bled from my arm and was "lightened." Muqarrab Khan, who is miraculous in this art and always used to bleed me,

and who probably never made a mistake before, missed twice. After that, his nephew Qasim bled me. He was given a thousand rupees, and ten thousand drabs were awarded to Hakim Mu'mina. At Khan Jahan's request Mir Khan was promoted to the rank of 1500/900.

❁ *Solar Weighing Ceremony*

On the twenty-first of the month [circa September 1] the solar weighing ceremony was held, and the fifty-fourth year of my life commenced under good auspices. It is hoped that my whole life will be spent in acts pleasing to God.

On the twenty-eighth [circa September 8] we went to see the waterfall at Uhar. Since the spring there is renowned for its beauty and salubrious water, I ordered it weighed in my presence in comparison with water from the Ganges and the Lar Valley. Uhar water was three mashas heavier than Ganges water, and Lar Valley water was half a masha lighter.

On the thirtieth [circa September 10] imperial camp was made at Hirapur. Although Iradat Khan had served well in Kishtwar, since the ryots and inhabitants of Kashmir were complaining of his conduct, I made I'tiqad Khan governor of Kashmir and awarded him a horse, a robe of honor, and a personal sword. I posted Iradat Khan to service on the Kandahar expedition. **[282a]**

Kunwar Singh, the Raja of Kishtwar, was imprisoned in the fortress at Gwalior. I released him from prison and awarded him Kishtwar. He was also given a robe of honor and the title of raja. I sent Haydar Malik to Kashmir to reroute the stream from Lar Valley to Nurafza Garden. For materials and bricks thirty thousand rupees were given.

On the twelfth of the month [circa September 23] we emerged from the hills of Jammu and camped in Bhimbar. The next day I had a qamargha hunt. Khusraw's son Dawarbakhsh was given the rank of 5000/2000.

On the twenty-fourth [circa October 5] I crossed the Chenab River. Mirza Rustam came from Lahore and paid homage. On the same date Khurram's divan Afzal Khan brought a letter from him. Cloaking his outrageous behavior in apologies, he had sent Afzal Khan in hopes that he might be able to advance his interests with slick talk and smooth over his rough spots. Paying not the slightest attention, I didn't even turn my face to him.

Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan the divan and Sadiq Khan the bakhshi, who had gone to Lahore to make preparations for the Kandahar expedition, came back and rejoined the retinue.

On the first of Aban [circa October 12] Mahabat Khan's son Amanullah was promoted to the rank of 3000/700, and a gracious order was sent summoning Mahabat Khan.

At this time Abdullah Khan came from his jagir estates, having been summoned for the Kandahar expedition.

On the fourth of the month [circa October 15] I entered Lahore under good auspices. Alif Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500. I ordered the supreme divan to levy Khurram's jagirs in the sarkars of Hissar, Mian Doab, and that area and assign the proceeds to cover the requests of my servants who had been assigned to the Kandahar expedition. Instead of these estates, he could take over estates in the soubas of Malwa, Gujarat, the Deccan, or wherever he wanted.

I gave Afzal Khan a robe of honor and dismissed him. **[282b]** An order was given that since [Khurram] had been awarded the soubas of Gujarat, Malwa, the Deccan, and Khandesh, he could take up residence anywhere in them he wanted and occupy



JAHANGIR EMBRACING SHAH ABBAS I, by Abu'l-Hasan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1618. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 23.8 x 15.4 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F45.9

himself in their administration. He should also send as quickly as possible those of my servants who had been summoned for the Kandahar expedition, to assemble whom sergeants of the muster had been dispatched. Thereafter he should look to his own devices and not disobey orders; otherwise he would have cause for repentance.

On this day a topchaq horse, the best in the royal stables, was awarded to Abdullah Khan.

On the twenty-sixth of the month [circa October 30] Haydar Beg and Wali Beg, emissaries from the ruler of Iran, were received at court. After performing the rituals of körünüsh and taslim, they offered a letter from the shah to my view. My "son" Khan Jahan had come unencumbered as summoned from Multan. He presented a thousand mohurs, a thousand rupees, and eighteen horses as an offering. Mahabat Khan was promoted to the rank of 6000/5000. I awarded an elephant to Mirza Rustam. I assigned Raja Sarang Deo to escort Raja [Bir] Singh Deo to court as quickly as possible.

On the seventh of Azar [circa November 17] I awarded robes of honor and grants to Shah Abbas's emissaries, who had arrived at court at various times, and I gave them leave to depart. The letter the shah had sent with Haydar Beg apologizing for Kandahar is recorded in this record of my good fortune, along with the reply that was written.

A Letter from the Ruler of Iran

May breezes of prayers, whiffs of response to which cause the rosebud of desire to open and perfume the nostrils of unity, and flashes of elegy that drive away the darkness of disagreeableness be perceived by that illuminated mind. [**283a**] It will have been reflected upon the knowledgeable heart and celestial mind of that brother as dear to me as life itself that during the events occurring in Iran after the inevitable death of His Highness the late Shah, certain territories departed from the control of those attached to this saintly family.[3] When this supplicant at the divine court became occupied with affairs of state, all ancestral territories were wrenched from the hands of opponents with divine assistance and the good offices of friends. Since Kandahar was under the control of those appointed by your exalted dynasty, we considered them as our own and did not harass them, waiting for you to attend to the transference in a spirit of cooperativeness and brotherliness, like your mighty fathers and forefathers. When you neglected this, we repeatedly requested it by letter and message, by allusion and openly, thinking that perhaps in His Majesty's exalted view this miserable territory was not worth contending over and that he would order it given over to the representatives of this family, resulting in the elimination of the taunts of enemies and detractors and cutting short the long tongues of the envious and fault-finders. This matter was put into abeyance, and when this was learned among friends and enemies and no reply either positive or negative was received from you, it occurred to us to take a hunting tour in Kandahar, thinking perhaps by this means my renowned brother's appointees, in view of the close and amicable relations that exist between us, would greet our retinue and meet us, and once again the firm foundations of amity on both sides would be apparent to the world and cause a cessation to the prattle of the envious and detractors. We set out on this tour without arms or armaments. When we reached the district of Farah, [**283b**] we dispatched an imperial rescript to the governor of that place informing him of our intention to make a hunting tour in Kandahar in order that he might receive us as guests. We summoned the noble Khwaja Baqi Käräkaraq and sent a message to the governor and amirs who were in the fortress, saying, 'There is no difference between His Majesty the Padishah Shadow of God

3. Shah Abbas here refers to the death of Akbar and, below, to the outstanding fate of Kandahar, which Humayun had promised Shah Tahmasp in return for Tahmasp's assistance against the Afghans who had driven Humayun from the subcontinent.

and our regal self. We consider any district that exists each other's. We are setting out in that direction on a tour. Let nothing be done that would cause consternation.' Not hearing the contents of our conciliatory message truly and not maintaining the customs of friendship and unity, he exhibited contumacy. We arrived in the vicinity of the fortress and once again summoned the above-mentioned nobleman. Having said to him what advice had to be said, we sent him off and ordered our divinely assisted soldiers not to set foot near the fortress for ten days. Our advice profited not. They persisted in their opposition. Since it was impossible to have more forbearance than this, the Qizilbash army, despite the lack of armaments, occupied itself with the subjugation of the fortress; and in a short period of time they had reduced towers and ramparts to the ground and brought the defenders to the point of asking for amnesty. Maintaining the connection of affection that has been observed from olden days between these two exalted lines and treading the path of brotherliness that was again so strongly reaffirmed in the days of that monarch's princehood between Your Majesty and our regal self that it was the object of jealousy of all rulers on the face of the earth, we pardoned their faults as required by innate manliness, enveloped them in favor, and sent them off to that exalted court with Haydar Beg Yüzbashï, a loyal devotee of this family. Truly the basis of inherited and acquired amity and friendship on our part is too strong and firm to be damaged by the occurrence of some events [**284a**] that happen by destiny. 'Between us and thee there will be no custom of cruelty; there will be nothing but the path of love and fidelity.' It is hoped that on your part too such pleasing conduct will be followed and that you will disregard certain trivial matters. If there has been any anxiety, please be so kind as to do away with it. Keep the garden of eternal spring of unity and concord green and fresh, and concentrate your exalted mind upon affirming the bases of agreement and concord, which maintain the harmony of persons and nations. Know that all our protected realm belongs to you, and kindly inform anyone you wish that it will be turned over to him without opposition. What significance do these trivialities have? Although they committed several acts contrary to friendliness, what has happened was our fault; the amirs and governors who were in the fortress merely responded as they had to as self-sacrificing subordinates. Surely Your Majesty will have regal compassion and kingly clemency on them and not make us ashamed of them. More would be longwindedness. May your highly exalted banner be always and ever embraced by divine protection.

Reply to the Shah of Iran's Letter

To the unique object of worship is due praise denuded of the garb of limit, and laud freed from the defilement of simile for that the strengthening of oaths and pacts among mighty monarchs ensures the continuity of regularity in creation, and the bonds between rulers of the world guarantees welfare and repose and provides safety and security to the people, who are given in trust by the Creator. An example of the truth of this assertion is the amity, unity, and friendly relationship that have existed between these two exalted dynasties, [**284b**] and that during the time of our daily-increasing prosperity have been so reaffirmed and reinforced that they have become the object of jealousy of the rulers of the age. That shah of Jamshedian might, whose army is like the stars, whose court is like the celestial sphere, who is worthy of the crown of the Chosroës, scion of the Alavid house, offspring of the Safavid family,[4] has, without provocation or cause, caused to wither the garden of amity, friendship, brotherliness, and unity, which should not have been clouded by the dust of contention until the end of

4. Jamshed and Chosroës are prototypical great Iranian kings. The Safavids claimed descent from the fourth caliph of Islam and First Imam of the Shia, Ali ibn Abi-Talib, hence the reference to the Alid house.

time. Apparently the custom of unity and loyalty between rulers of the world used to be so firmly founded upon fraternal amity that they swore on each other's heads, and with such perfect spiritual intimacy and corporeal comradeship that a spirit could not come between them—much less territory or property—they went touring and hunting. 'Alas for our unbounded love.' The arrival of your amicable letter apologizing for 'touring and hunting' in Kandahar that was sent with Haydar Beg and Wali Beg has assured us of the health of your angelic self. Roses of joy and glee have blossomed in the face of the auspicious age. May it not be hidden from the world-adorning mind of that exalted brother that until the arrival of your messenger Zaynal Khan at this magnificent court no expression of a desire for Kandahar had ever been made. During the time we were occupied by a hunting tour of the happy vale of Kashmir, the temporal rulers of the Deccan shortsightedly stepped off the highway of obedience and subservience and took the path of rebellion. It was therefore incumbent upon our imperial mind to chastise the short-sighted, and the victory-emblazoned banners descended to the seat of the sultanate, Lahore; and we assigned our worthy son Shahjahan an invincible army to go against the wretches. [**285a**] We were headed for the seat of the caliphate in Agra when Zaynal Beg arrived and delivered the friendly correspondence of that adorner of the royal throne. Taking that amulet of friendship as a good omen, we set out for the seat of the caliphate in Agra in order to repel the evil of enemies and wrongdoers. In that pearl-dripping letter no expression of a desire for Kandahar was made. Zaynal Beg expressed it orally. In reply we said, 'We begrudge nothing to that brother. God willing, after completing the Deccan affair we shall grant you leave in a fashion befitting auspiciousness. Since you have traversed vast distances, rest a few days in Lahore from the travail of the road, for we shall summon you.' After arriving in Agra, the seat of the caliphate, we summoned the aforementioned in order to grant him permission to depart. Since divine favor smiles upon this supplicant at the heavenly court, we set forth for the Punjab, our minds eased by victory, and were turning our attention to sending the aforementioned off. After certain necessary items of business were taken care of, we started because of the hot weather for Kashmir, acknowledged by world travelers to be without equal in delicacy of climate. Upon arrival in that delightful vale we summoned Zaynal Beg to give him leave and to go with him and show him ourselves the delightful beauty spots of that pleasure garden one by one. At that point news arrived that that brother had come to conquer Kandahar—something that had never occurred to us. We were astonished. What could have caused him to go there himself in conquest, disregarding our friendship and brotherliness? Although the informants were reliable, we could not believe it. After the news was verified, [**285b**] we immediately ordered Abdul-Aziz Khan not to cross our brother, for the fraternal link was still strong, and we would not trade our degree of unity and loyalty for all the world. It would have been appropriate, given our friendship, to wait until the emissary arrived, for an amicable settlement of the claim might have been made. To have committed such an outrage before the emissary's arrival—upon whose shoulders will the people of the world lay the blame for breaking pacts and oaths and a breach of manliness and virtue? May God keep and preserve you at all times.

After dismissing the emissaries, all our attention was focused upon equipping the Kandahar army. I awarded my "son" Khan Jahan, who had been summoned for certain things, an elephant, a royal elephant, a sword, a jeweled dagger, and a robe of honor and sent him forth as vanguard, telling him to stop in Multan until Prince Shahryar arrived with the army and await further orders. Baqir Khan, the commander



PORTRAIT OF JAHANGIR. India, Mughal period, 1620–25. Ink and color on paper. 10.5 x 5.4 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, from the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase. M.83.1.5

of the garrison at Multan, was summoned to court. I promoted Ali-Quli Beg Darman to the rank of 1500 and assigned him as auxiliary to Khan Jahan. I also promoted Mirza Rustam to the rank of 5000 and assigned him too to that "son's" service in the army. Lashkar Khan came from the Deccan and paid homage, and he was assigned to the campaign. Allahdad Afghan, Mirza Isa Tarkhan, Mukarram Khan, and other amirs who had come from their jagir estates in the Deccan were awarded horses and robes of honor and given leave to accompany Khan Jahan.

I sent Umdatussaltana Asaf Khan to Agra to bring the entire treasury of mohurs and rupees that had been accumulated from the beginning of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign until the present.[5] Khan Jahan's son Asalat Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000. Muhammad-Shafi', the bakhshi of the souba of Multan, was awarded the title of khan. [**286a**] My favorite son Shah Parvez's agent Sharif was given leave to go as quickly as possible and bring my son and the Bihar army to me. I wrote a gracious letter in my own hand, insisting strongly that he come.

On this date Shah Ni'matullah's grandson the Mirmiran died unexpectedly. It is hoped he will be shown mercy.

A must elephant trampled on Mirza Beg Qaravulbashï and killed him. I gave his post to Imamverdi.

On account of the illness that came upon me last year and is still with me, I haven't felt like dealing with writing my memoirs. At this time Mu'tamad Khan came from service in the Deccan and paid homage. Since he is one of my servants who knows my moods and one of my pupils who writes well and has experience in this service, having been charged with recording events, I ordered him to write in his own hand from the aforementioned date and enter events as an appendix to my memoirs. He will record whatever happens henceforth in the form of a daily record, submit it for my correction, and copy it in my book.

Completion of the Jahangirnama, *Written by Mu'tamad Khan*

During these days when our mind was completely focused upon arranging and equipping the Kandahar expedition, unpleasant news was reported of an intemperate change in Khurram. This caused me great consternation, and I sent Musavi Khan, one of my loyal and intimate servants, to deliver threatening messages and try to persuade the wretch with rational arguments and guide him to wakefulness from his slumber of heedlessness and conceit. Fully informed of Khurram's vain desires and loathsome aims, he was to go to him and do whatever seemed right at the time.

5. Asaf Khan's sobriquet here, Umdatussaltana, means "prop of the sultanate." Like Mahabat Khan's sobriquet Ruknusssaltana given above, it is a high-sounding title of favor.

❁ *Lunar Weighing Ceremony*

On the first of Bahman [circa January 10] the lunar weighing ceremony was held. [286b] For this royal celebration Mahabat Khan came from Kabul to attain the felicity of paying homage and was received with particular honor. I granted Ya'qub Khan Badakhshi the exalted privilege of drums and assigned him to Kabul.

❁ *The Imperial Retinue Arrives in Agra*

At this time I'tibar Khan's report arrived from Agra saying that Khurram had departed from Mandu with his jinxed army and was headed that way. Apparently when he heard that the treasury had been summoned he flew into a rage and rushed off, thinking he might intercept the treasury along the way.

It was thought best for us to proceed as though on a hunting tour to the river at Sultanpur. If the wretch has been led by error into waywardness, I will hasten to make him pay dearly for his actions. If things turn out otherwise, other actions will be taken.

With this determination we began to march on the seventeenth of the month at an auspicious hour. Mahabat Khan was awarded a special robe of honor. A lac of rupees was awarded to my grandson Dawarbakhsh. A lac of rupees was awarded to Mirza Rustam, and two lacs were given to Abdullah Khan as an advance. Zayn Khan's son Mirza Jan was sent with a gracious decree to my felicitous son Shah Parvez, and it was insisted as strongly as possible that he come.

Raja Sarang Deo, who had gone to bring Raja Bir Singh Deo, rejoined the retinue and reported that the raja would join us with a finely arrayed troop in the town of Thanesar.

❁ *Shahjahan's Rebellion*

During these days reports came from I'tibar Khan and others in Agra in which it was said, "Khurram has wretchedly flown in the face of all past favors shown him, has stepped inauspiciously into the valley of churlishness and error, [287a] and is headed in that direction. I do not therefore consider it wise to move the treasury and have made ready for a siege by fortifying the towers and ramparts."

A report also came from Asaf Khan saying that the wretch was openly displaying his contemptuousness, having stepped into the valley of misfortune, and from the manner in which he was coming the aroma of goodness did not come. Since Asaf Khan did not consider it prudent to remove the treasury, he had entrusted it to divine protection and was coming to me. I therefore crossed the river at Sultanpur and headed in continuous marches to chastise the villain and teach him a lesson. I ordered him henceforth to be called Bedawlat.[6] Everywhere in this record of my prosperity the name Bedawlat is mentioned, it will mean him.

Of the patronage and favors I showered upon him I can say that until now no monarch has ever showered upon any son. The favors my exalted father showed my brothers I showed his liege men and gave them titles, banners, and drums. Since it has all been recorded in past pages, so it is no secret to the readers of this register of prosperity how much attention and favor he has been shown. I have even kept the record to a minimum. Of which of my pains should I write? Is it really necessary for me, with my illness and weakness, to get on a horse and gallop around in such hot weather, which is extremely disagreeable to me, running off after such an undutiful son? On account of his miscreancy must I requite and kill with my own hands so many servants

6. *Bedawlat* means luckless, and it is used by Jahangir to mean "wretch." It is the opposite of the adjective he uses of his sons when they are in favor, *iqbalmand* (favored by fortune).

I have patronized for long years and raised to the rank of amir, who should today be doing battle with the Uzbeks or the Qizilbash? Thank God that he has given me enough patience and forbearance to endure all this and get through it with ease. [287b] What weighs heavy on my heart and galls me is that at such a time when my sons and loyal amirs should be endeavoring without partisanship to further the Kandahar-Khurasan campaign, in which lies the honor of the reign, this unhappy wretch is chopping away at the roots of his own fortune and making himself a stumbling block in the path of the campaign, and complicating matters. It is hoped that God will free my mind of these worries.

At this time it was reported that the eunuch Muhtaram Khan, Khalil Beg Zulfaqar, and Fidai Khan the mir tüzük had pledged their loyalty to Bedawlat [Shahjahan] and opened a correspondence with him. Since it was no time either for trying to win them over or for turning a blind eye to such actions, we ordered all three arrested. Upon investigation, when no doubt remained of Khalil's and Muhtaram's ingratitude and malevolence, the likes of Mirza Rustam having sworn an oath to Khalil's disloyalty, I had to have them executed. Fidai Khan's loyalty proved to be above suspicion, so I had him released and reinstated.

I sent Raja Rozafzun by post horse to my son Shah Parvez to escort him and bring him as fast as possible with his army to me so that Bedawlat could be made to pay for his outrageous actions. The eunuch Jawahir Khan was assigned to supervision of the harem.

On the first of Isfandarmudh [circa February 9] camp was made in Nur Saray. On this day Ikhtiyar Khan's report arrived saying that Bedawlat had made it with all speed to the Agra vicinity and might cause mischief and further his aims before the citadel was fortified. When he reached Fatehpur, however, he had found the gates of success closed to him. Humiliated, he had stopped. [288a] The Khankhanan, his son, and many imperial amirs who had been assigned to the Deccan and Gujarat were with him and participating in his ungrateful rebelliousness.

Musavi Khan had gone to see him in Fatehpur and delivered the imperial orders. It had been decided that he would send his liege man Qazi Abdul-Aziz to court with Musavi Khan to deliver his demands. He sent his servant Sundar [Das], the ringleader of all the trouble and mischief, to Agra to confiscate the wealth and hidden treasures that were held there by imperial servants. He entered Lashkar Khan's house and confiscated nine lacs of rupees. He also entered other servants' houses suspected of harboring wealth and took everything he found. Well, if amirs like the Khankhanan, who had been singled out for the exalted post of ataliq, could dishonor himself at the age of seventy with such insurgence and ingratitude, what complaint could one have of others? It was as though insurgence and ingratitude were part and parcel of his nature. At the end of his life his father had done the same thing to my exalted father. Following in his father's footsteps, he had made himself eternally accursed at this age.

> In the end a wolf cub becomes a wolf, even if it has grown up among humans.[7]

7. Quoted from Sa'di, *Gulistan* in *Kulliyyat*, 42.

On this date Musavi Khan arrived with Abdul-Aziz, Bedawlat's emissary. Since his requests were unreasonable, I didn't allow him to speak and turned him over to Mahabat Khan for imprisonment.

On the fifth of the month [circa February 13] imperial camp was made on the banks of the river at Ludhiana. Khan A'zam was promoted to the rank of 7000/5000.

Raja Bharat Bundela arrived from the Deccan and Diyanat Khan came from Agra to join the retinue. I pardoned Diyanat Khan's offenses and reinstated him to his previous rank. Raja Bharat was promoted to the rank of 1500/1000, and Musavi Khan was promoted to 1000/300.

On Thursday the twelfth [circa February 20] outside the pargana of Thanesar, Raja Bir Singh Deo joined the retinue and paraded his troop, which was highly applauded. [**288b**] The raja was promoted by 1500/300. In the vicinity of Karnal, Asaf Khan came from Agra and joined the retinue. His arrival at this time was a good omen. Sa'id Khan's son Nawazish Khan arrived from Gujarat.

When Bedawlat was in Burhanpur, I had assigned Baqi Khan at his request to the souba of Junagarh. A summons had been issued to him to come to court, and at this time he presented himself and joined our service.

Since the march from Lahore had occurred without prior notice, and time did not allow us to stop for reflection, I had set off with the few amirs who were in the imperial retinue and in my service. By the time we reached Sirhind a few men had joined us. After passing through Sirhind men flocked in from all directions troop by troop and contingent by contingent. By the time we reached Delhi such a horde had been assembled that as far as I could see the plain was covered with soldiers.

Since it had been reported that Bedawlat had left Fatehpur and was moving by continual march in the direction of Delhi, I ordered the imperial soldiers to don their armor.[8] Overall strategy and tactics for this expedition was turned over to Mahabat Khan. Leadership of the first troop was assigned to Abdullah Khan, and any battle-tried warriors and experienced soldiers he requested were assigned to his troop. I ordered him to march one kos ahead of the other troops. Reconnaissance and security of the roads were also made his responsibility. I was unaware that he was in league with Bedawlat and that the villain's primary objective was to get news of our troops to him. Prior to this he used to write reports, both true and false, on long scrolls and bring them to me, saying, "My spies have sent this from there." He accused some of our loyal servants of being in league with Bedawlat [**289a**] and writing news of the court to him. If I had been led astray by his intrigues and acted precipitously during such a commotion with the whirlwind and maelstrom of sedition churning, I would have had to destroy many of my loyal servants at his accusation. Even though some of our supporters spoke to me truthfully both in innuendo and frankly in public and private concerning his malevolence and crookedness, there was no time to investigate and bring his dealings into the open, so I kept my eyes and tongue in check so as not to reveal anything that would alarm him and showed him even more favor than before, thinking perhaps he would be ashamed of his untoward actions and cease his ill-natured seditiousness. The eternally damned blackguard, whose hideous nature was a mixture of filthiness and hypocrisy, never paused a moment in proceeding with what suited him, as will be reported in the proper place.

8. Reading *JYBH* (*jebā*, padded, quilted armor) for the text's *JYGhH* (*jigha*, a turban aigrette), inappropriate to the narrative.

> A tree whose nature is bitter may be planted in paradise, / Even if you pour pure honey from the stream of heaven on its roots, / In the end its essence will produce the same bitter fruit.

Anyhow, in the environs of Delhi, Sayyid Bahwa Bukhari, Sadr Khan, and Raja Kishan Das came out of the city and joined the retinue. Baqir Khan the garrison commander of Oudh also presented himself at the imperial camp on this date.[9]

9. Reading *AWDH* (*Awadh*, Oudh) for the text's *AWRDH*

On the twenty-fifth of the month [circa March 5] we passed through the city of Delhi and camped on the banks of the Jumna. Rai Sal Darbari's son Gridhr came from the souba of the Deccan and paid homage. He was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500 and awarded the title of raja. Zibardast Khan the mir tüzük was awarded a banner.

The Eighteenth Regnal Year: March 12, 1623–March 8, 1624

The Eighteenth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

On the eve of Tuesday the twentieth of Jumada I 1032 [March 12, 1623] the world-illuminating sun entered Aries, [289b] and the eighteenth year since our accession commenced auspiciously.

On this day it was reported that Bedawlat had reached the vicinity of Mathura. The imperial army stopped in the pargana of Shahpur, and seven or eight thousand cavalrymen were arrayed. It is hoped that he will soon be defeated and overthrown.

Raja Maha Singh's grandson Raja Jai Singh came from his home and joined the retinue.[1] I honored Raja Bir Singh Deo, than whom there is no greater amir among the Rajputs, with the title of maharaja, and I promoted his son Jograj to the rank of 2000/1000. Sayyid Bahwa was awarded an elephant.

Since it was reported that Bedawlat was coming, sticking to the banks of the Jumna, the imperial host was ordered in that direction, and the arrangement of troops, like waves in the sea, was made as befitted the time and place, vanguard, right and left flanks, *altmïsh*,[2] reserve, rear guard, et cetera.

At the same time news arrived that Bedawlat and the accursed Khankhanan had deviated from the straight road and were headed toward the pargana of Kotlah, twenty kos to the left, having stationed against the imperial troops five divisions under Sundar Brahman, who had led him into the valley of error, the Khankhanan's son Darab, and many imperial amirs who had joined him in his insurgence and ingratitude, like Himmat Khan, Sarbuland Khan, Sharza Khan, Abid Khan, [290a] Jadu Rai, Udai Ram, Atash Khan, Mansur Khan, and other officers who had been assigned to the Deccan, Gujarat, and Malwa and whom it would take too long to enumerate, along with all their liege men like the Rana's son Raja Bhim, Rustam Khan, Bayram Beg, Darya the Afghan, Taqi, etc. Although outwardly the leadership was held by the accursed Darab, in reality the power was the hideous Sundar. The misfortunates were camped in the vicinity of Bilochpur.

On the eighth of the month [March 19] the imperial army camped in Qabulpur. On that date it was Baqir Khan's turn to take the rear guard, and we had stationed him behind all the rest. A troop of rebels attacked him on the road and began to plunder. Baqir Khan made a valiant showing and repelled them. Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan learned of this and raced to help, but by the time Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan got there the rebels had given up and fled.

On Wednesday the ninth [March 20] we detached twenty-five thousand horsemen under the leadership of Asaf Khan, Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, and Abdullah Khan and sent

1. Emending the text's miscopied "Man Singh" with the correct Maha Singh.

2. The *altmïsh* (sixty in Turkish) is the advance guard of the center of the army. See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 226.

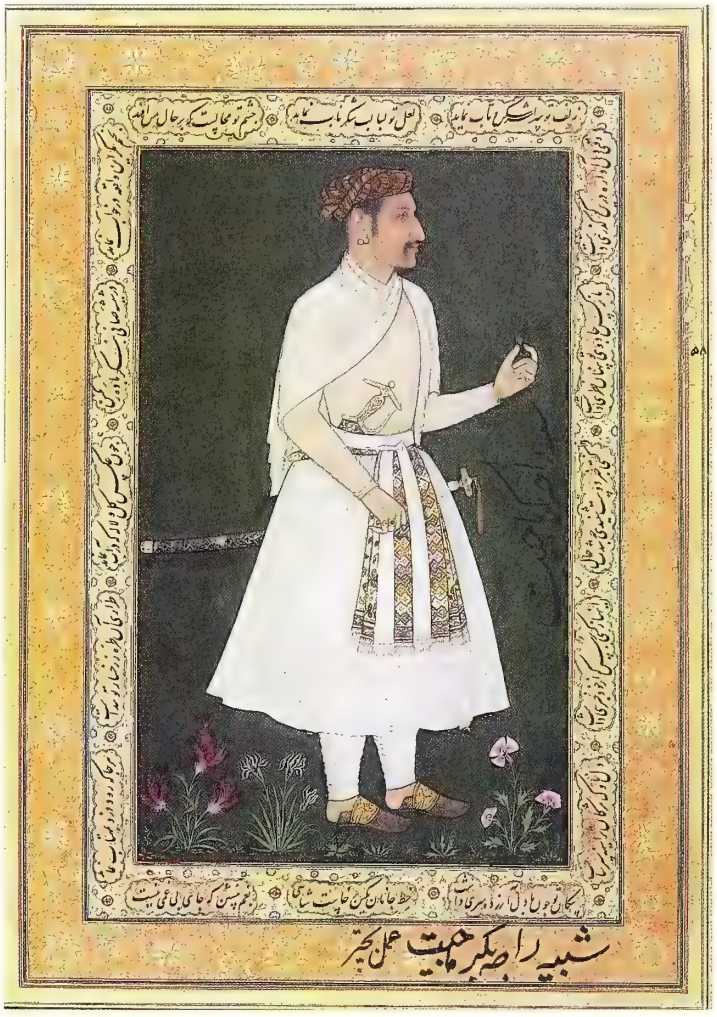


JAHANGIR TRIUMPHANT HOLDING A GLOBE, copy after Abu'l-Hasan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1650. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image area: 27.6 x 16.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F48.28b

them against the rebels. Qasim Khan, Lashkar Khan, Iradat Khan, Fidai Khan, and others—around eight thousand cavalry—were assigned to Asaf Khan's division. Baqir Khan, Nuruddin-Quli, Ibrahim-Husayn Kashghari, and others—around six thousand cavalry—were posted to reinforce Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan. Nawazish Khan, Abdul-Aziz Khan, Azizullah, and many Barha and Amrohi sayyids were assigned to accompany Abdullah Khan. Ten thousand horsemen were counted in this contingent.

The damned Sundar arrayed the forces of misfortune and stepped boldly forward. [**290b**] At this time I sent my personal quiver with Zibardast Khan the mir tüzük to Abdullah Khan to encourage him. When the two sides clashed, the eternally accursed Abdullah Khan, whose hideous nature was made of rebelliousness and ingratitude, deserted and joined the rebels. Abdul-Aziz Khan and Khan Dawran's sons went along with him—God knows whether they knew what they were doing or not. Nawazish Khan, Zibardast Khan, and Sherhamla, who were in that coward's troop, stood their ground and did not let their troops fall to pieces when he left.

Since divine protection has always and everywhere been with this supplicant, in such a fray where a leader like Abdullah Khan could throw over a troop of ten thousand horsemen and join the enemy, and thereby nearly inflicted great damage upon the imperial army, a bullet fired by fate hit Sundar's mortal spot, and when he fell the rebels' courage failed.

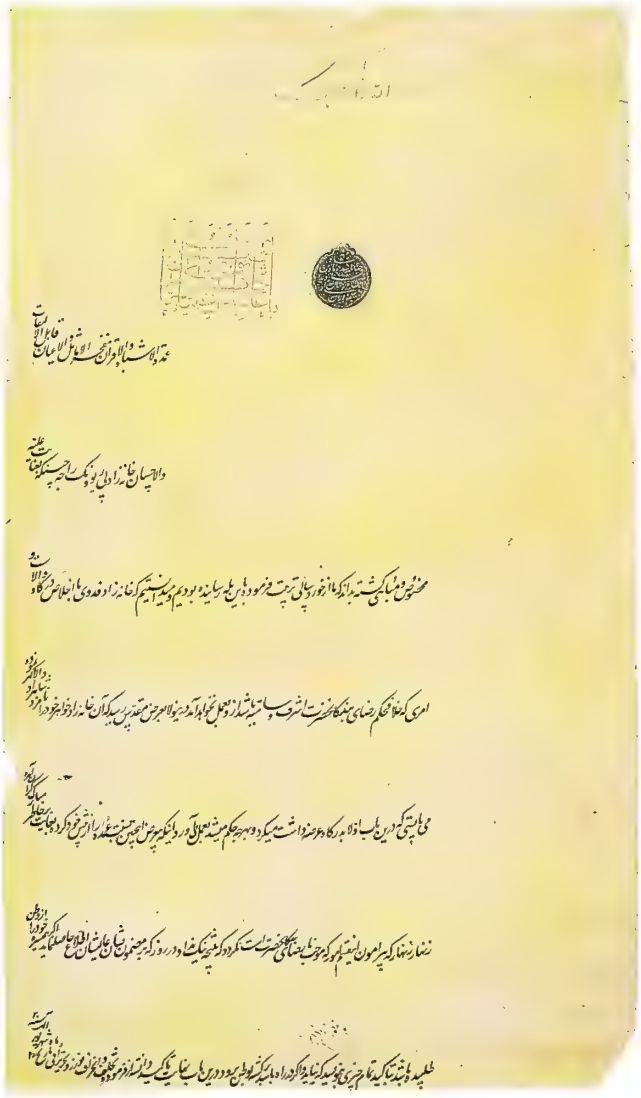


PORTRAIT OF RAJA BIKRAMAJIT, by Bichitr. India, Mughal period, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation Gift, 1955. 55.121.10.1r

Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan also took out the troop he was facing and pulverized them. Asaf Khan arrived just in time, and Baqir Khan finished the job with valor. A signal victory that could be counted as a miracle of the age was achieved. Zibardast Khan, Sherhamla and his son Sherpanja, Asad Khan Ma'muri's son, Khwaja Jahan's brother Muhammad-Husayn, and a group of Barha sayyids who had been in the damned Abdullah's troop attained martyrdom and eternal life. Husayn Khan's grandson Azizullah received a bullet wound but remained alive.

Although the departure of that damned hypocrite at this time was also a sign of divine assistance, the prevalent opinion was that if his hideous action had taken place in the midst of battle, [**291a**] most of the leaders of the rebel army would have been killed or captured. As it happened, he was already known among the common people as La'natullah (God's curse), and since he had already been dubbed thus by accident, I too called him by this name. Henceforth, wherever La'natullah is mentioned, it means him.

In short, the damn rebels, having fled from the field of combat, couldn't get themselves back together, and La'natullah and the other damn rebels didn't pull in their reins until they reached Bedawlat, twenty kos away.



DECREE OF NURJAHAN. India, Mughal period, dated 27 Shahrivar, regnal year 20 (September 1625). Ink and gold on paper. Art and History Trust; courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. LTS1995.2.146

When the news of victory reached my ears, I prostrated myself over and over in thanks for this new gift of divine bounty and summoned my supporters who had served me so well into my presence. The next day Sundar's body was brought into my presence. Apparently when the bullet hit him and took his soul to the warden of hell, his corpse had been taken for burning to a village in the vicinity, but just as they were about to light the fire a troop appeared in the distance. Fearing they would be captured, the men ran away in all directions. The headman of the village cut his head off and took it to advance his own interests to Khan A'zam, in whose jagir the village was, and he brought it to me. His gloomy expression could be seen perfectly, still unchanged. His ears had been cut off for the sake of the pearls he had. It was never learned, however, by whose hand the shot that hit him had been fired. Now that he was dead, Bedawlat lost courage. It was as though that Hindu dog was his fortune, ambition, and mind. When a father like me, in reality his metaphorical "creator," can, during my lifetime, raise him to such an exalted position [**291b**] and deny him nothing, and he can do such a thing—it would certainly be within the bounds of divine retribution if he never saw the countenance of well-being again!

Those of my servants who performed outstandingly during this expedition were rewarded with unprecedented shows of favor. Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan was promoted to the rank of 5000. Nawazish Khan was promoted to 4000/3000. Baqir Khan was raised to the rank of 3000/1500 and granted the privilege of drums. The following promotions were given: Ibrahim-Husayn Kashghari to 2000/1000, Nuruddin-Quli to 2000/700, Raja Ram Das to 2000/1000, Asad Khan to 1500/1000, Azizullah to 2000/1000, Lutfullah to 1500/500, and Parwarish Khan to 500 suwar. If all promotions were recorded, it would take too long.

In summary, we halted at the station mentioned above for one day, and the next day we marched. Khan Alam arrived from Allahabad and paid homage.

On the twelfth of the month [March 23] we camped in the vicinity of Jhansa. This day Sarbulandi Rai came from the Deccan, paid homage, and was awarded a royal dagger with a phul-katara. Abdul-Aziz Khan and several who had accompanied La'natullah [Abdullah Khan] delivered themselves of Bedawlat's clutches and rejoined our retinue. They said, "When La'natullah galloped off, we thought he had spurred his horse to combat. When we entered the midst of the enemy, there was nothing we could do but surrender. Now, after finding an opportunity to escape, we have returned to kiss the imperial threshold." Although they had received two thousand mohurs as a grant from Bedawlat, since there wasn't time for an investigation, I accepted their excuse as being true. [**292a**]

On the nineteenth [March 30] the celebration of culmination was held, and many of my servants received promotions and suitable rewards. Mir Azududdawla came from Agra to pay homage. He presented for my inspection the dictionary[3] he had

3. The *Farhang-i Jahangiri* by Jamaluddin Husayn Injū Azududdawla. It was edited by Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq Ali Ghalib and printed in lithograph in Lucknow (n.d.).

composed. He really took a lot of trouble with it and persevered in citing examples for all the words from the poetry of the ancients. There is no other such book in this field.

Raja Jai Singh was promoted to the rank of 3000/1400. I awarded my son Shahryar a royal elephant. The post of reviser of petitions was given to Musavi Khan. Mahabat Khan's son Amanullah was awarded the title of Khanazad Khan, promoted to the rank of 4000/4000, and granted the privilege of a banner and drums.

On the first of Urdibihisht [circa April 10] camp was made on the shore of the lake at Fatehpur. I'tibar Khan came to pay homage from Agra and was favorably received. [Mu]zaffar Khan, Mukarram Khan, and his brother also came from Agra to pay homage. Since I'tibar Khan had performed so well and appreciatively in guarding the citadel in Agra, he was given the title of Mumtaz Khan, promoted to the rank of 6000/5000, given a robe of honor with a jeweled sword, a horse, and a royal elephant, and given leave to return to the above-mentioned post. Sayyid Bahwa was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500. Mukarram Khan was promoted to the rank of 3000/2000,[4] and Khwaja Qasim's rank was increased to 1000/400.

On the fourth of the month [circa April 13] Mansur Khan Firangi, a mention of whom has been made on past pages,[5] **[292b]** and his brother Maghrur [and] Nawbat Khan Dakkani were led by good fortune to separate themselves from Bedawlat and join our service. I sent Khawass Khan to my favored son Shah Parvez. Mirza Isa Tarkhan arrived from Multan to pay homage. A personal sword was given to Mahabat Khan.

On the tenth of the month [circa April 19] camp was made in the vicinity of the pargana of Hindaun. Mansur Khan was promoted to the rank of 4000/3000; Nawbat Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000.

Prince Parvez is Received

On the eleventh [circa April 20] a halt was observed. The hour for my son Shah Parvez to pay homage had been fixed on this day. I ordered the exalted princes, renowned amirs, and all other self-sacrificing servants to go out in troops and contingents to meet him and escort him with befitting ceremony into my presence. Past noon, at the auspicious hour chosen, he illuminated his forehead by kissing the ground in loyalty, and after performing the rituals of körünüsh and taslim, I took my favored son in the bosom of yearning and affection and showed him unprecedented kindness.

News was received that when Bedawlat was passing through the vicinity of the pargana of Amber, Raja Man Singh's home, he had sent a group of villains to plunder the town.

On the twelfth [circa April 21] camp was made outside the village of Sarwali. I gave Habash Khan leave to precede us to Ajmer to repair the residences. I raised my favored son Shah Parvez to the rank of 40,000/30,000.

Since it had been reported that Bedawlat had dispatched Raja Baso's son Jagat Singh **[293a]** to go to his home in the Punjab hills and foment strife there, I appointed Sadiq Khan the mirbakhshi as governor of the Punjab and ordered him to chastise him and teach him a lesson. He was awarded a robe of honor, a sword, and an elephant and promoted to the rank of 4000/3000 with a tugh and drums.

The Murder of Mirza Badi'uzzaman

At this time it was reported that Mirza Shahrukh's son Mirza Badi'uzzaman, known as Fathpuri, had been ambushed one night by his younger brothers and killed. At the

4. Mukarram Khan's promotion to 3000/2000 has already been noted on page 248.

5. The only Mansur mentioned is the one in the list of those who had joined Shahjahan (page 391). *Firangi* is a type of firearm, and a gunner's title is normally *firangibaz*. It is unlikely that Mansur Khan was a European (also *firangi*, for which the firearm was named)



Portraits of Jahangir, Asaf Khan, and Shayista Khan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1650. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper mounted on board. Full page: 44.9 x 33 cm., image area: 25.5 x 20.1 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler. S1986.407

same time the brothers came to court and paid homage. His mother also joined the retinue, but she did not make a claim for her son's blood as she should have but turned it over for investigation. Although Mirza Badi'uzzaman's disposition was so horrible that there was no regret over his being killed, indeed it was opportune and advantageous, nonetheless for these wretches to have taken such bold action against their elder brother, who stood in the place of a father to them, was not something to which justice could turn a blind eye. I therefore ordered them held in prison for the time being until proper action could be taken.

On the twenty-first of the month [circa April 30] Raja Gaj Singh and Rai Suraj Singh arrived from their jagirs and paid homage.

I had sent Mu'izzulmulk to Multan to summon my "son" Khan Jahan; on this date he returned to rejoin the retinue and report on Khan Jahan's weak and ill state. He had sent his son Asalat Khan with a thousand horsemen and expressed his regrets at being deprived of paying homage. Since his apology sounded true, it was accepted. **[293b]**

Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan are Assigned to the Pursuit of Shahjahan

On the twenty-fifth [circa May 4] my favored son Prince Parvez was assigned the imperial troops to pursue Bedawlat and render him and his blithering comrades naught, and the reins of authority over the prince's command and the disposition of the troops were turned over to the approval of Mu'taminuddawla Mahabat Khan.[6] The renowned amirs and self-sacrificing champions who were assigned to the prince were: Khan Alam, Maharaja Gaj Singh, Sarbulandi Rai, Lashkar Khan, Mansur, Raja Jai Singh, Rai Suraj Singh, Fazil Khan, Rashid Khan, Raja Gridhr, Raja Ram Das Kachhwaha, Mir Abdul-Aziz, Azizullah, Asad Khan, Parwarish Khan, Ikram Khan, Sayyid Hizhabr Khan, Lutfullah, Rai Narayan Das, and others. Around forty thousand ready cavalry, a fine arsenal, and twenty lacs of rupees as a treasury was dispatched with them. Fazil Khan was assigned the post of bakhshi and recorder to the army. I awarded him a personal robe of honor and a gold spun nadiri jacket with collar and hem embroidered in pearls, which was worth forty-one thousand rupees and had been made in the imperial establishment, along with a royal elephant named Zayn Gaj, and to the prince I gave a female elephant, a royal horse, and a jeweled sword worth a total of seventy-seven thousand rupees. Nurjahan Begam also gave

6. Here Mahabat Khan is given the sobriquet Mu'taminuddawla (trustworthy one of the state).

him a robe of honor, a horse, and an elephant, as is customary. Mahabat Khan and the other amirs were awarded horses, elephants, and robes according to their ranks and stations. Suitable awards were made to my son's liege men whom I knew by sight. On this date Muzaffar Khan was honored with the post of mirbakhshi. **[294a]**

❁ *The Governorship of Gujarat is Assigned to Prince Dawarbakhsh under the Tutelage of Khan A'zam*

On the first of Khurdad [circa May 11] I appointed Khusraw's son Prince Dawarbakhsh as governor of Gujarat and assigned Khan A'zam to the exalted post of ataliq. The prince was given a horse, an elephant, a special robe of honor, a jeweled dagger, a tugh, and drums. Khan A'zam, Nawazish Khan, and other servants were given favors according to their ranks. With the transfer of Fazil Khan, Iradat Khan was given the post of bakhshi. Ruknuddawla Asaf Khan was honored with the governorship of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. He was awarded a special robe of honor and a jeweled sword. His son Abutalib was assigned to accompany his father and promoted to the rank of 2000/1000.

❁ *The Retinue Reaches Ajmer*

On the thirtieth of the [previous] month, corresponding to the nineteenth of Rajab 1032 [May 9, 1623], camp was made outside of Ajmer on the banks of Ana Sagar Lake. Prince Dawarbakhsh was honored with the rank of 8000/3000, and a treasury of two lacs of rupees was assigned for expenses. We gave an advance of one lac of rupees to Khan A'zam. Iftikhar Beg's son Allahyar, who was in my son Shah Parvez's service, was granted a banner at my son's request. Tatar Khan was assigned warden of the fortress at Gwalior. Raja Gaj Singh was promoted to the rank of 5000/4000.

❁ *The Death of Maryamuzzamani*

At this time news came from Agra that Her Majesty Maryamuzzamani had passed away. It is hoped that God will inundate her in a sea of mercy.

Rana Karan's son Jagat Singh came from his home territory and attained the felicity of kissing the ground. Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang, the governor of Bengal, had sent thirty-four elephants as an offering, and they were viewed. **[294b]** Baqir Khan was assigned as garrison commander at Oudh, and Sadat Khan was made commander of the Mian Doab garrison. Mir Sharaf was made divan of the imperial workshops.

On the twelfth of Tir [circa June 22] came a report from officials in the souba of Gujarat with the good news of victory and triumph. The details are as follows. As a reward for his victory over the Rana, I had awarded the souba of Gujarat, which has always been the place of some great ruler, to Bedawlat. As has been recorded under past events, Sundar Brahman ruled and guarded the area as his agent. When corrupt notions made their way into his ungrateful mind, he summoned to his presence that Hindu dog, who was always the instigator of his uncoöperativeness and obstinacy and the chief mischief-maker, along with Himmat Khan, Sharza Khan, Sarafraz Khan, and many other imperial servants who held jagirs in that souba, and stationed Sundar's brother Kunhar in his place. After Sundar was killed and Bedawlat retreated in defeat to Mandu, he settled the fief of Gujarat upon La'natullah and sent word for Kunhar and Safi Khan, the divan of the souba, to bring the treasury along with the jeweled throne that had cost five lacs of rupees to produce and the sword strap that had cost two lacs of rupees—both of which he had had made as gifts for me.

A nephew of the Ja'far Beg who was awarded the title of Asaf Khan in my exalted

father's service, Safi Khan is married to a daughter of Nurjahan Begam's brother who received the title of Asaf Khan from me. An elder daughter of Asaf Khan's is married to Bedawlat. Both are from the same mother. Because of this relationship Bedawlat expected Safi Khan to accompany him and take his part, but since his lot was favorably cast by destiny [**295a**] and he was slated for fortune and amirship, God granted him the privilege of performing outstanding services, as will be recorded.

In short, the faithless La'natullah sent a eunuch of his named Wafadar as governor of the province while he and a bunch of his rowdies went to Ahmadabad and took over the city. Since Safi Khan was loyal and sincere, he did all he could to retain his liege men, round up more troops, and placate the people. He left the city several days before Kunhar and camped on the shore of the Kankriya Tank. From there he went to Mahmudabad, making it appear as though he were going to Bedawlat, whereas actually he entered into correspondence with Nahar Khan, Sayyid Diler Khan, Babu Khan Afghan, and other loyal and steadfast self-sacrificing servants who had remained on their estates in the province, trying to keep them loyal and waiting for an opportunity. A liege man of Bedawlat's named Salih, the garrison commander of the Petlad sarkar who had a fine troop with him, discovered from what he was doing that Safi Khan was working for another goal. Actually Kunhar had also realized this, but since Safi Khan had placated a good number of people and had taken such precautions they weren't able to make a move.

Worried that Safi Khan might cease to be friendly and make a move against the treasury, Salih foresightedly took the treasury forward and delivered nearly ten lacs of rupees to Bedawlat in Mandu. Kunhar also took the sword strap and set out in his wake. The throne was too heavy for them to take along. Safi Khan found his opening and moved from Mahmudabad to the pargana of . . .,[7] which is situated by the normal route to the left, and where Babu Khan was. [**295b**] He corresponded with Nahar Khan and other supporters, and it was decided that each of them would mount from his jagir with what troops he had and enter the city with the rising of the sun—which was the dawning of fortune for the people of felicity and the evening of misfortune for the wretches—through the gate that was in their direction.

7. Text has *KRNJ* (Karnaj?), but no place name with such a constellation of consonants has been located. There is a Karanja far southeast of Burhanpur, but it seems too distant to be the place mentioned here.

Leaving his womenfolk in the pargana mentioned above, he and Babu Khan reached the outskirts of the city at dawn and paused for a moment in the Sha'ban Garden until the light was good enough to distinguish friend from foe. After the sun was up, they found the city gate wide open, although there was no trace of Nahar Khan or the other supporters. Apprehensive lest the enemy had received intelligence and fortified the gates of the citadel, they put their trust in God and entered the city through the Sarangpur Gate. At just that moment Nahar Khan also arrived and entered the city through the gate. La'natullah's eunuch, aware of the trickiness of our unfailing fortune, took refuge in the house of Mian Wajihuddin's grandson Shaykh Haydar. Our worthy servants then had the victory sounded and fortified towers and ramparts. They dispatched several men to the houses of Muhammad-Taqi, Bedawlat's divan, and Hasan Beg, his bakhshi, and captured them. Shaykh Haydar came himself and informed Safi Khan that La'natullah's eunuch was in his house. He was brought, arm bound to neck, and all Bedawlat's liege men and retainers were imprisoned, and so their minds were at ease concerning the security of the city.

The jeweled throne and two lacs of rupees in cash and goods left in the city by Bedawlat and his men were confiscated by our supporters. When the news reached Bedawlat, he assigned La'natullah to take Himmat Khan, Sharza Khan, Sarafraz Khan, Qabil Beg, [**296a**] Rustam Bahadur, Salih the bakhshi, and other misfortunate rebels,

both imperial servants and his own men, nearly five thousand ready cavalry, and attack Mahmudabad. Learning of this, Safi Khan and Nahar Khan proved valorous in winning over the soldiers and gathering troops. All the cash and goods they had taken, including the throne, which they smashed, they used as pay for the old soldiers and new recruits. Raja Kalyan the zamindar of Idar, Lal Koli's son,[8] and the other zamindars of the surrounding areas were summoned to town, and they put together a good force. Without waiting for reinforcements, La'natullah got himself from Mandu to Baroda in eight days.

Escorted by good fortune, our supporters left the city and camped beside the Kankriya Tank. It occurred to La'natullah that swiftness on his part might undo our supporters, but when he learned that our supporters had left the city, unfortunately for him he tarried in Baroda and stopped, waiting for reinforcements. After the rebels joined him and they set out in their error, our loyal servants marched from Kankriya and camped outside the village of Batoh near the shrine of Qutb-i-Alam. It took La'natullah ten days to travel the three-day road from Baroda to Mahmudabad. Since Diler Khan had captured Sharza Khan's women in Baroda and brought them into the city, and Sarafraz Khan's women were also in the city, Safi Khan sent word to both of them in secret with a message saying, "If you will cease your rebellion and rejoin the imperial supporters, your lot in this world and the next will be better. [**296b**] Otherwise I will subject you wives and children to all sorts of humiliation as retribution."

When La'natullah learned of this he summoned Sarafraz Khan from his house on some pretext and arrested him. Since Sharza Khan, Himmat Khan, and Salih Khan Badakhshi were in agreement and camped together, he couldn't get hold of Sharza Khan.

In short, on the twenty-first of Sha'ban 1032 [June 10] La'natullah mounted and arrayed the forces of misfortune. Our supporters also arrayed their troops and got ready for battle. La'natullah thought to himself, "They will be undone by my valiant approach, and they will scatter before the battle is begun." However, when he witnessed our supporters' resolve he couldn't stand it and, turning his reins to the left, he said, "They have hidden gunpowder[9] beneath the earth in the field. Our men will be killed. It would be better to go to the plain at . . . and fight there."[10] This useless plan and futile tactic was a sign of our good fortune, for no sooner did he turn his reins than rumor of defeat spread and the champions of the arena of victory rushed in against his flank and prevented the wretch from reaching. . . . He had to pitch his tent in Bareja, while our supporters camped in the village of Baloda, nearly three kos away.

The next morning our supporters, ranks arrayed and battle lines drawn, set out for the field of battle. The arrangement was as follows: in the vanguard were Nahar Khan, Raja Kalyan the zamindar of Idar, and other valiant, battle-ready champions; in the left wing were Diler Khan, Sayyid Sidu, and a group of loyal servants; [**297a**] in the right wing were Babu Khan, Sayyid Ya'qub, Sayyid Ghulam-Muhammad, and other self-sacrificing, loyal men; and the center was maintained by Safi Khan, Kifayat Khan the bakhshi, and some others who had rendered good service.

By happy coincidence the place La'natullah [Abdullah Khan] had camped was uneven ground thick with thorn patches and narrow little paths. It was not possible for that reason to line up troops satisfactorily. He sent most of his good men forward with Rustam Bahadur. Although Himmat Khan and Salih Beg were ringleaders of this heresy, they were both plagued by misfortune. The first battle was between Nahar Khan and Himmat Khan, and it was an outstanding fracas. By chance, Himmat Khan was felled by a bullet wound. Then Salih Beg came up against Babu Khan, Sayyid

8. Name very doubtful and apparently not attested elsewhere. Per Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (trans. Rogers), 264, it reads Lal Gopi, which would at least be a plausible name for a zamindar in Gujarat

9. Reading *daru-yi tufang* (gunpowder) for the text's meaningless *dari tufang*

10. Here text has *SRKYJ*, which has not been identified. The same name occurs at the ellipsis just below.

Ya'qub, Sayyid Ghulam-Muhammad, and others. During the fray Sayyid Ghulam-Muhammad's elephant got in and unhorsed him, and he too fell prey to mortal wounds. Nahar Khan received a sword wound, and nearly a hundred of his men were lost. Just then the elephant that was in front of the rebel forces turned away from the noise of gunfire, entered one of the paths that ran through the thorn patches, and trampled many of the enemy to death. With the turning of the elephant the enemy's order broke. Just then Sayyid Diler Khan entered the battlefield from the right. La'natullah, uninformed of the deaths of Himmat Khan and Salih, was spurring his steed forward to help them, a spear in his hand. The champions of the vanguard had made superb and valiant showings, but most of them had been killed or wounded. Unable to withstand La'natullah's charge, they turned aside. Things were looking black when divine assistance entered [**297b**] and Safi Khan rushed from the center to reinforce the vanguard. At the same time news of Himmat Khan's and Salih's deaths reached La'natullah. In the face of the valor of the center troops and Safi Khan's arrival, he lost courage and fell into humiliating retreat. Sayyid Diler Khan pursued him for a kos, putting to the sword many of those fleeing. The ingrate Qabil Beg and a troop of the damn enemy were given retribution.

Since La'natullah didn't trust Sarafraz Khan, he had chained him to an elephant on the day of battle and charged one of his slaves to kill him if they were defeated. He likewise chained Sultan Ahmad's son Bahadur on an elephant with similar instructions for him to be killed. During the rout Sultan Ahmad's son's guard killed him with a jamdhar. Sarafraz Khan threw himself down from the elephant, and in the midst of the confusion his guard wounded him, but not fatally. Safi Khan discovered him on the battlefield and sent him into town.

La'natullah did not rein in until he reached Baroda. Since Sharza Khan's women were held prisoner by our supporters, he came and surrendered to Safi Khan.

In short, La'natullah fled from Baroda to Broach, where Himmat Khan's sons were in the fortress. Although they did not let him in, they sent him five thousand *mahmudi*s for maintenance,[11] and he spent three days outside the fortress of Broach in a miserable state. On the fourth day he went off by river to the port of Surat, where he spent nearly two months regrouping his dispersed men. Since Surat was in Bedawlat [Shahjahan]'s jagir, he took nearly four lacs of mahmudis from the officials there and confiscated everything he could get his tyrannical hands on. [**298a**] Then, having reassembled his miserable, jinxed troops, he took himself to Bedawlat in Burhanpur.

To sum up, since outstanding action had been performed by Safi Khan and our other grateful servants in the souba of Gujarat, they were all given all sorts of favors and rewards. Safi Khan held the rank of 700/300. I promoted him to 3000/2000 and awarded him the title of Sayf Khan Jahangirshahi and the privilege of a banner and drums. Nahar Khan held the rank of 1000/200; he was promoted to 3000/2500, awarded the title of Sher Khan, and given a banner, a horse, an elephant, and a jeweled sword.

❁ *A Short History of Nahar Khan*

He is the grandson of Silhadi,[12] the brother of Puran Mal Ponwar,[13] who was the ruler of Raisen and Chanderi. It is well known that when Sher Khan Afghan laid siege to Raisen,[14] he promised Puran Mal amnesty but killed him anyway, and the women of his harem committed, as the Indians say, juhar, i.e. immolated themselves in the name of honor lest the hand of a person who was not an intimate sully their chastity, and his sons and clansmen were dispersed in all directions.

11. The *mahmudi* is a Gujarati coin named for Sultan Mahmud (see page 274).

12. Reading, for the text's garbled *SNHLDYW, SYLHDY* (Silhadi, see Babur, *Baburnama*, folio 318a, et cetera, and Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 1:399, note 4). Silhadi was the raja of Raisen and son-in-law to Rana Sanga of Mewar.

13. Reading *PWRNML* (Puran Mal), per *Akbarnama* (trs.) 1:399, for the text's *BWRYML*, and Ponwar for the text's *LWNWR* on the assumption that Ponwar is a variant of Panwar, the well-known and formerly very powerful Rajput clan. The name often appears garbled in MSS, e.g. in Chandar Bhan Brahman's *Chabar chaman* (London, British Library, Add. 16863, folio 21r) the same name appears as *NWNWR*.

Nahar Khan's father, who was named Khan Jahan, became a liege man to Muhammad Khan the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur. When Muhammad Khan died, his son Hasan succeeded at a young age. Raji-Ali Khan, Muhammad Khan's brother, imprisoned the child and usurped the rule. After a while the news reached Raji-Ali that [**298b**] Khan Jahan and a group of Muhammad Khan's liege men had conspired to assassinate him, take Hasan Khan from the fortress, and elevate him to the rule. Raji-Ali Khan made a preemptive strike and sent [Hayat Khan][15] Habashi with many warriors to attack Khan Jahan's house either to capture him alive or to kill him. In zeal for his honor, Khan Jahan stood ready for battle, but when he was pushed to the wall, he committed juhar and died.

Nahar Khan was then extremely young, and Hayat Khan Habashi asked Raji-Ali Khan to let him adopt him and convert him to Islam. After Hayat Khan's death, Raji-Ali Khan raised Nahar Khan and took good care of him. When my exalted father conquered the fortress of Asir, Nahar Khan joined his service. Since he showed great promise, he was given a suitable rank and awarded the pargana of Muhammadpur in the souba of Malwa as a jagir. In my service he advanced even further, and now that it has been his lot to show his appreciation, he has received a suitable reward.

14. This is Sher Khan Sur of Akbar's reign. See Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 1:326–35.

15. Reading Hayat Khan for the text's obviously erroneous Khan Jahan.

A Description of the Barha Sayyids

Sayyid Diler Barha is one of the Barha sayyids. His name used to be Sayyid Abdul-Wahhab, and he held the rank of 1000/800 and had been promoted to the rank of 2000/1200 with a banner. In the Hindi language *bara* means twelve, and since there are twelve villages in the Mian Doab located in close proximity to each other where these sayyids come from, they have become known as the Barha sayyids. Some people harbor doubts about the trueness of their lineage, [**299a**] but their bravery is an incontrovertible proof of their being sayyids. There has never been a battle in this empire in which they did not show their valor or make a brave showing. Mirza Aziz Koka always used to say, "The Barha sayyids are the bulwark of this empire." And it's true.

Babu Khan Afghan held the rank of 800/800; he was promoted to the rank of 1500/1200. The other loyal supporters were also given promotions and high ranks according to their service and military showings.

At this time we assigned Khan Jahan's son Asalat Khan to reinforce my [grand]son Dawarbakhsh in the souba of Gujarat. We sent Nuruddin-Quli to the same souba to bring to court in chains Sharza Khan, Sarafraz Khan, and the other leaders of the army of rebellion who had been taken prisoner.

On this date it was reported that Shahnawaz Khan's son Minuchihr had been led by good fortune to desert Bedawlat and join my fortune-favored son Shah Parvez. I'tiqad Khan, the governor of Kashmir, was promoted to the rank of 4000/3000.

Since the scouts advised me that a lion had been spotted in the vicinity, I was tempted to hunt it. After I entered the forest, three other lions appeared. I shot all four of them and returned under good auspices. Since I am naturally fond of hunting lions, as long as lion hunting is possible I don't bother with any other kind.

Sultan Mas'ud's Lion Hunt

Sultan Mahmud's son Sultan Mas'ud was also inordinately fond of lion hunting, and there is a strange story of his killing a lion recorded in history, particularly in the history by Bayhaqi, [**299b**] who was an eyewitness and recorded it in the form of a daily report.[16] "One day in the vicinity of Hindustan he went lion hunting, mounted on an elephant. An enormous lion emerged from the forest and headed toward the elephant.

16. The story is about Sultan Mas'ud, son of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. The history referred to is Abu'l-Fazl Muhammad Bayhaqi's *Tarikh-i Mas'udi*, known as *Tarikh-i Bayhaqi* (*Bayhaqi's History*).



PRINCE SALIM HUNTING A LION. India, Mughal period, ca. 1600. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. 26.2 x 16.8 cm. Art and History Trust; courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. LTS1995.2.102a

He threw a brick and hit the lion in the chest. The lion leapt up in pain and rage and landed on the elephant's back. The elephant quivered in fear, and the amir got up on his knees and struck it so hard with a sword that he chopped off both of the lion's front paws. The lion fell back dead."

It happened to me too in my princely days that I went lion hunting in the Punjab. A powerfully built lion emerged from the forest. I shot it with a musket from atop an elephant. The lion was so enraged that it leapt from its spot and landed on the elephant's back. There was no time to put down the musket and pick up a sword. I turned the musket around, knelt down, and struck the lion in the face and on the head so hard with the butt of the musket that it fell dead to the ground.

Another strange occurrence is the following. One day I had gone hunting rhinoceros at the lake in Nuh Ban and was riding an elephant.[17] A rhinoceros emerged in front of us. I shot it in the top of the back near base of the ear, and the ball sank in nearly a span. With that one shot it fell dead. Many times in my presence powerful archers have shot twenty arrows and the prey hasn't died. Since it is not seemly to write such things of myself, I will cut these reports short.

On the twenty-ninth of the month [circa July 9] a pearl necklace was awarded to Rana Karan's son Jagat Singh. At this time it was reported that Sultan-Husayn, the zamindar of Pakhli, has passed away. I gave his rank and jagir to his eldest son, Shadman.

On the seventh of Amurdad [July 21] Ibrahim-Husayn, my favored son Shah Parvez's liege man, came from the campaign bearing tidings of victory. He reported that my son had fought, deploying renowned champion warriors. [**300a**] I rendered thanks for this gift, yet another sign of divine bounty. The details are as follows.

17. Again the word in the text, *KRK*, could be either *karg* (rhinoceros) or *gurg* (wolf). However, a musket ball that penetrated a span into a rhinoceros would be more worth recording. Nuh Ban lake is in Koil (modern Aligarh).

❁ *Shah Parvez's victory*

When the imperial troops in the prince's retinue crossed the Chanda Pass and entered the province of Malwa, Bedawlat came out of Mandu for battle with twenty thousand cavalry, three hundred war elephants, and a huge arsenal. Ahead of himself he sent out a troop of Bargis from the Deccan under Jadu Rai, Udai Ram, Atash Khan, and other damnable, ill-starred rebels in order for them to harass the imperial camp with raids. Mahabat Khan arrayed the imperial troops properly, stationed the prince in the center, inspected all contingents himself, and was taking all precautions while riding and dismounting. The Bargis, having shown themselves from afar, made an attack. One day it was Mansur Khan Firangi's turn to take the rear guard. While the camp was getting dismounted, Mahabat Khan was standing outside the army with his troop at the ready as a precaution so that the men could pitch their tents in security. Mansur Khan, having had too much to drink along the way, arrived roaring drunk. When an enemy troop chanced to appear in the distance, his drunkenness made him think he had to attack. Without informing his brothers and men, he jumped on his horse and charged off, knocking down two or three Bargis, until he made his way, swinging his sword, to the place in which Jadu Rai and Udai Ram were standing with an array of two or three thousand horsemen. As is their custom, they attacked from all sides and trapped him in the middle. He fought loyally and valiantly as long as he had a breath of life in him.

Meanwhile Mahabat Khan had been continually sending messages and messengers to entice those who had joined Bedawlat either as a precautionary measure or of necessity. Since these men had also detected a trace of desperation in Bedawlat's actions, they sent letters back to Mahabat Khan, requesting a guarantee. After Bedawlat came out of the fortress at Mandu, first he sent the troop of Bargis forward, and after them

Rustam Khan [Badakhshi], Taqi Khan, and Barqandaz Khan with a troop of musketeers. Then he sent out Darab, Bhim, Bayram Beg, and his other warriors. [**300b**] Since he wasn't able to array battle lines himself and was always looking backwards, he had the war elephants and the cannon caissons cross the Narbada River while he himself set out unencumbered for the battlefield in Darab's and Bhim's wake.

The day the imperial army camped in the vicinity of Kaliadeh, Bedawlat sent his entire force opposite the imperial troops while he stood one kos behind with the Khankhanan and a few others. Barqandaz Khan, who had received a guarantee from Mahabat Khan, lay in ambush. When the soldiers drew up their ranks opposite each other, he found an opening to make a run for it with his troop of musketeers and get himself to the imperial army, shouting "Hail to Shah Jahangir!" the whole way until he reached Mahabat Khan, who escorted him to my favored son, who won him over with shows of imperial favor and made him hopeful of more in the future.

Barqandaz Khan was formerly named Baha'uddin and was a liege man of Zayn Khan's. After Zayn Khan's death he joined the corps of Rumi musketeers. Since he was energetic and nimble in his service and had a troop, I considered him worthy of patronage and awarded him the title of Barqandaz Khan. When I sent Bedawlat [Shahjahan] to the Deccan I made him the chief artilleryman as assigned him to accompany Bedawlat. Although his allegiance was initially scarred, in the end he came out all right just in the nick of time.

That same day Rustam Khan, one of Bedawlat's major liege men in whom he had the greatest reliance, when he discovered that the tide was turning, received a guarantee from Mahabat Khan and, guided by good fortune, charged out of the jinxed army along with Muhammad-Murad the bakhshi and the other officers who were with him and joined the prince's retinue. Bedawlat's courage totally failed when he heard the news, and he lost confidence in all his own liege men, not to mention the imperial servants who were with him. He became so apprehensive that night after night he sent messengers to summon the men from the front and make ever new decisions. When he crossed the Narbada in confusion, [**301a**] once again some of his liege men took the opportunity to desert and join my favored son's service, for which they received rewards according to their stations.

On the very day he was crossing the Narbada a letter fell into his men's hands that Mahabat Khan had written in reply to a letter from Zahid Khan, promising him imperial reward and favor and encouraging him to come over. A copy was taken to Bedawlat, who, having lost all confidence and trust in Zahid Khan, had him and his three sons imprisoned.

Zahid Khan is the son of Shaja'at Khan, one of my exalted father's major amirs and servants. I patronized this wretch on account of the obligation owed him for service and on account of his relationship as a khanazad, gave him the title of khan and rank of 1500, and sent him with Bedawlat on the Deccan campaign. Recently, when I summoned the amirs from the Deccan for the Kandahar expedition, although an order of great urgency had been issued expressly to him, the wretch did not come to court and gave himself out to be a devotee and supporter of Bedawlat's. After Bedawlat suffered defeat near Delhi and turned back, the wretch, even though he did not have a family, did not have the good sense to get himself to me or wipe clean his shame by requesting forgiveness for his offenses. Finally, the Lord of Vengeance afflicted him on this day, and Bedawlat confiscated one hundred thirty thousand rupees in cash from him.

When you have done evil, you cannot be safe from affliction, for recompense is a law of nature.

In short, Bedawlat crossed the Narbada River fast, took all the boats to the other side and fortified the crossings to his satisfaction, stationing his bakhshi Bayram Beg with a troop of trusted men and a troop of Bargis from the Deccan on the banks with gun carts opposite. Then he set out for the fortress at Asir and Burhanpur.

Just then Bedawlat's man Taqi caught the Khankhanan's messenger with a letter the Khankhanan had sent in his own handwriting to Mahabat Khan, and he took it to Bedawlat. At the top of the letter this line was written: **[301b]** "A hundred persons are keeping me under watch; otherwise I'd have flown from restlessness." Bedawlat summoned him and his sons from their quarters and showed him the letter. Of course he offered excuses, but he couldn't come up with an acceptable excuse. As a consequence he and Darab and his other sons were held under house arrest, and just as he had predicted, "a hundred persons keeping watch" came true.

At this point I awarded my favored son's liege man Ibrahim-Husayn, who had brought the report of victory, the title of Khoshkhabar Khan and gave him a robe of honor and an elephant. I sent a gracious letter for the prince and Mahabat Khan with Khawass Khan. A jeweled bracelet was sent to my son and a jeweled sword to Mahabat Khan. Since Mahabat Khan had performed outstanding services, I promoted him to the rank of 7000/7000.

Sayyid Salabat Khan came from the Deccan to attain the felicity of kissing the ground, and he was shown special favors. He had been assigned to the Deccan, but when Bedawlat [Shahjahan] suffered defeat in the Delhi vicinity and went to Mandu, he had entrusted his children to divine care in an area belonging to Ambar and come to me by back roads.

Mirza Rustam Safavi's son Mirza Hasan was assigned commander of the Bahraich sarkar garrison and promoted to the rank of 1500/500. I sent La'l Beg the overseer of the accounting office to my favored son Shah Parvez and sent with him a special robe of honor with a nadiri jacket to my son and a turban for Mahabat Khan. Khawass Khan, who had previously gone to my son, came to pay homage and deliver a report filled with good news. I promoted Mahabat Khan's son Khanazad Khan to the rank of 5000/5000.

During this period I enjoyed hunting nilgai one day. During the hunt I saw a snake two and a half cubits long and as thick as the top of a man's arm. It had half swallowed a rabbit and was in the process of swallowing the other half. When the scouts picked it up and brought it to me, the rabbit fell out of its mouth. I ordered it put back in the snake's mouth, **[302a]** but no matter how hard they tried they couldn't get it back in—in fact, they used so much force they tore a corner of the snake's mouth. After that I ordered its belly slit open. By chance another rabbit came out whole. This kind of snake is called *chital* in Hindustan, and it gets so large that it can swallow a hog deer whole, but it isn't poisonous and doesn't bite.

One day on the same hunt I shot a nilgai doe with a musket. From its belly came two fully-formed babies. Since it had been heard that nilgai fawn meat was delicious and delicate, I ordered the cooks of my establishment to make a *dupiaza* and bring it to me. Without exaggeration, it was quite delicious.

On the fifteenth of Shahrivar [August 29] Rustam, Muhammad-Murad, and several of Bedawlat's other liege men who had been led by fortune to desert him paid homage

to my favored son Shah Parvez. As ordered, they came to court and attained the felicity of kissing the ground. I promoted Rustam Khan to the rank of 5000/4000 and Muhammad-Murad to 1000/500 and gave them hopes of ever-increasing favor.

Rustam Khan is Badakhshi by origin. His name was Yusuf Beg, and he is related to the Muhammad-Quli Safahani who was Mirza Sulayman's agent and factotum. When he was first enrolled among the servants of the court he spent most of his time in the provinces as a holder of a low-level rank. Having been dismissed from his jagir for some reason, he went to Bedawlat and joined his retinue. He knew all about touring and hunting and made some good showings for Bedawlat, particularly during the Rana campaign, and Bedawlat selected him from all his liege men and raised him to the rank of amir. Since I had shown him a great deal of favor, at Bedawlat's request I awarded him the title, a banner, and drums. For a time he governed Gujarat as his agent and deputy, in which capacity he didn't do badly at all.

Muhammad-Murad is the son of the libations steward Maqsud, an old servant of Mirza Sulayman's and Mirza Shahrukh's.

On this date Sayyid Bahwa came from Gujarat and paid homage. Nuruddin-Quli brought to court bound and chained forty-one rebels who had been captured in Ahmadabad. **[302b]** I had Sharza Khan and Qabil Beg, the ringleaders of the rebels, thrown under the feet of a must elephant and gave them their just deserts.

On the twentieth of the month, corresponding to the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Qa'da 1032 [September 3], God granted my son Shahryar a daughter by I'timaduddawla's granddaughter. It is hoped that her advent will prove to be a blessing for this dynasty.

Solar Weighing Ceremony

On the twenty-second [September 5] the solar weighing ceremony was held, and the fifty-fifth year of my life commenced auspiciously. Like every year, I had myself weighed against gold and other things and had the proceeds distributed to the deserving. Of the total amount two thousand rupees were given to Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi.

On the first of Mihr [September 14] Mir Jumla was promoted to the rank of 3000/1500. The eunuch Jawahir Khan was given the rank of 1000/300. Muqim the bakhshi of Gujarat was awarded the title of Kifayat Khan.

Since Sarafraz Khan's innocence had been proven to my satisfaction, I released him from prison and allowed him to perform körünüsh.

I went to my son Shahryar's house at his request. He arranged a splendid celebration, offered suitable presents, and gave most of my servants robes.

At this time a report from my favored son Shah Parvez arrived saying that Bedawlat had crossed the river at Burhanpur and was wandering in the valley of error. The details are as follows. When he crossed the Narbada, he had taken all the boats to the other side and fortified the banks and crossings with cannons and muskets. Stationing Bayram Beg with many of the damned rebels on the river bank, he set out for Asir and Burhanpur, taking the Khankhanan and Darab with him under surveillance.

The Fortress of Asir

Now for the sake of enlivening my narrative I must give a summary account of the fortress of Asir. The fortress is too renowned for its height, impregnability, and strength to need a description.

Before Bedawlat went to the Deccan, Asir was in the charge of Khwaja Nasrullah, the son of Khwaja Fathullah Sharbatchi and a long-serving liege man. **[303a]** Then, at Bedawlat's request, it was turned over to Mir Jamaluddin Husayn's son Mir Husamud-

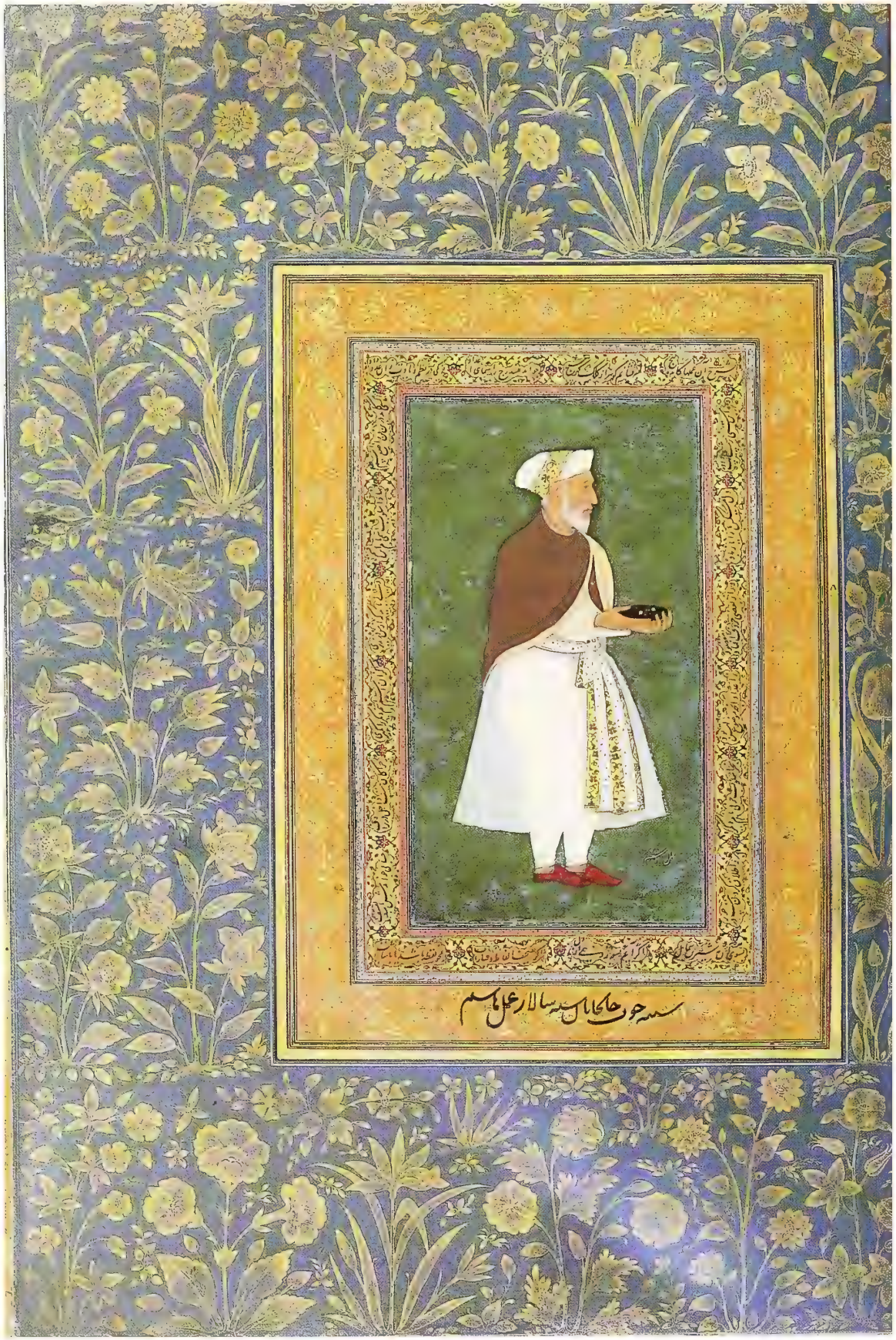
din. Since he is married to a cousin of Nurjahan Begam's, when Bedawlat suffered defeat in the Delhi vicinity and retreated toward Malwa and Mandu, Nurjahan Begam sent letters to the mir insisting in the strongest terms that he not allow Bedawlat and his men anywhere near the fortress, that he reinforce the towers and ramparts, and that he be firm in his allegiance and do nothing that would sully his honor as a sayyid and nobleman. In fact, he did reinforce and stock the bastion so well that Bedawlat could not even think of gaining access to it or of there being any possibility of taking it quickly.

In short, when Bedawlat [Shahjahan] sent one of his liege men named Sharifa to Mir Husamuddin, he beguiled him with sweet-talk and threats. Bedawlat had arranged with Sharifa that when Mir Husamuddin came down from the fortress to receive the letter and robe of honor he had sent, he wouldn't be allowed back into the fortress. As soon as Sharifa arrived, the wretched Husamuddin forgot all his obligations and turned the fortress over without the slightest opposition. Then he took his wife and child to Bedawlat, who awarded him the rank of 4000, a banner and drums, and the title of Murtaza Khan. [By this act of treachery] he made himself accursed in this world and the next.

Then, when the wretch got a foothold in Asir, he took the Khankhanan and Darab and his other accursed sons up into the fortress and stayed there three or four days. Having reassured himself with regard to provisions and defense stocks, he turned the fortress over to Gopal Das, a Rajput who had been a liege man to Sarbulandi Rai and then become the wretch's liege man when he went to the Deccan. The women and excess goods he couldn't carry around with himself he put in the fortress, taking only his three wives, his children, and a few necessary maidservants. His intention had first been to imprison the Khankhanan and his sons in the fortress tower, but in the end he changed his mind and took them with him to Burhanpur. At this point the miserable La'natullah [Abdullah Khan] came from Surat and joined him with a cavalry of contemptible rebels.

In consternation, Bedawlat sent Rai Bhoj Hada's son Sarbulandi Rai, [**303b**] a valiant Rajput chieftain, as a negotiator and started peace talks through messages and messengers. Mahabat Khan said, "Unless the Khankhanan comes, peace is impossible." Of course his main intention was to separate that wily leader of the forces of corruption from him by this means. There was nothing Bedawlat could do but release the Khankhanan from detention and make him swear an oath of allegiance on the Koran. Then, to appease him and for the reaffirmation of his oath, he took him into his harem and made him an intimate. Bringing his wives and children before him, he extracted through tears and pleading all sorts of binding oaths from him. Finally he stated his purpose: "Time is running out, and I am in a difficult position. I turn myself over to you, and the safety of our honor is in your hands. Something must be done so that I not suffer any more misery and humiliation."

The Khankhanan departed from Bedawlat to negotiate a truce and headed for the imperial army. It had been determined that he would stay on his side of the river and arrange a truce through correspondence. By fate, before the Khankhanan's arrival at the river bank, several champion warriors found a way to get across where the damned rebels were off their guard. Upon hearing this news their courage failed, and Bayram Beg, unable to maintain an offensively rebellious stance, began a defensive array. By the time he got himself together, many men had crossed the river, and that very night the miserable rebels were sent scattering into flight. The Khankhanan was left totally dumbfounded, outmaneuvered by our unfailing fortune and unable to make a move. At this point letters from our fortune-favored son arrived one after the other, both



PORTRAIT OF ABDUL-RAHIM KHANKHANAN, by Hashim. India, Mughal period, ca. 1626. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. 14.9 x 8.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. Purchase. F39.50a

threatening and persuasive with promises of appeasement. Having detected traces of despair and signs of a reversal of fortune in Bedawlat, the Khankhanan paid homage to my fortune-favored son through Mahabat Khan's intermediary.

After learning of the Khankhanan's departure, the imperial army's crossing the Narbada, and Bayram Beg's flight, Bedawlat lost heart and took flight. Despite the flooded river and heavy rains, [**304a**] he crossed the Tapti River in a miserable state and set forth for the Deccan. In the confusion most of the imperial servants and his retainers had chosen, willingly or unwillingly, to separate themselves from him and did not accompany him.

Since the home territory of Jadu Rai, Udai Ram, and Atash Khan lay along the way, they accompanied him several stages for their own purposes, but Jadu Rai did not come to his camp and marched one stage behind him, taking possession of the goods the men abandoned in their frenzied fear for their lives.

One day while he was marching on the other side of the river, he sent one of his intimate servants, a Turcoman named Zulfaqar, to summon Sarbuland Khan Afghan and deliver a message saying, "It is not seemly in view of your gallantry and loyalty for you not to have crossed the river yet. Men's honor lies in fidelity, and no one's disloyalty would grieve me more deeply than yours." Sarbuland Khan was standing on the river bank when Zulfaqar arrived and delivered his message. Instead of giving a direct reply, Sarbuland Khan hesitated for a moment, pondering whether to go or stay. Then he said angrily, "Let go of my reins!" Zulfaqar drew his sword and was about to stick it in Sarbuland Khan's waist when one of the Afghans intervened with a short-bladed spear the people of India call *barchha*. The blow landed on the wood of the barchha, and the sword point did not reach Sarbuland Khan's waist. The Afghans attacked, naked blades drawn, and chopped Zulfaqar to pieces. Sultan-Muhammad Khizanachi's son, who was Bedawlat's page, had come along without permission because of his friendship with Zulfaqar, and he too was killed in the fracas.

Word was received of his exit from Burhanpur and the imperial troops' entry into the city. I sent Khawass Khan on wings of speed to my loyal son, stressing more than ever that he shouldn't relax his efforts but should strive either to capture Bedawlat alive or to drive him from the imperial domain. The prevalent opinion was that if he was hard pressed, he would betake himself to Orissa and Bengal via Qutbulmulk's realm. This also seemed reasonable in terms of military strategy. [**304b**] Since precaution is a necessary concomitant of world rule, I made Mirza Rustam the governor of the souba of Allahabad and sent him there so that, if things should turn out that way, he could take care of them.

At this point my "son" Khan Jahan came from Multan and kissed the ground, presenting a thousand mohurs as a vow and a ruby valued at a lac of rupees, along with a pearl and other things. I gave Rustam Khan an elephant.

On the ninth of Aban [circa October 21] Khawass Khan brought a report from the prince and Mahabat Khan saying that when my son reached Burhanpur, although many men had remained behind when he left on account of the heavy rain, he had crossed the river without stopping and gone in pursuit of Bedawlat, as ordered. Hearing this disastrous news, Bedawlat was racing pell-mell across the distances, but the rain was so heavy, there was so much mud and mire, and so many continual marches had been made that the beasts of burden were useless. Refusing to go back to pick up anything left behind by anyone, he counted himself lucky to have escaped with his children and dependents and didn't pay any attention to belongings.

The imperial army crossed Bhangar Pass and pursued him as far as the pargana of

Ankot, nearly forty kos from Burhanpur. He reached the fortress of Mahur in the state he was in, and since he realized that Jadu Rai, Udai Ram, and the other Deccanis were not going to accompany him any further, he kept his dignity and gave them leave to depart. Entrusting the heavily laden elephants and other baggage to Udai Ram in the fortress mentioned above, he set out for Qutbulmulk's domain. When it was learned that he had left imperial territory, my felicitous son, with the approval of Mahabat Khan and our other supporters, turned his reins from that pargana and entered Burhanpur on the first of Aban [circa October 13].

Raja Sarang Deo was dispatched with a gracious letter for my son. Qasim Khan was promoted to the rank of 4000/2000. At Mahabat Khan's request, I awarded Mirak Mu'in the bakhshi of Kabul the title of khan. Alif Khan Qiyamkhani came from the souba of Patna and paid homage; **[305a]** I made him warden of the Kangra fortress and awarded him a banner.

On the first of Azar [November 13] Baqi Khan came from Junagarh to pay homage.

The Third Journey to Kashmir

Since my mind was at ease concerning Bedawlat, and the weather in Hindustan did not agree with me, on the second of the month, corresponding to the first of Safar [November 14], the imperial retinue set out under good auspices from Ajmer for a hunting tour in the happy vale of Kashmir. Prior to this, I had made Umdatussaltana Asaf Khan governor of Bengal and given him leave to depart for there. Since I was so accustomed to his companionship, and he was so superior to any other in his talents and his intimate knowledge of my moods—indeed in all positive respects he was so without peer that it would have been hard for me to be separated from him—I was forced to cancel my trip and recall him to me. On this date he arrived at court.

Rana Karan's son Jagat Singh was given permission to return home and received a robe of honor and a jeweled dagger. Raja Sarang Deo brought a report from my fortune-favored son Shah Parvez and Madarussaltana Mahabat Khan.[18] It was written: "There are no worries about Bedawlat, and the rulers of the Deccan, like it or not, are in obedience. Let His Majesty cease worrying on this front and enjoy himself on his hunting tour. Let him go to any part of the realm he pleases and pass his days in pleasure and enjoyment."

18. Madarussaltana (axis of the sultanate), another sobriquet.

On the twentieth of the month [December 2] Mirza Wali came from Broach. Hakim Mu'mina was promoted to the rank of 1000. Khan Jahan's son Asalat Khan came as ordered from Gujarat.

At this point a report came from Aqidat Khan the bakhshi of the Deccan informing of the murder of Raja Gridhr. The details are as follows. One of Sayyid Kabir Barha's brothers who was in my fortune-favored son Shah Parvez's retinue gave his sword for polishing and sharpening to a sword-polisher who had a shop next to Raja Gridhr's house. **[305b]** The next day when he went to collect his sword, during a debate over the wage the sayyid's man struck the polisher several times with a stick, and then the raja's men whipped him in defense of the polisher. Two or three Barha sayyids happened to have houses in the vicinity, and when they became aware of the goings-on, they came to the sayyid's defense. A fracas ensued, and a fight broke out between the sayyids and the Rajputs, resulting in drawn swords and arrows and three men killed. When Sayyid Kabir learned of this, he came to the sayyids' assistance with thirty or forty of his horsemen. At this point Raja Gridhr was sitting stripped, as is the Indian custom, eating with a group of Rajputs and his clansmen. When he was

informed of Sayyid Kabir's arrival and the sayyids' severity, he took his men out into the compound and secured the outside gate. The sayyids set fire to the compound gate and got themselves inside. The battle escalated to the point that Raja Gridhr and twenty-six of his men were killed and forty others were wounded. Four of the sayyids were also killed. After Raja Gridhr was killed, Sayyid Kabir took the horses from his stable and returned home.

When the Rajput amirs learned that Raja Gridhr had been killed, they mounted in droves at their houses while all the Barha sayyids hastened to gather in the field in front of the citadel to help Sayyid Kabir. There a battle erupted that almost resulted in a major rebellion. As soon as Mahabat Khan was informed, he mounted and got himself there. He took the sayyids inside the citadel and appeased the Rajputs as best he could at the time, taking several of the chiefs along to Khan Alam's quarters in the vicinity for him to appease and placate them by promising retribution.

When this news reached my son the prince, he too went to Khan Alam's quarters and appeased them with words appropriate to the situation and sent the Rajputs home. The next day Mahabat Khan went to Raja Gridhr's house and offered condolences to his sons. After weighing his options he had Sayyid Kabir arrested, [**306a**] and since the Rajputs would not be appeased by anything other than having him killed, he was executed several days later.

On the twenty-third [December 5] I assigned Muhammad-Murad as commander of the garrison in the Ajmer sarkar and dismissed him. Along the way I continually enjoyed hunting. One day while hunting I had a hawk catch a white quail, something I hadn't seen before. By chance, the hawk that caught it was also white. Experience has shown that black quail is more delicious that white quail. The meat of the large bödänä quail the people of India call *ghaghar* is better than that of the small kind of bödänä that is used in cock fights. I similarly compared the meat of a fat kid with that of a calf. The kid was delicious and tasty. Purely as an experiment I ordered them both cooked in the same manner so that a real discerning comparison could be made. Therefore it is recorded.

On the tenth of Day [December 22] the scouts reported a lion in the vicinity of the pargana of Rahimabad. An order was given to Iradat Khan and Fidai Khan to bring along the guards[19] who were in the retinue and surround the forest. I mounted after them and set out to hunt. The forest was so thick with trees that the lion couldn't be easily spotted. Driving my elephant forward, I took aim at its flank and felled it with one shot. From my princely days until this year, among all the lions I had hunted, none had been seen so large, magnificent, or well-proportioned in its limbs as this one. I ordered the artists to draw a picture of it according to its form and body. It weighed eight and a half Jahangiri maunds. From the top of its head to the end of its tail it was three and a half cubits and two tasus long.

19. Emending the text's miscopied *atash* (fire) with *yatish* (night guard)

On the sixteenth [December 28] it was reported that Mumtaz Khan, the governor of Agra, had passed away. He had first been with Bahadur Khan the brother of Khan Zaman. After they were killed, he joined my exalted father's service. When I was born His Majesty gave him to me to be the supervisor of my establishment. He served me continuously for fifty-six years loyally, compassionately, and pleasingly. Not once was I ever vexed by him, and the obligations owed him for his service are more than can be written. May God have mercy upon him.

I made Muqarrab Khan, an old retainer of this dynasty, governor of Agra and gave him leave to depart. Mukarram Khan and his brother Abdul-Salam came to pay homage in the vicinity of Fatehpur. [**306b**]

Lunar Weighing Ceremony

On the twenty-second [January 3, 1624] the lunar weighing ceremony was held in the town of Mathura, and the fifty-seventh year of my life commenced auspiciously.

I set out on a boat, touring and hunting, in the vicinity of Mathura. Along the way the scouts reported that a lioness with three cubs had been spotted. I got out of the boat and went to hunt. Since the cubs were very small, I ordered them caught. I shot the mother with a musket.

At this time it was reported that the *ganwar*s [villagers] and farmers on the other side of the Jumna refused to stop stealing and committing highway robbery. Taking refuge in the thick forests and in hideaways that were difficult to reach, they lived in carefree rebelliousness and did not pay taxes to the jagirdars. I ordered Khan Jahan to take a group of officers and his guards to teach them a good lesson by killing and capturing a few, plundering their possessions, and razing their hideaways and bastions to the ground in order to sweep the area clean of their nuisance. The next day the troop crossed the river and attacked them in fine form. Since they had no chance to flee, they put up a real fight, and many were killed. Their women and children were taken prisoner, and much booty fell into the soldiers' hands.

On the first of Bahman [January 11] I made Rustam Khan commander of the garrison in the Kannauj sarkar and sent him off.

On the second [January 12] I had Hakim Nuruddin Tihrani's son Abdullah executed in my presence. The reason is as follows. When the ruler of Iran had his father tortured on the suspicion of hidden wealth, Abdullah fled from Iran and got himself to Hindustan in great misery and poverty. Through I'timaduddawla's influence he was enrolled as a court servant. **[307a]** As he was favored by fortune, he had become an intimate and one of my close servants within a short time, receiving the rank of 500 and a flourishing jagir. However, since his capacity was limited and he didn't have the ability to take such aggrandizement in this empire, he went into conflict with his own lucky star and proved ungrateful and unthankful, constantly defiling his tongue with complaints of his master. Around this time it was often reported that the more favor he was shown, the more the ingrate complained and caviled. I couldn't believe it, given all the favors he had been shown, until some disinterested persons told me the impolite things he had said about me in gatherings and assemblies. The charge was verified, and therefore I summoned him into my presence and had him executed.

Since the scouts reported that there was a lioness in the vicinity by which the people of the area were being harassed and harmed, an order was given to Fidai Khan to take along some elephants and surround the forest. I mounted after him and entered the forest. The lion appeared very quick and nimble, but I polished it off with one shot.

One day I was having a good time hunting. I had a hawk catch a black quail and ordered its crop slip open in my presence. A mouse it had swallowed whole and hadn't yet digested came out of the crop. It was amazing how a throat so narrow could get down a whole mouse. Really, if anyone else had told the story it wouldn't have been possible to believe it, but since I saw it myself it has been recorded for its strangeness.

On the sixth of Bahman [January 16] the imperial camp alighted in Delhi. Since Raja Baso's son Jagat Singh had gone on Bedawlat's orders to the hill country in the north of the Punjab, his home territory, to foment strife, I had assigned Sadiq Khan to chastise him, as was reported on past pages. At this point I awarded his younger brother Madho Singh the title of raja just to spite him and gave him a horse and a robe

of honor. [**307b**] He was ordered to go to Sadiq Khan and put and end to the luckless miscreants' endeavors.

The next day I marched from the outskirts of the city and camped in Salimgadh. Since Raja Kishan Das's house was on the way and he had insisted, I accepted his invitation to his house and granted his wish. A little bit of his offering was accepted in order to do him honor.

On the twentieth [January 30] we decamped from Salimgadh. I honored Sayyid Bahwa Bukhari with the governorship of Delhi, his home, a position he has occupied with distinction before.

❁ *The Arrival of Ali-Muhammad, Son of the Ruler of Tibet*

At this point Ali-Muhammad, the son of Ali Rai, the ruler of Tibet, came to court at his father's order and attained the felicity of kissing the ground. It was apparent that Ali Rai was inordinately fond of and attached to this son. Since he held him in greater esteem than his other sons and wanted to make him his successor, the son had become the object of his brothers' jealousy, and they held grudges against him. Ali Rai's son Abdal, the eldest, held such a grudge that he had applied to the khan of Kashgar to be his protector so that when Ali Rai, who was extremely old and bent, reached his appointed time, he, Abdal, would become ruler of Tibet under the protection of the ruler of Kashgar. Fearing that the brothers would assassinate him and foment strife in the land, Ali Rai sent the aforementioned Ali-Muhammad to our court with the object that he would become attached to this court and flourish under the protection of our courtiers.

On the first of Isfandarmudh [February 10] camp was made in the vicinity of the pargana of Umbala. Imamverdi's son Lashkari, who had deserted Bedawlat and joined my felicitous son Shah Parvez, came to court on this date and paid homage. He showed me a report from my son and Mahabat Khan containing a recommendation of the Adil Khan's service along with a letter the Adil Khan had sent to Mahabat Khan in which he represented his obedient allegiance. I sent Lashkari back to my son with a robe of honor and a nadiri jacket with pearl buttons for the prince and robes of honor for Mahabat Khan and Khan Alam. [**308a**] At my son's request a decree of appeasement filled with limitless favor was written for the Adil Khan, and he was given a robe of honor with a royal nadiri jacket. I ordered that if they thought it politic, they should send Lashkari to the Adil Khan.

On the fifth of the month [February 14] camp was made in the garden at Sirhind. Sadiq Khan, Mukhtar Khan, Isfandiar, Raja Rup Chand of Gwalior, and the other amirs who had been assigned to him as reinforcements, having satisfied themselves with the consolidation of the northern hill country, attained the felicity of paying homage on the banks of the Beas River. In short, Jagat Singh had taken himself at Bedawlat's order to the hill country and begun to foment strife. Since the field was empty, he stayed in the impenetrable mountains and difficult passes for a few days, pillaging and plundering the ryots and peasants until Sadiq Khan reached the area. Sadiq Khan brought the zamindars under control through threats and promises while making it his object to reduce the wretch to naught. Jagat Singh fortified the fortress of Mau and holed up inside, but every time he had a chance he emerged from his bastion and engaged in battle with imperial troops until his supplies ran low and he had no hope of assistance or reinforcement from the other zamindars. The ennoblement of his younger brother really caused him fear and regret. With no other recourse, he used his influence and

applied to Nurjahan Begam to express his repentance and shame. Through her intercession on his behalf, and in order to please her, his rebellious crimes were pardoned.

On this date reports were received from officials in the Deccan saying that Bedawlat, La'natullah, Darab, and several other broken wings had crossed out of Qutbulmulk's territory in a miserable state and gone in the direction of Orissa and Bengal. During the journey he and his companions had been devastated, and many, despairing of their lives, had taken any opportunity to escape bareheaded and barefoot.

One day Mirza Muhammad, the son of Bedawlat's divan Afzal Khan, fled with his mother and womenfolk during the march. When the news was given to Bedawlat, Sayyid Ja'far, Khan-Quli Uzbek, and several other trusted men were sent in pursuit of them, having been told to bring him in alive if they could, or else to cut off his head and bring it. They set out with all speed and came across him on the road. **[308b]** Having been forewarned, he had taken his mother and women into the forest and hidden them there, and he and a few of the warriors he trusted to go with him put up a brave defense with their bows and arrows. Apparently there was an irrigation canal and a quagmire between the two sides. Sayyid Ja'far wanted to get in close and trick him, but no matter how many threats or promises he made, they had no effect and were answered with arrows. Mirza Muhammad fought really bravely and dispatched Khan-Quli and several others of Bedawlat's men to hell, and Sayyid Ja'far was also wounded. Mirza Muhammad also died of mortal wounds, but as long as he had a breath of life in him he deprived others of life. After he was killed they cut off his head and took it to Bedawlat.

When Bedawlat was defeated near Delhi and went to Mandu, he dispatched Afzal Khan to the Adil Khan and Ambar for assistance and reinforcements, sending an arm band for the Adil Khan and a horse, an elephant, and a jeweled sword for Ambar. He went first to Ambar, and after delivering his message he presented what Bedawlat had sent. Ambar did not accept, saying, "I am a vassal of the Adil Khan. He is the major ruler in the Deccan today. You should go to him first and say what you have to say. If he accepts, I will join him; and in that case I will take whatever has been sent—otherwise, no." Afzal Khan then went to the Adil Khan, who treated him very badly and kept him outside the city for a long time, paying no attention to him and showing him all manner of contempt. Without receiving him, the Adil Khan demanded everything Bedawlat had sent for him and Ambar. Afzal Khan was still there when he received word that his son had been killed and his house destroyed, leaving him devastated.

In short, Bedawlat, in contrast to all the fortune, happy prospects, and luck he had enjoyed previously, now trod a long and distant road and finally reached Machhli Patan,[20] which belongs to Qutbulmulk. Before arriving there he sent one of his men to Qutbulmulk **[309a]** requesting all manner of assistance and equipage. Qutbulmulk sent him a trivial amount of cash and goods for his stay and wrote to his warden of the border to escort him safely out of his territory and to persuade the grain merchants and zamindars to supply his camp with grain and other necessities.

On the twenty-seventh [March 6] a strange event took place. I was returning at night from hunting to the camp. By chance, an irrigation canal that was very rocky and had swift-flowing water had to be crossed. One of the waiters who carry refreshments during the hunt had a golden service consisting of a small tray and five cups with covers. He had put them in a cotton bag and tied the top, and he was carrying it in his hands. As he was crossing the canal, his foot hit a rock, and the bag fell out of his hands. Since the water was deep and flowing very fast, no matter how much they searched and looked for it, they couldn't find a trace. The next day it was reported to

20. Machhli Patan was Masulipatam in British India. The modern name is Machilipatnam in Andhra Pradesh.



DETAIL, CUPBEARER. Folio from a Jahangiri album, attributed to Govardhan. India, Mughal period, ca. 1610. Opaque watercolor on paper, 41 x 23.8 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, from the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase. M.78.9.11

me. I ordered a group of boatmen and scouts to return to the very spot a and make a thorough search. Maybe it could be found. By chance, it was recovered in the very spot it had been dropped. What is even more amazing is that it hadn't been turned upside down, and not a drop of water had gotten into the cups.

This story is similar to the one about when Hadi became caliph. There was a ruby ring Harun [al-Rashid] had inherited from his father. Hadi sent a servant to Harun to ask for the ring. By chance at that time Harun was seated on the bank of the Tigris. When the servant delivered his message, Harun flared up in anger and said, "I let you have the caliphate. You won't let me have one ring!?" And in his anger he hurled the ring into the Tigris. Several months later Hadi died, and the caliphate went to Harun. He ordered divers to go into the Tigris and search in the place he had thrown the ring. By happy chance they found it on the first dive and gave it to Harun.

One day around this time on the hunting ground Imamverdi the head scout spied a quail with a spur on one of its legs but not on the other. **[309b]** Since the mark that distinguishes male from female is this spur, as an experiment he asked me whether it was male or female. I said immediately, "It is female." Then they split open its belly, and several embryonic eggs came out. Those who in attendance asked in disbelief, "How did you know?" "The female's head and beak are smaller than the male's," I said, "and with much observation and perseverance one gets the knack."

It is an amazing thing that in all birds the windpipe, which the Turks call *chanaq*,[21] goes straight from the top of the neck to the crop, while in the bustard, unlike any other bird, there is a single windpipe from the top of the throat for a distance of four fingers, then it splits in two and goes to the crop. At the point at which it forks there is a blockage, like a knot, that can be felt with the hand. In the crane it is even stranger, for its windpipe twists like a snake through the bones of the chest and passes to the root of the tail, and then it turns around and comes back to the throat.

There were thought to be two kinds of bustard, one black and spotted and the other dun colored. Recently it was learned that they are not two types: the spotted black one is male and the dun-colored one is female. The proof was that testicles were found in the spotted one and eggs in the dun-colored one. The experiment was made repeatedly.

Since I am very fond of fish, all sorts of good fish are brought to me. The best fish in Hindustan is the rohu. After that is the *barin*.[22] Both have scales, and they resemble each other in shape and form. Not everyone could easily tell them apart. There is also only a slight difference in their flesh, and only a person with refined taste could discover that the rohu is a little better.

21. Emending the text's *hanaq* (Arabic for throat) with *chanaq* ("originally something like 'a hollow conical object,'" Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 425).

22. The word *barin* has not been located in the dictionaries, and Jahangir has not used it prior to this occurrence.

The Nineteenth Regnal Year: March 9, 1624–March 9, 1625

The Nineteenth Nawroz after the Royal Accession

After the elapse of one watch and two gharis of Wednesday the twenty-ninth of Jumada I 1033 [March 9, 1624], the sun entered Aries, and our worthy servants were honored with increases in rank and promotions. **[310a]** Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan's son Ahsanullah was promoted to the rank of 1000/300. Ahmad Beg Khan Kabuli's son Muhammad Sa'idullah was also promoted to 1000/300. Mir Sharaf, the divan of the imperial workshops, and Khawass Khan were both promoted to the rank of 1000. Sardar Khan came from Kangra and attained the privilege of kissing the ground.

At this time I gave an order to the sergeants and guards that henceforth when I rode or came out of the palace, defective persons like the blind or those whose ears or noses had been cut off, lepers, and those with any sort of disease should not be allowed in my sight.

On the nineteenth [March 27] the celebration of culmination was held. Imamverdi's brother Allahverdi deserted Bedawlat and came to court. He was shown boundless favor.

Since it had been repeatedly reported that Bedawlat had reached the borders of Orissa, I issued an urgent order to Prince [Parvez], Mahabat Khan, and the amirs who had been assigned to reinforce them to satisfy themselves with the arrangements for that souba and go to Allahabad and Bihar. If, by chance, the governor of the souba of Bengal could not stop his advance, he would have to be crushed with the full might of the imperial forces under my son's command.

On the second of Urdibihisht [April 10] I gave my "son" Khan Jahan leave to depart for the capital, Agra, and await further orders there. If there was need for his services and I so commanded, he could do whatever had to be done. I gave him a special robe of honor, a nadiri jacket with pearl buttons, and a special jeweled sword. His son Asalat Khan was also given a horse and a robe of honor.

On this date a report came from Aqidat Khan, the bakhshi of the Deccan, who had written that, as ordered, my fortune-favored son Shah Parvez had married the sister of Raja Gaj Singh. It is hoped that her advent into this family will prove auspicious. It was also reported that Turkman Khan had been summoned from Patan, and Azizullah had been assigned in his stead. Jansipar Khan also came as ordered and paid homage.

When Bedawlat [Shahjahan] took flight from the river at Burhanpur, Mir Husamuddin could not remain in Burhanpur any longer on account of his hideous actions. **[310b]** Taking his children, he set out for exile in the Deccan, to live under the protection of the Adil Khan. As it happened he had to cross near a place where Jansipar Khan learned of him and took a troop to head him off. Seizing him and his

dependents, he took them to Mahabat Khan, who imprisoned him and got a lac of rupees in cash and goods from him by subjecting him to a levy. Jadu Rai and Udai Ram took Bedawlat's elephants he had left in the fortress at Mahur and joined Prince [Parvez]'s retinue.

Qazi Abdul-Aziz had come to the Delhi vicinity to make Bedawlat's demands known, but I had not allowed him to speak and turned him over to Mahabat Khan. After Bedawlat's defeat and devastation, Mahabat Khan made him part of his own retinue. Since he was acquainted of old with the Adil Khan, having been Khan Jahan's agent in Bijapur for several years, at this point Mahabat Khan sent him back to the Adil Khan on a diplomatic mission, and the rulers of the Deccan, willingly or unwillingly as demanded by the time and the turn of events, expressed their subservience and allegiance. The damned Ambar sent one of his trusted men, Ali-Sher by name, to represent his extreme helplessness and obsequiousness. He had written to Mahabat Khan in the manner of an underling, and it was decided that he would go to Dewalgaon and meet with Mahabat Khan. He would also place his eldest son in liege to the state and keep him in my fortune-favored son's service. At the same time a letter from Qazi Abdul-Aziz arrived saying that the Adil Khan had chosen subservience and allegiance in all sincerity and determined to send Mulla Muhammad Lari, who was his agent and spokesman with full discretionary powers, and who was addressed in speaking and writing as "Mulla Baba," with five thousand horsemen to remain in service, and they would arrive shortly.

Since urgent decrees had been issued for my son [Parvez] **[311a]** to set out for Allahabad and Bihar in order to reduce Bedawlat to naught, it was now reported that despite the monsoon and the heaviness of the rains, on the sixth of Farvardin [March 14] my son had marched from Burhanpur with the imperial troops and camped in La'l Bagh. Mahabat Khan remained in Burhanpur until Mulla Muhammad Lari should come, and when he arrived, with his mind at ease concerning the situation in that area, together they would join my fortune-favored son. He had decided that Lashkar Khan, Jadu Rai, Udai Ram, and other servants would go to Balaghat and wait in Zafarnagar. He dispatched Jansipar Khan to his former post. He kept Asad Khan at Elichpur and assigned Shahnawaz Khan's son Minuchihr to Jalnapur.[1] He sent Rizavi Khan to Thanesar to guard the souba of Khandesh.

1. Emending the text's miscopied Janhapur with Jalnapur.

On this date news was received that Lashkari had delivered the decree to the Adil Khan, who had decorated the city and gone out four kos to greet him, receive the decree and robe of honor, and perform the rituals of taslim and prostrations.

On the twenty-first [April 29] I sent robes for my [grand]son Dawarbakhsh, Khan A'zam, and Sayf Khan. I made Mahabat Khan the governor of Lahore, awarded him a robe of honor and an elephant, and gave him leave to depart. His rank was fixed at 4000/4000. Mirza Rustam's son Multafit Khan was promoted to the rank of 1500/300.

One day during a hunt it was reported that a snake with a black hood had swallowed another snake and gone into a hole. I ordered the hole dug away and the snake brought out. Without exaggeration, a hooded snake this large had not been seen before. When its belly was slit open, a hooded snake it had swallowed came out whole. Although it was of a different variety, the difference in size and length was imperceptible.

Around this time a report from a recorder in the Deccan was submitted saying that Mahabat Khan had executed Zahid's son Arif and was holding Zahid and his other two sons in prison. **[311b]** Apparently the murderous wretch had written a letter in his own handwriting to Bedawlat representing his and his father's loyalty, allegiance, regret and shame over what had happened. By chance the letter fell into Mahabat

Khan's hands, and he summoned Arif into his presence and showed him the letter. Since he had as much as written a verdict in his own blood, he couldn't offer an acceptable excuse. Consequently he had been executed, and his father and brothers were imprisoned.

On the first of Khurdad [May 10] it was reported that Shaja'at Khan Arab had died of natural causes in the souba of the Deccan.

Also at this time a report from Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang arrived in which he wrote that Bedawlat had entered the territory of Orissa. The details are as follows. Between the border of Orissa and the Deccan is a barrier with a high mountain on one side and a swampy river on the other. Here the ruler of Golconda has built a barrier and a fortress armed with cannons and muskets. Without permission from Qutbulmulk it is impossible and unimaginable for anyone to pass the barrier. By chance, at this time Ahmad Beg Khan, Ibrahim Khan's nephew, attacked the zamindar of Khurda.[2] The strangest part of this affair is that without having been forewarned he grew perplexed, gave up the mission, and went to the village of Pipli, the seat of the souba. Then, taking his womenfolk along, he went to the station of Cuttack, twelve kos from Pipli in the direction of Bengal. Since there was little time, he didn't have a chance to arrange his troops or affairs and was unprepared for battle with Bedawlat [Shahjahan]. He also was not so secure with his comrades as he should have been. Passing through Cuttack, he came to Burdwan, where Salih, the late Asaf Khan's nephew, was jagirdar. At first Salih thought it preposterous and refused to believe that Bedawlat was coming—until he received a letter from La'natullah trying to win him over. Salih then fortified Burdwan and sat waiting.

Ibrahim Khan was dumbfounded and awestruck to hear this. Although most of his auxiliaries and army were scattered throughout the countryside, he made a brave stance at Akbarnagar, fortifying the stronghold, gathering soldiers, appeasing the chiefs of the tribes and clans, and making ready weapons of war. At this point a letter from Bedawlat reached him. It said: "By divine destiny and fate, that which was undeserved by his state has befallen from the other world through the crooked revolution of time. Although in the view of the manly and brave the vast extent of this world is no more than a playing field, nay it is only a heap of straw, and our intentions are more refined and higher than this, nonetheless since our path has fallen across this earth, one cannot pass perfunctorily. If he [Ibrahim Khan] intends to go to the padishah's court, his honor and ladies will not be harassed, and he may proceed at will. If, however, he considers it prudent to stay, we will bestow upon him any corner of this land he requests." In reply Ibrahim Khan wrote, "His Imperial Majesty has entrusted this region to me: its security will be defended with my life."

2. Khurda per Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (trans. Rogers), 298; text has the miscopied *KRWHH*

Appendix to the *Jahangirnama*: Continuation of the Events of the Nineteenth Year after the Royal Accession, *by Muhammad-Hadi*

When Shahjahan arrived in Burdwan, Salih fortified the citadel and got ready for battle. Abdullah Khan arrived at the foot of the citadel and laid siege. When things got difficult, and there was no hope of assistance or salvation from any direction, there was nothing to do but come out of the citadel and capitulate to Abdullah Khan. His mind at ease concerning the citadel, the khan took Salih to Shahjahan.

After taking Burdwan, they set out for Akbarnagar. Ibrahim Khan first wanted to fortify and defend the fortress at Akbarnagar against siege, but since the fortress there is vast and he did not have sufficient forces to man it, he holed up in Maqbara-i-Pisar, the bastion of which was very strong. Now a group of amirs who were in the vicinity joined him. Shahjahan's forces laid siege to the fortress at Maqbara while Shahjahan lodged himself in the fortress at Akbarnagar, fighting from within and without. At this point Ahmad Beg Khan arrived, which helped morale.

Since his people and household were mostly on the other side of the river, Abdullah Khan sent Darya Khan across the river to the other side. Hearing this, Ibrahim Khan took Ahmad Beg Khan along to the other side, stationing trusted men to guard the fortress. He sent ahead of himself to the other side warships—what the people of India call *nawaras*—in order to block the way and not let the enemy cross. As it happened, before the nawaras arrived, Darya Khan had already crossed the river. Ibrahim Khan sent Ahmad Beg Khan to confront him, and a battle was fought between the two armies on the banks of the river, with large numbers killed on both sides. Ahmad Beg Khan rejoined Ibrahim Khan and informed him of the enemy's domination of the situation. Ibrahim Khan sent someone to bring some warriors from the fortress as reinforcements, and a contingent of warriors got themselves to Ibrahim Khan. Darya Khan, learning of this, pulled back down river several kos. As long as the nawaras were under Ibrahim Khan's control, it was impossible for Shahjahan's forces to cross the Ganges.

At this point a zamindar named Natliya Raja came and said, "If a force is assigned to go with me, I can obtain several boats upstream, near the borders of my territory, and get the forces across." Shahjahan assigned Abdullah Khan fifteen hundred horsemen to cross where the zamindar would show them, attack Ibrahim Khan's camp, and then take his forces guided by Natliya Raja across the river with the speed of the wind and join Darya Khan.

When this news reached Ibrahim Khan, he rushed pell-mell out to enjoin battle, stationing a sayyid named Nurullah, an officer of rank assigned to him, as his vanguard with a thousand horsemen. Ahmad Beg Khan was stationed as reserve with a thousand horsemen, while Ibrahim Khan himself stood in the center with a thousand horsemen. After the two sides clashed and a fierce battle ensued, Abdullah Khan charged the vanguard, routed it, and then enjoined battle with Ahmad Beg Khan, who made a valiant showing but received serious wounds. Seeing this, Ibrahim Khan could not restrain himself and rushed forward as Abdullah Khan charged Ibrahim Khan's troops, who lost their footing and took flight. With this, Ibrahim Khan's forces became disordered, although Ibrahim Khan stood firm with only a few men. No matter how many times his men grabbed his reins to get him out of the fray, he refused to leave, saying, "It is not a manly thing to do. What better fortune than to lose one's life in service to the monarch?" Scarcely were the words out of his mouth when an attack was mounted from all sides and he was killed with multiple wounds. A man named Nazar Beg, a liege man of Abdullah's, brought the news of Ibrahim Khan's death, and his severed head was sent to Shahjahan. Those who were holed up in the Maqbara bastion lost heart when they learned of his death.

At this point Rumi Khan the tunnel-digger, having made it to the foot of the stronghold, lit explosives and blew up a forty-cubit section of the wall. The fortress was taken, and those who escaped threw themselves into the river. Had a boat been available, they would have been attacked and drowned. Those who were encumbered by families went out and were encountered. Mirak Jalayir, one of those responsible for the souba, was captured. Abid Khan the divan, Sharif Khan the bakhshi, Sayyid Abdul-Salam Barha, Hasan Beg Badakhshi, and several of Shahjahan's other companions lost their lives.

When Ahmad Beg Khan emerged from the battlefield with a group of officers of rank from the souba, they headed for Dacca, the capital of Bengal, where Ibrahim Khan's family, household, and property were. When he arrived in Dacca, Ahmad Beg Khan and the others, like it or not, paid homage. Four lacs of rupees in cash from Ibrahim Khan's property and five lacs of rupees in goods belonging to Mirak Jalayir and others were confiscated. Five hundred elephants and four hundred ghunt ponies, which are raised in that province, were also taken in booty. Vast amounts of textiles and goods were confiscated, and a fleet and an arsenal that would do justice to a mighty monarch fell into their hands.

[Shahjahan] gave Abdullah Khan three lacs of rupees, Raja Bhim two lacs, Darya Khan one lac, Wazir Khan fifty thousand rupees, Shaja'at Khan fifty thousand rupees, Muhammad-Taqi fifty thousand, and Bayram Beg fifty thousand. Others were also given greater and lesser rewards according to their ranks.

When he had finished consolidating the region, he released the Khankhanan's son Darab Khan, who was still in chains, had him take an oath, and assigned him as governor of Bengal. His wife was taken away along with one daughter and one son of Shahnawaz Khan, as Shahjahan set out to subjugate Bihar. The Rana's son Raja Bhim, who had chosen to separate himself from the prince's service during the chaos, was sent ahead with a vanguard troop to Patna.

Patna was in Prince Parvez's jagir, and he had stationed his divan Mukhlis Khan to guard and protect the area, with Iftikhar Khan's son Allahyar and Sher Khan Afghan as garrison commanders. Their courage failed them before Raja Bhim arrived, and they did not reinforce the fortress at Patna, but instead, they wasted the few days they had before the arrival of the army and raced to Allahabad. Bhim entered the city

of Patna and took it over. Several days later Shahjahan arrived in Bengal with many reinforcements, and a large number of officials and jagirdars in Bihar decided to join him. From the surrounding areas five or six thousand horsemen came and joined.

Sayyid Mubarak was castellan of the Rohtas fortress. Despite the strength of the well-stocked fortress, he surrendered it. The zamindar of Ujjaina and other zamindars of the area willingly joined up. Abdullah Khan and Raja Bhim were sent as a vanguard to Allahabad, Darya Khan was dispatched with a troop to Manikpur, and Shahjahan himself set out in his wake. When Abdullah Khan reached the crossing at Chausapur [?], Khan A'zam's son Jahangir-Quli Khan, who held the governorship of Jaunpur, went to Mirza Rustam in Allahabad. Abdullah Khan set out in pursuit and camped in the town of Jhusi, which is situated on the banks of the Ganges opposite Allahabad. Bhim camped five kos away from Allahabad. Shahjahan arrived in Jaunpur and camped. By pounding with cannon and gunfire Abdullah Khan crossed the river with the great fleet he had, stopped above Allahabad, and laid siege. Holed up in the fortress, Mirza Rustam began his defense as screams of death-dealing arrows and gunfire whistled in the ears of warriors and great chaos befell the land.

Conditions in the Deccan

Let us now turn the reins of the steed of the narrative toward the Deccan. It has been reported previously that Ambar the Abyssinian had sent his representative Ali-Sher to Mahabat Khan to plead his abject misery in hopes that the affairs of the Deccan would be placed in his hands. Since he was in strife and contention with the Adil Khan, he entertained hopes that he would prevail with the assistance of the servants of the imperial court. The Adil Khan was likewise striving to repel Ambar in order that the rule of the souba would be given to him. In the end the Adil Khan's spell worked, and Mahabat Khan threw over Ambar and took the Adil Khan's part. Since Ambar was on the road, Mulla Muhammad Lari, the Adil Khan's representative, was worried about him, so Mahabat Khan assigned a troop from the imperial army to go to Balaghat and escort Mulla Muhammad to Burhanpur. Hearing of this, Ambar fell into fear and trepidation, came out of Kharki with Nizamulmulk, and headed for Kandahar, which lies on the frontier of Golconda. Stationing his sons with his baggage at the top of Daulatabad fortress, he abandoned Kharki and let it be known that he was going to Qutbulmulk's border to collect the tribute he was owed.

In short, when Mulla Muhammad Lari reached Burhanpur, Mahabat Khan went out to Shahpur to welcome him warmly, and from there they proceeded together to pay homage to Shah Parvez. Sarbulandi Rai was stationed as governor and protector of Burhanpur, and Jadu Rai and Udai Ram were assigned to reinforce him. As a precautionary measure, the former's sons and the latter's brothers were seized. When Mulla Muhammad joined the prince's service, it was decided that he would stay in Burhanpur with five thousand horsemen and see to the administration together with Sarbulandi Rai. His son Aminuddin would go to the prince's service with a thousand horsemen. With this arrangement the prince dismissed him and gave him a jeweled sword, a horse, and an elephant, and he awarded his son Muhammad-Amin a robe of honor, a horse, an elephant, and fifty thousand rupees to help with expenses and took him along. For his own part Mahabat Khan made a gift of 110 horses and elephants, seventy thousand rupees in cash, and 110 trays of textiles to Mulla Muhammad and his son and son-in-law.

Jahangir's Retinue Arrives in Kashmir

On the nineteenth of Khurdad [circa May 29] His Imperial Majesty [Jahangir] arrived in Kashmir. I'tiqad Khan presented the rarities of Kashmir he had collected over a period of time.

At this point it was reported to the emperor that Yalangtösh the Uzbek, Nazr-Muhammad Khan's commander-in-chief, had raided the Kabul and Ghazni vicinity, and Mahabat Khan's son Khanazad Khan and the amirs who had been assigned to reinforce him had gone out of the city and fought in defense. Ghazi Beg, an intimate servant, was sent by post to learn the truth of the affair and report back to the emperor.

By chance, Abdul-Aziz Khan had surrendered to Shah Abbas the fortress of Kandahar because reinforcements had not arrived, and this weighed heavily on the emperor's mind.

At this point a khwaja named Sayyidu was put on a ship in the port of Surat to be sent to Mecca. Afterward it was ordered that he be turned loose, but the poor fellow was killed along the way. The khwaja was cheerful, good-natured, and unpretentious. May his sins be forgiven.

The Death of Aram Banu Begam

On the seventh of Tir [circa June 17] the emperor's sister Aram Banu Begam passed away of dysentery. His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar] had loved her very much. She died at the age of forty in the state in which she came into the world.

The Uzbeks are Defeated in Ghazni

On this date it was learned from Ghazi Beg's report that Yalangtösh had built a fortress in the village of Sawar, a dependency of Ghazni, and stationed his nephew there with a troop in order to consolidate the Hazara tribes, whose territory was in the Ghazni vicinity and who had paid tribute of old to the governor of Ghazni. The chiefs of the Hazara tribes had gone to Khanazad Khan to request assistance, saying, "We are long-time subjects and payers of tribute to the governor of Kabul. Yalangtösh wants to make us subject to himself by force. If you will remove the menace he poses to us, we will become your obedient subjects as before. Otherwise, we will be forced to apply to him to protect ourselves from the oppression of the Uzbeks." Khanazad Khan sent a troop to help the Hazaras, and it was met by Yalangtösh's nephew, who was killed during the ensuing fray. The imperial army reduced the fortress to the ground, returning in victory and triumph.

When he heard the news, Yalangtösh was mortified by his action and begged Nazr-Muhammad Khan, the brother of Imam-Quli Khan the ruler of Turan, for permission to raid the frontier of Kabul to allow him to make up for his shame. In the beginning Nazr-Muhammad Khan, his ataliq, and the chiefs of the army did not give their approval for this daring adventure, but after much insistence he obtained permission and set out in this direction with ten thousand Uzbek and Almanji horsemen. Hearing this, Khanazad Khan summoned the men who were manning the outposts and started making preparations for battle.

When the champions of the field of valor camped in the village of Sherghar, ten kos from Ghazni, they arrayed their ranks, put on their armor, and started forth. Khanazad Khan took up his position in the center with a group of his father's officers and stationed Mubariz Khan Afghan, Ani Rai Singhdalan, Sayyid Hajji, and other

warriors in the vanguard. He likewise arrayed the right and left wings and the reserve and asked God for victory.

It has already been mentioned that the Uzbeks were camped three kos away from Ghazni. It now occurred to the imperials that the two sides might clash the next day. By chance, as soon as they traversed the three kos from Sherghar, the Uzbek forward guards came into view, and the forward guards of the imperial army enjoined battle while the imperial soldiers began a bombardment and marched slowly forward at a measured pace with a superb arsenal and mountainous elephants.

By chance, Yalangtösh was lurking behind Barghanchi Hill, intending to spring out and ambush the imperial troops when they arrived tired and exhausted from the road. Mubariz Khan, the leader of the reconnoitering contingent, spied the foe and sent a troop to reinforce the vanguard. The enemy also sent a message to Yalangtösh and warned him of the approach of the imperial forces. As the opposing army appeared one kos away, the foe assigned his men to troops and stationed one troop to face the imperial forward detachment while he himself stood a musket-ball shot away, reins checked.

Since the enemy troop in ambush was larger than the forward detachment, the warriors of the center rushed forward to assist them, firing bombs, rockets, cannons, and muskets. Behind them the war elephants were driven forward into action, and the battle became pitched. At this point Yalangtösh advanced to help, but even so nothing could be done. His forces lost courage, and the champions of the field of valor outdid themselves in showing their mettle by wiping out the opposition, binding captives, charging, and unhorsing. Their opponents could offer no resistance and turned their reins in retreat as the lions of the forest of valor chased the hapless defeated to the fortress at Jama, six kos from the field of battle, striking them down and killing them during the pursuit. Nearly three hundred Uzbeks were slain, and a thousand horses and many weapons dropped by the enemy along the way fell into the soldiers' hands. By God's grace it was a stunning victory.

When this wonderful news was heard, the emperor rewarded his servants who had performed outstandingly in the battle with increases in rank and all sorts of favor in proportion to their stations.

Yalangtösh is an Uzbek. His name was Hasti. *Yalang* means naked, and *tösh* means breast. It seems he charged bare-breasted in a battle, for from that day he was called Yalangtösh. He used to live mostly between Kandahar and Ghazni. Since he repeatedly went to Khurasan, undertaking military actions there, one can assume that Shah Abbas took some account of him.

The Khankhanan's Slave Fahim is Killed

Around the same time, a report was received from Fazil Khan, the reporter of the Deccan, saying that when Mulla Muhammad Lari went to Burhanpur and the imperial supporters' minds were at ease concerning the administration of the Deccan, Prince Parvez set out with Mahabat Khan and the other amirs for Bihar and Bengal. Since, however, the prince had some misgivings concerning the Khankhanan's mischief, and the Khankhanan's son Darab Khan was with Shahjahan, with the approval of the imperial advisers he kept the Khankhanan under constant watch. It was ordered that a tent be pitched for him next to the prince's tent, and Janan Begam, his daughter who had been married to Prince Danyal and who was the Khankhanan's star pupil, lived with her father while a group of trusted men kept watch at the entrance.

A group of guards was sent to the Khankhanan's tent to confiscate his possessions

and was about to arrest Fahim, the Khankhanan's slave. Fahim was one of the Khankhanan's chief men and combined bravery with experience; he refused to give himself up without a fight to anyone, made a valiant stance along with his son and several liege men, and sacrificed himself to honor. During all this, Afzal Khan, Shahjahan's divan who had remained in Bijapur, went to court, obtained an interview, and was showered with regal favor.

The Battle between Prince Parvez and Shahjahan

At the same time, news was received of a battle between the princes. The details are as follows. When Sultan Parvez and Mahabat Khan reached the vicinity of Allahabad, Abdullah Khan gave up his siege of the fortress and pulled back to Jhusi. Since Darya Khan and a contingent of soldiers had fortified the banks of the river and drawn all the boats over to their side, the crossing of the imperial forces was delayed for several days. Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan camped on the banks of the river, and Darya Khan took control of the crossings until the zamindars of Jais,[1] who were of major importance in the region, brought thirty boats from the surrounding areas and got them across several kos upstream. By the time Darya Khan learned of this and turned his attention to dealing with them, the imperial army had already crossed. Consequently Darya Khan, not considering it wise to remain where he was, went to Jaunpur. Abdullah Khan and Raja Bhim also set out for Jaunpur at his suggestion and requested a removal to Benares. Shahjahan sent the womenfolk of his harem to the fortress at Rohtas and went himself to Benares. Abdullah Khan, Raja Bhim, and Darya Khan joined the camp. Shahjahan arrived in Benares, crossed the Ganges, and camped on the edge of the River Tons. Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan arrived in Dumduma, stationed Aqa-Muhammad Tihrani there with a contingent, crossed the Ganges, and were about to cross the Tons. Bayram Beg, entitled Khan Dawran, crossed the Ganges at Shahjahan's order and set out to encounter Aqa Muhammad-Zaman, who went to Jhusi. Four days later Khan Dawran arrived with all arrogance. Aqa Muhammad-Zaman went out to encounter him, making a huge gain and a stunning victory in the battle that ensued. After the defeat of his troops, Khan Dawran stayed in the place of battle, making raids in all directions until he got himself killed. His head was sent to Prince Parvez's court and was displayed on a lance.

1. Reading *JYS* (Jais) for the misdotted *HYS* of the text.

Rustam Khan, a former liege man of Shahjahan's, had taken flight and joined Prince Parvez. "It is well," he said, "that the ingrate was killed." Khan A'zam's son Jahangir-Quli Khan was present and said, "He cannot be called an ingrate or a rebel. There is no greater gratitude than that a man lay down his life for his master. See even now his head is the highest of all." In short, after the death of Khan Dawran, Prince Parvez was extremely happy and rewarded Aqa Muhammad-Zaman.

After this event, Shahjahan took counsel with his commanders. Most of his supporters, particularly Raja Bhim, thought it best to do battle. But Abdullah Khan, who was absolutely opposed to the idea, said, "Since the imperial army is greater than ours in terms of both quality and quantity, they being nearly forty thousand horsemen and foot soldiers, while the princely army of liege men both old and new does not number more than seven thousand cavalry, in view of the times it would be prudent to leave the Jahangirid army here in this land and get ourselves to the Delhi region via Oudh and Lucknow. When they get near us there with all their numbers, we can head for the Deccan. The imperial army with all its multitudes and paraphernalia will be incapable of moving and will sue for a truce. If peace cannot be made, then we will have to do whatever is required by circumstances."

Shahjahan, too zealous and too much of a warrior to listen to such words, decided on battle, and with this resolve in mind he set forth and arrayed his forces. He himself was in the center; in the right wing was Abdullah Khan, and in the left wing was Nusrat Khan. In the vanguard was Raja Bhim, and to the raja's right was Darya Khan with a band of Afghans, and to his left was Bihari Singh and Bir Singh Deo's other sons. In the altmïsh were Shaja'at Khan and Sher Bahadur (entitled Sher Khwaja); and Rumi Khan, the chief of artillery, drove the arsenal forward.

At the same time Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan arrayed their ranks for battle and moved out into the field. The imperial army was so numerous that they could have swallowed up three of Shahjahan's armies. Rumi Khan, the head of artillery, took his arsenal forward and set off maybe a thousand cannon balls. A strange thing is that none of the balls hit anyone but lay hot where they were. Since the distance between the arsenal and Shahjahan's vanguard was great, the imperial vanguard charged the arsenal with impunity, defeated the men of the arsenal, who could offer little resistance, and the arsenal fell into the hands of the imperials.

Seeing this, Darya Khan Afghan, who was on the right side of the vanguard, took flight without doing battle; and when he retreated the forces of the left side of the vanguard also fell to pieces. Without making an adequate appraisal of the multitude of his opponents, Raja Bhim charged with a few of his veteran Rajputs, made it to the center of the imperial army, and fought with glistening sword. An elephant named Jitajot that was out in front fell from musket and arrow wounds it had received, but the lion of the thicket of courage and bravery maintained his ground with his devoted Rajputs and fought bravely and audaciously. The outstanding warriors and battle-tried soldiers who were around Sultan Parvez and Mahabat Khan attacked from all directions and brought down [Raja Bhim] into the dust of annihilation with pitiless swords. As long as he had a breath of life left he fought on. Bhim Rathor, Prithi Raj, Akai Raj Rathor, and several other battle-loving opponents were wounded in the field.

With Raja Bhim's death and the rout of the vanguard, Shaja'at Khan, the leader of the altmïsh, was also driven into retreat. Sher Khwaja, the commander of the troop, held his ground, but he was killed. With the vanguard and the altmïsh out of action, the battle reached the center. The left wing, commanded by Nusrat Khan, could not face the opposition and crumbled. Shahjahan and Abdullah Khan, who was in the right wing, and also a group who could not have numbered more than five hundred horsemen kept up a defense and urged the warriors on until most were killed or wounded. Aside from the elephants, the standards, the tugh, the royal armory, and Abdullah, who was standing a short distance away to the right, nothing could be seen. Just then a musket ball hit [Shahjahan] in the forehead, but God spared him. Shaykh Tajuddin, one of the successors to Khwaja Baqi who was with Shahjahan during the battle, was struck in the cheek by a musket ball, and his face was torn away.

At this point Shahjahan sent Yusuf Khan to Abdullah Khan with a message saying, "Things are at a critical point, and it would be appropriate, in view of the situation and our station, for us to put our trust in divine grace and attack the imperial center with the few forces we have left. Whatever will be, will be." Abdullah Khan went himself and said, "It is too late for attacks and parries to be of any use. Such maneuvers are futile and counter-tactical. At the beginning of their struggles such things often happened to rulers of the past—like Amir Temür Sahib-Qiran and His Majesty Babur Padishah, as well as to most would-be conquerors. In such a case they made the most of their situation and retreated from the battlefield, giving no satisfaction to the enemy, and by so doing they attained fortune."

A group of devoted servants who were in the retinue boldly grabbed the prince's reins and led him from the field as the imperial army entered the prince's camp and began to loot and plunder. Reckoning this much as a sufficient gain, they did not go out in pursuit. After four marches Shahjahan camped in the Rohtas fortress, where he remained for three days, reassuring himself that the necessary defenses were in place. Sultan Muradbakhsh had only recently been born,[2] so [Shahjahan] left him there with his nurses and set out with the other princes and the women of the harem for Patna and Bihar.

2. He had actually been born five years earlier in 1619, but the text puts it this way.

When this news reached the emperor's hearing, he gave Mahabat Khan the title of Khankhanan Sipahsalar, increased his rank to 7000/7000 duaspa-seaspa, and awarded him a tugh in addition.

❁ *Conditions in the Deccan*

Now a summary of conditions in the Deccan will be given. When Malik Ambar went to the frontier of Qutbulmulk's territory, he demanded payment of the agreed amount he took every year to be spent on the army but that had fallen into abeyance for two years. Having reassured himself on that front with oaths and pacts, he went to the frontier of the province of Bidar.[3] Finding the Adil Khan's men who were stationed to protect the region unprepared, he took them by surprise, plundered Bidar, and then set out to attack the Adil Khan with a large force and abundant provisions.

3. Reading *BYDR* (Bidar) for the text's misdotted *bndr*.

Since the Adil Khan had sent most of his experienced warriors and good commanders to Burhanpur with Mulla Muhammad Lari and did not have a sufficient force to repel Malik Ambar's onslaught, he thought it best to preserve himself and holed up in the fortress at Bijapur. After fortifying the towers and ramparts and laying in supplies, he sent a messenger to summon Mulla Muhammad Lari and the army that was with him in Burhanpur. He also wrote with great insistence to the officials in that souba, saying, "The truth of my loyalty and support is clear and well known to all imperial supporters, and I reckon myself among those who belong to that court. Now that the ingrate Ambar has been so bold with me, I expect all imperial supporters to come with the armies in the souba to help me so that we may remove this meddling slave and give him what he deserves."

When Mahabat Khan set out for Allahabad with Prince Parvez, he stationed Sarbulandi Rai as governor of Burhanpur and insisted that he act in all matters large and small in accordance with Mulla Muhammad Lari's approval and that in administering the affairs of the Deccan he should not deviate from what he thought best. When Mulla Muhammad got to work seriously and gave three lacs of *buns*, which is equivalent to nearly twelve lacs of rupees, to the officials in charge of equipping the army, and when the Adil Khan's letters for help reached Mahabat Khan, he wrote to the officials of the Deccan that they should hasten without hesitation or delay with Mulla Muhammad to assist the Adil Khan. There was nothing Sarbulandi Rai could do but remain a little while in Burhanpur. With Mulla Muhammad Lari to reinforce the Adil Khan and reduce Ambar to naught went Lashkar Khan, Mirza Minuchihr, Khanjar Khan the governor of Ahmadnagar, Jansipar Khan the governor of Bir, Rizavi Khan, Turkman Khan, Aqidat Khan the bakhshi, Asad Khan, Azizullah, Jadu Rai, Udai Ram, and the rest of the amirs and officers who had been assigned to the Deccan.

When Ambar learned of this, he too sent letters to the servants of the court, saying, "I am a slave of the court. No offense or affront has been committed by me against the 'dogs of that majestic threshold.' For what fault or offense are they trying to reduce me to naught? By the Adil Khan's motivation and Mulla Muhammad's instigation they

are coming to attack me. There is a disagreement between the Adil Khan and me concerning land that used to belong to Nizamulmulk but has been taken over by the Adil Khan. If he is a servant of the court, so am I. Leave me to him and him to me so that whatever God wills may come to pass. Let them pay no attention to what he says and remove themselves march by march back in the other direction."

The more Malik Ambar insisted and pleaded, the more they pressed. Finally there was nothing he could do but withdraw from Bijapur and return to his own land. After the [imperial] forces drew near, Ambar stalled for time and spent his days holding them at bay and trying to forestall battle. Mulla Muhammad Lari and the imperial forces kept the pressure up and did not give Ambar a chance to succeed. The more he cowered and pleaded, the more they attributed it to his weakness and increased the pressure. When he had his back to the wall and had been forced into desperation, one day when the imperial soldiers were off their guard, thinking that he wouldn't do battle, the Bargis appeared from afar. Some thought they had given up battle and had come out trying to get away. At this point they attacked the Adil Khan's men, and battle erupted between the Adilkhanis and Ambar's men. As destiny would have it, Mulla Muhammad, the leader of the army, was killed. When this happened, the Adil Khan's forces lost their order, and Jadu Rai and Udai Ram did not enter the battle but took flight. Informed of the situation, Ambar took full advantage to inflict a crushing defeat on the Adil Khan's army. Ikhlas Khan and twenty-five other commanders of the Adil Khan's army, major pillars of his state, were captured. One of them, Farhad Khan, for whose blood Ambar was thirsty, was put to the sword, and the others were imprisoned. Of the imperial amirs, Lashkar Khan, Mirza Minuchihr, and Aqidat Khan were captured.

Khanjar Khan raced to Ahmadnagar to fortify the fortress. Jansipar Khan also retreated to his jagir at Bir and fortified the bastion there. Of another group who escaped the brink of death during battle, some got themselves to Ahmadnagar while others hastened to Burhanpur. When Ambar had attained his object, surpassing his wildest dreams, he had the captives sent in chains to Daulatabad, and he himself went to lay siege to Ahmadnagar. However, try as he might, he couldn't get anywhere. Unsuccessful, he stationed a troop around the fortress and headed for Bijapur. Once again the Adil Khan holed up in his stronghold as Ambar took control of all his territory along with the frontiers in Balaghat that belonged to the empire.

Then, having mustered a considerable force, he besieged the fortress at Sholapur, over which there had been constant contention between Nizamulmulk and the Adil Khan. He dispatched Yaqut Khan at the head of a troop against Burhanpur, and brought the cannon Malik-i-Maydan from Daulatabad and began pounding the Sholapur fortress with it day and night until it was reduced. Report of all this caused great distress to the emperor.

Concurrently a letter from Nazr-Muhammad, the ruler of Balkh, was shown to the emperor. In brief the contents said: "This supplicant considers His Majesty to be like a father and patron. Yalangtösh has committed an outrage without my permission. Thank God, he has received a suitable reproof. However, since the dust of contention has arisen between the Kabul army and the Balkh forces, it is hoped that Khanazad Khan will be removed as governor of Kabul and another appointed in his stead." Inasmuch as generosity[4] is a commendable practice, that souba was assigned to Madarulmahammi Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan,[5] and the khwaja's son Ahsanullah was appointed as his father's agent to go as governor and protector. An order was issued for

4. Reading *bakhshish* (generosity) for the text's nonsensical *MNJShY*.

5. The sobriquet Madarulmahammi means "axis of missions."

five thousand of the khwaja's suwar rank to be paid as duaspa-seaspa. Ahsanullah was promoted to the rank of 1500/800 and awarded the title of Zafar Khan and a banner. A robe of honor, a sword, a dagger, and an elephant were also given to him. Khanazad Khan was ordered to come to court.

Return from Kashmir to Lahore

When winter began and the delights of Kashmir came to an end, on the twenty-fifth of Shahrivar [circa September 5] the imperial banners were raised in the direction of Lahore, and the emperor dismounted in that felicitous city at an auspicious hour. At that time Sadiq Khan was dismissed from the governorship of the Punjab, and it was awarded to Ruknussaltana Asaf Khan.[6]

Around this time the emperor went to Haran Manara,[7] an imperial hunting ground. On this date Khanazad Khan arrived from Kabul and attained the felicity of kissing the ground before the throne. When the emperor had enough of hunting, he returned to Lahore.

At this time a report arrived from Mahabat Khan. He had written that Shahjahan had left Patna and Bihar and entered Bengal. Shah Parvez had joined the imperial forces in Bihar.

The Downfall of Darab Khan

In past pages it has been reported that Shahjahan had made the Khankhanan's son Darab Khan take an oath and stationed him as governor and protector of Bengal, although [Shahjahan] had taken his wife, one of his sons, and one of his nieces as a precautionary measure. After the Battle of the Tons, Shahjahan left Darab Khan's wife in the Rohtas fortress and wrote to Darab Khan telling him to come pay homage in Gadhi. Darab Khan was so devious and evil-natured that he took this in a different light and wrote, saying, "The zamindars have conspired together and are holding me under siege. I am therefore unable to come."

When Shahjahan despaired of Darab Khan's coming, and there were no forces left who were capable of action, there was nothing he could do, given his distressed state of mind, but turn over Darab Khan's son to Abdullah Khan and return with the workshops along the route by which he had come from the Deccan. Having taken such an outrageous action, Darab Khan damned himself for all eternity, and Abdullah Khan put Darab's young son to death.

Prince Parvez placed the souba of Bengal in fief to Mahabat Khan and turned back, ordering the zamindars there who were holding Darab Khan under siege to release him and send him to court. He did come and see Mahabat Khan, and when the news of Darab's capitulation reached the emperor, an order was issued to Mahabat Khan, saying, "What is the sense in keeping this wretch alive? As soon as this imperial decree arrives, send the head of that ill-starred wanderer in the valley of perdition to court." In short, Mahabat Khan did as he had been ordered, separating Darab Khan's head from his body and sending it to court.

At this point the emperor awarded Khanazad Khan a royal robe of honor, a jeweled dagger with a phul-katara, and a royal horse and sent him as governor of Bengal. At the same time an imperial decree was issued summoning Abdul-Rahim, who had previously been entitled Khankhanan.

Since great chaos had erupted in the Deccan, and a group of imperial nobles had

6. For the sobriquet Ruknusssaltana, see note 1, page 377.

7. Haran Manara ("Antelope Tower") must refer to the tower erected over the grave of the antelope Hansraj at Jahangirpur (page 69).

been taken captive and were being held in Daulatabad fortress, and Shahjahan had turned from Bengal back toward the Deccan, Mukhlis Khan was dispatched in all haste to Prince Parvez to act as a herald and escort him and the great amirs to the Deccan. Concurrently Qasim Khan was made governor and protector of Agra with the dismissal of Muqarrab Khan.

On this date a report came from Asad Khan, the bakhshi of the Deccan, in Burhanpur. He had written that Yaqut Khan the Abyssinian and ten thousand horsemen had arrived in Malkapur, twenty kos distant from the city [of Burhanpur]. Although Sarbulandi Rai had gone out of the city intending to do battle, a strongly worded order had been sent telling him not to do anything hasty until reinforcements arrived but rather to see to the fortification of the towers and hole up in the city.

❁ *The Imperial Retinue Sets out in the Direction of Kashmir to Tour the Mountains*

In the middle of Isfand 1034 [February 25, 1625] the imperial banners were raised, as usual, and pointed in the direction of Kashmir.

Among the events that took place at the beginning of this year was that Shahjahan arrived in the Deccan, and Ambar put himself in his service and sent, as a show of support, a troop led by Yaqut Khan the Abyssinian to attack and raid the environs of Burhanpur. He had written to Shahjahan telling him to move quickly in that direction. Setting out for there, Shahjahan camped in Dewalgaon.

❁ *Shah-Quli Khan's Outstanding Action*

Shahjahan assigned a contingent to Abdullah Khan and Taqi, entitled Shah-Quli Khan, to lay siege to Burhanpur in concert with Yaqut Khan and do all they could to take the fortress. Shortly thereafter he set out himself and camped in La'l Bagh in the outskirts. Rao Ratan [Sarbulandi Rai] and other imperial servants who were in the fortress raised the defenses of the city and citadel and got ready for a siege. Shahjahan ordered Abdullah Khan to attack the fortress from one direction and Shah-Quli Khan from the other. By chance, the foe attacked the side where Abdullah Khan was, and a pitched battle broke out. Shah-Quli Khan and the valiant Fidai Khan broke down the fortress wall, took out the opposing force, and entered the stronghold.

Sarbulandi Rai stationed a group of his experienced warriors opposite Abdullah Khan, while attacking Shah-Quli Khan himself. Since most of his hired liege men had dispersed in the lanes and markets, Shah-Quli Khan stood his ground with only a few men in front of the citadel and fought until the men who were with him were killed. Entering the citadel, he closed the fortress gate, but Sarbulandi Rai held him under close siege until Shah-Quli Khan was reduced to capitulating with a promise of quarter.

When this news reached Shahjahan, he arrayed his forces once again and ordered an attack. No matter how hard the self-sacrificing warriors endeavored and tried, it was useless. Well-known men like Shah Beg Khan, Tirandaz Khan, and Sayyid Shah-Muhammad lost their lives. A third time Shahjahan mounted and launched an attack. From all sides champions of the field and fortress-taking warriors gave their all. Of the notables inside the fortress, Lodi Khan and a group of his brothers, Lashkar Khan's son-in-law Baba Mirak, and many of Rao Ratan's Rajputs fell to the sword.

At this point, with the beleaguered so hard pressed, by chance a musket ball struck Sayyid Ja'far in the neck, forcing him to retreat. Once he turned his reins, all the Deccanis fell pell-mell into rout, taking many of the fainthearted with them. At the

same time news arrived that Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan Khankhanan had turned back from Bengal with the imperial army and had reached the Narbada River.

There was nothing Shahjahan could do but withdraw to the vast expanses of Balaghat. Now Abdullah Khan chose to separate himself from Shahjahan and sit in the village of Indur. At the same time Nusrat Khan also deserted and joined Nizamulmulk.

The Death of Khan A'zam

Among the events [of this year] is the passing away of Khan A'zam, the son of Mirza Aziz Kükältash. His father was a noble of Ghazni, and his mother nursed His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani. In recognition of this relationship His Majesty made Mirza Aziz one of the greatest amirs and tolerated the most astonishing pettiness from him and his sons. In the fields of biography and history he was perfectly knowledgeable, and he was without peer in writing and composition. He wrote the *nasta'liq* hand beautifully. He was a pupil of Mulla Mir Ali's son Mirza Baqir. Along with other talented individuals, the products of his pen were no less than the calligraphy of famous masters. He was superb in the writing of petitions and without equal in recounting anecdotes and having a good poetic ability. He constantly composed poetry. The following quatrain is by him: "Love came and strengthened me with madness. / It released me from companionship with the sane. / I was freed from the strictures of religion and learning / The moment I was captured by the chains of someone's locks."

Khan A'zam's death occurred in Ahmadabad in Gujarat. His body was brought to Delhi and laid to rest next to the shrine of Nizamuddin, near his father's grave. When Khan A'zam passed away, Dawarbakhsh was summoned to the emperor's presence, and Khan Jahan was made governor of Gujarat and ordered to proceed to Ahmadabad to protect that territory.

The Events of the Twentieth Year after the Royal Accession, *by Muhammad-Hadi*: March 10, 1625–March 10, 1626

On Thursday the tenth of Jumada II 1034 [March 10, 1625], the world-illuminating sun entered the constellation Aries, and the twentieth year after the royal accession commenced.

At the foot of Mount Bhaner the emperor enjoyed hunting, shooting 151 mountain rams with musket. The celebration of culmination was held at the station of Jangirhati. From Bhaner to this station His Majesty enjoyed seeing superb groves of redbud trees, and since at this season the Pir Panjal Pass is full of snow and it is extremely difficult—nay, impossible—for a mounted rider to get through, the imperial retinue went via the Punch Pass. In those hills oranges grow, remaining on the trees for two and three years. It was heard from the zamindars there that one tree produced nearly nine thousand oranges.

At this point Asaf Khan's son Abutalib was given leave to take up the governorship of Lahore in his father's stead. Sardar Khan's son Sayyid Ashiq was assigned to the hill country in the north of the Punjab, control of which was his father's responsibility. Awarded the title of Kamgar, he was promoted to the rank of 400/150.

On Friday the twenty-ninth [April 7] camp was made at the station of Nurabad on the banks of the Bahat River. Since from the Bahat ghat to Kashmir, just as along the Pir Panjal route, rest houses had been constructed station by station, there was no necessity for tents or any of the furnishings of the textile department. However, due to the snow, rain, and bitter cold, the imperial camp suffered hardship getting through the difficult passes.

Along the way a beautiful waterfall was spotted, perhaps more beautiful than any other. It was fifty cubits high, and the area it spilled over was four cubits wide. The officials of the way stations constructed a fine platform opposite, and His Majesty sat for a while and drank several cups, delighting his eye and heart with the sight. It was ordered that the date of the imperial army's passage be inscribed on a stone tablet as a memento to time. At this station tulips, lilies, redbud blossoms, and blue jasmine were brought from Kashmir.

On Monday the first of Urdibihisht [April 10], the town of Baramula, one of the large towns of Kashmir, was decorated for the imperial arrival. The people of the town, learned men, spiritual leaders, merchants, and all other classes, came out in droves to greet him and attain the felicity of kissing the ground. During these two stages of the journey fields of beautiful blossoms were regarded. His Majesty's servants and all the amirs got into boats to proceed to the city.

At an auspicious hour on Tuesday the eighteenth [April 27] the imperial retinue descended in the pleasant palace in the happy vale of Kashmir. Although it was the end of the blossom season in the Nur Manzil garden on the palace grounds, the blue jasmine filled the nostrils with perfume, and outside the city many varieties of beautiful blooms could be seen.

An Experiment with Saffron

Since in medical writings and books of medicine, particularly the *Zakhira-i-shahanshahi*,[1] it is recorded that eating saffron makes one laugh, and that if one eats too much it will make one laugh so much that there is danger of death. As an experiment, His Imperial Majesty summoned a convicted criminal from prison and had him eat in his presence a quarter seer of saffron, which is equivalent to forty mithcals. There was absolutely no change in him. The next day he was fed double that amount, i.e. eighty mithcals. His lips did not crack a smile, not to mention a laugh—how then could he have died of laughter?

1. The work to which he refers is probably the *Zakhira-i Khwarazmshahi*, a thesaurus of medicine by Zaynuddin Isma'il Jurjani (d. ca. 1136).

At this time the wardenship of the Kangra fortress was transferred to Ani Rai Singhdalan, and Dawarbakhsh came to court from Gujarat.

The Death of Sardar Khan

Also during these days Sardar Khan's constitution deviated from equilibrium and he was afflicted by cachexia. Little by little it developed into dysentery, and on the eleventh of Muharram 1035 [October 3] he bade farewell to this world in the town of Punhan. He was buried in the village of Nauhissar, where he had been born. He died in the fiftieth year of his life, and when the news reached the hearing of His Majesty, he transferred the command of the garrison in the hill country in the north of the Punjab to Alif Khan, who had been an auxiliary there, and ordered Sardar Khan's son Kamgar to come to court.

Around the same time Mustafa Khan, the governor of Thatta, passed away, and that souba was awarded to Shahryar.

At this point it was learned from a report from Asad Khan, the bakhshi of the Deccan, that Shahjahan had arrived in Dewalgaon, and Yaqut Khan the Abyssinian was holding Burhanpur under siege with Ambar's army. Sarbulandi Rai was zealously defending and constantly fighting outside of the fortress. However, no matter how hard they tried they could not make any headway. Several days later news arrived that Ambar's men had decamped and gone away. When this news was given to His Majesty, he rewarded Sarbulandi Rai with all sorts of favors, increased his rank to 5000/5000, and awarded him the title of Ram Raj. There is no higher title in the Deccan.

When Shahjahan lifted the siege of Burhanpur and returned to the Deccan, along the way a powerful weakness overwhelmed his constitution. During the days of his illness it occurred to him that he should apologize for his past offenses to his exalted father. With this praiseworthy object in mind he wrote a letter filled with expressions of regret and pleas for forgiveness of his offenses past and present. His Imperial Majesty wrote a reply in his own handwriting and sent it off. The contents were that if he would send Dara-Shikoh and Awrangzeb to the emperor, and if he surrendered the Rohtas fortress, which was under his men's control, to the emperor's servants, he would forgive his offenses and give him the land of Balaghat.

Shahjahan Sends Dara-Shikoh and Awrangzeb to Court with Sumptuous Gifts and Relinquishes the Two Mighty Bastions of Asir and Rohtas

Upon the arrival of the emperor's letter, Shahjahan performed the rituals of greeting. Although he was extremely fond of the princes, in order to please his father he sent to court his two darling sons with valuable gifts of gems, jewel-studded implements, and enormous elephants worth ten lacs of rupees. He ordered Sayyid Muzaffar Khan and Riza Bahadur, who had been assigned to guard the Rohtas fortress, to surrender the fortress to anyone who displayed an imperial decree and then accompany Sultan Muradbakhsh to his presence. He wrote likewise to Hayat Khan telling him to surrender the Asir fortress to imperial servants and come to him. Then he himself set out for the souba of Nasik [Trimbak].

During these days Arab Dastghayb, who had gone to take Prince Danyal's son Sultan Hoshang and Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan to Prince Parvez, came and paid homage. Hoshang was singled out for royal favor, and Muzaffar Khan the bakhshi was ordered to inform himself of Hoshang's condition, to make arrangements from the imperial demesne for whatever he required, and to arrange his household so that he would not have any worry from any quarter.

Meanwhile, Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold. For a long time he remained with his forehead on the ground in humility and shame. Finally, in order to comfort him, His Majesty said, "What has happened was done by fate and destiny and not chosen by you or us. Do not let yourself be shamed or alarmed in this regard." After the Khankhanan had performed the ritual of kissing the ground, His Majesty motioned for the bakhshis to bring him forward and stand him in a suitable position. Prior to this His Imperial Majesty, at Nurjahan Begam's and Asaf Khan's urging, had sent Fidai Khan to Shah Parvez to convey the command that Mahabat Khan be sent to Bengal, while Khan Jahan would come from Gujarat to serve the prince.

Around this time a report from Fidai Khan arrived. He had written: "I joined the prince in Sarangpur and informed him of the imperial orders. The prince is not happy about being separated from Mahabat Khan or having Khan Jahan with him. No matter how insistent I was, it was useless. Since there was no benefit in my remaining among the army, I stopped in Sarangpur and dispatched swift messengers to summon Khan Jahan, who will proceed in this direction with all speed." In short, when the contents of Fidai Khan's report were made known to the emperor, a strongly-worded order was issued to the prince once again telling him not to allow himself to contemplate disobeying imperial orders. "If Mahabat Khan is not willing to go to Bengal," the letter said, "he can come to the imperial presence unencumbered. You and the rest of the amirs stop in Burhanpur."

After His Majesty had hunted in the happy vale of Kashmir, the imperial banners were lifted to proceed to Lahore on the nineteenth of Muharram 1035 [October 11, 1625].

An Investigation of the Humay

Prior to this, it had been repeatedly reported to His Majesty than there was an animal known as the *humay* in the Pir Panjal Mountains, and the people of that region said that it fed on small bones.[2] It could often be seen flying through the air, and it rarely alighted. Inasmuch as His Majesty was very much inclined to investigate the truth of this report, it was ordered that any of the scouts who shot such a bird would be

2. The *humay*, a counterpart to the phoenix, is well known in Persian legend. Alvi and Rahman (*Jahangir—The Naturalist*, 85) identify it as the lammergeier (*Gypaetus barbatus hemachalnus*). It occurs throughout the Himalayas from Afghanistan to Bhutan, in the Salt Range of the Punjab, and in Sind. As Jahangir reports, it has the curious habit of eating bones.

rewarded with a thousand rupees. By chance, Jamal Khan Qaravul shot one with a musket and brought it to the emperor's presence. Since it had been wounded in the leg,[3] it was brought to the emperor alive and healthy. He ordered its crop inspected to find out what it ate. When the crop was opened, small bones came out of its gullet, just as the people of the mountains had said that its food consisted of small bones and that it always flew in the air with its gaze upon the earth, and wherever it spotted a bone it would pick it up in its beak, fly away, and cast it onto a rock to break it into little pieces. Then it would pick at it and eat it. In this case the prevailing opinion was that this was the famous humay, as is said, "The humay is superior to all birds because it eats bones and harms no creature."

Its head and beak looked like a buzzard's, but a buzzard's head has no feathers while this one had black feathers. It was weighed in the emperor's presence and weighed 415 tolas, which is equivalent to 1,037 1/2 mithcals.

Asaf Khan's son Abutalib attained the felicity of kissing the ground in the vicinity of Lahore.

On the eve of Thursday the last day of the month the emperor arrived in Lahore at an auspicious hour and awarded Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan a lac of rupees as a gratuity.

On this date Aqa-Muhammad, Shah Abbas's emissary, was honored by prostrating himself before the emperor, and he presented the shah's friendly letter for the emperor's view along with gifts and presents, among which was a white falcon.[4]

Another Strange Pair of Animals

A strange thing that happened is as follows. Prince Dawarbakhsh presented a lion and a goat. The lion got along so well with the goat that they were kept in the same cage and the lion exhibited great affection for the goat. The lion would take the goat in its embrace in the manner that animals couple and hump it. When an order was given for the goat to be concealed, the lion cried out and showed great distress. Then another goat of the same color and shape was ordered put in the cage. First the lion sniffed it, and then it bit the goat around its waist and broke its back. An ox was brought. The lion immediately tore it to pieces and ate it. Then the first goat was brought, and the lion exhibited the same love and affection as before, falling on its back, taking the goat on its chest and licking it on the mouth. Never before had any animal, tame or wild, been seen that kissed its mate.

At this time Fazil Khan was assigned as divan to the souba of the Deccan, promoted to the rank of 1500/1500, and awarded a robe of honor, a horse, and an elephant. Robes of honor were sent by him to thirty-two amirs of that souba.

Mahabat Khan had not yet sent to court the elephants he had obtained in Bengal and other places. In addition, he owed huge amounts to the royal demesne, and he had taken amounts from the jagir estates of imperial servants when they were exchanged or reassigned. Therefore an order was given to Arab Dastghayb to go to Mahabat Khan to bring to court the elephants he had acquired and collect the amounts he owed. If he had a reasonable excuse, he could come to court and settle with the chief administrators.

At this time a report from Fidai Khan arrived saying that Mahabat Khan had been ordered by Prince Parvez to go to Bengal. Khan Jahan had come from Gujarat and paid

3. Reading an affirmative *rasida* for the text's negative *narasida*, which makes no sense in the context.

4. The dispatch of Aqa-Muhammad to India is recorded in Iskandar Beg, *Alamara-yi Abbasi*, 2:1012.

homage to the prince. Around the same time a report came from Khan Jahan in which he had written, "Abdullah Khan has separated himself from Shahjahan, and this devotee has undertaken to intercede on his behalf. He has sent a letter confessing his regret and shame, and relying upon His Majesty's generosity and clemency, I have forwarded it to court. It is hoped that His Majesty will, in his limitless favor, draw a line of pardon through his offenses and honor him among his peers by such an enormous favor." In reply the following was written: " 'This court of ours is not a court of despair.' Your request has been honored by being granted."

On this date Tahmuras, the eldest son of Prince Danyal, deserted Shahjahan and came to court to pay homage.

Babar Banu Begam is Betrothed to Tahmuras, and Khusraw's Daughter Hoshang Banu Begam is Affianced to Hoshang

Prior to this, Hoshang, the younger [son of Prince Danyal], attained the honor of paying homage. Now [Tahmuras] too was guided by good fortune to get himself to court, where he was showered with all sorts of regal favor. In order to honor them, the emperor ordered them to submit to the relationship called in the idiom of the Chaghatai sultans *küräg*ä*n* (son-in-law). He married his own daughter Bahar Banu Begam to Tahmuras, and he married Sultan Khusraw's daughter Hoshang Banu Begam to Hoshang.

At this time Mu'tamad Khan was selected for the post of bakhshi.

Since the emperor had been entertaining a desire for the air of Kabul for some time, the imperial retinue set out for a tour and hunt on the seventeenth of Isfandar 1035 [February 25, 1626]. After stopping for several days outside of Lahore, on Friday the twenty-third of the month [March 3] the march was begun.

Ahmad Beg Khan Kabuli's son Iftikhar Khan brought Ahdad's head as a present and rubbed his forehead on the ground in loyalty. His Imperial Majesty raised his head in supplication to the divine court and performed prostrations in thanks for this great gift. It was ordered that the head of that wrongdoer be taken to Lahore and hung on the fortress gate. The details of this event are as follows.

The Final Defeat of Ahdad the Afghan

When Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan's son Zafar Khan arrived in Kabul, he heard that Yalangtösh the Uzbek had come to the Ghazni vicinity to stir up trouble. Together with the other imperial servants who had been assigned to that souba, Zafar Khan got an expeditionary force together. At this point Ahdad discovered an opening, and at Yalangtösh's suggestion he entered Tirah and began committing highway robbery, the heinous practice of that ill-starred malefactor. Yalangtösh repented of his vain desire and sent one of his relatives to Zafar Khan to cajole him with sweet talk. When the imperial agents' minds were satisfied in that direction, they undertook to deal with Ahdad. Retracing their steps with all their men and provisions, they set out against him. When the miscreant learned of Yalangtösh's defection and the imperial army's heading in his direction, he realized that he was no match for them and took himself to Awa Ghar Mountain, where his bastion was. Thinking that the mountain would be his refuge during bad days, he had built a wall in front of the valley, provided great fortifications, and laid in supplies and defensive weapons. Having determined to reduce him to naught, the imperial agents traversed the road up hill and down until

they reached the valley mentioned above. Attacking in unison from all directions, they were determined to subdue him.

On the seventh of Jumada I [January 25, 1626], the drums of victory were loudly beaten, and great displays of bravery and valor were made. The battle raged from morning until the third watch. After the third watch the gates of victory and triumph were opened by divine grace in the face of the imperials, and the stronghold was taken by the champions of the army. At this point an ahadi brought Zafar Khan a sword, knife, and ring he had found. When it was ascertained that they belonged to the rebel, Zafar Khan himself and several others attacked the miscreant. It was learned that a musket ball had struck him and sent him to hell. No matter how much they heralded in search, it was never discovered who fired the bullet.

The heads of the rebels were sent to court with Sardar Khan, and Zafar Khan and the others were rewarded for their valiant action, according to their stations, with promotions and all sorts of regal favor.

The Death of Ruqayya-Sultan Begam

On this date came the news that Ruqayya-Sultan Begam, the daughter of Mirza Hindal and wife of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani, had passed away in Akbarabad. She was His Majesty's chief wife. Since she did not have children, when Shahjahan was born His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani entrusted that "unique pearl of the caliphate" to the begam's care, and she undertook to raise the prince. She departed this life at the age of eighty-four.

Abdul-Rahim, son of Bayram Khan, was now shown all sorts of regal favor, was given back the title of Khankhanan, awarded a robe of honor and a horse, and granted leave to depart as governor of the Kannauj sarkar. At the same time all Mahabat Khan's elephants that had been summoned to court arrived, were displayed, and sent to the imperial elephant stables.

Around this time a report came saying that Mahabat Khan had married his daughter to a grand scion of the Naqshbandis named Khwaja Barkhordar. Since this connection had been made without His Majesty [Jahangir]'s permission, the emperor took it ill and summoned the khwaja to his presence, saying, "Why have you taken the daughter of a grandee of our empire without our permission?" He was unable to give a satisfactory answer. By imperial order he was lashed and imprisoned.

Around this time Mirza Rustam Safavi's son Mirza Dakkani was awarded the title of Shahnawaz Khan.

On the twenty-ninth of Isfandar [March 9] the banks of the Chenab River were illuminated by the arrival of the imperial retinue.

The Events of the Twenty-First Year after the Royal Accession, *by Muhammad-Hadi*: March 11, 1626–March 9, 1627

On Saturday the twenty-second of Jumada II 1035 [March 11, 1626] the world-illuminating sun transited into Aries, and the twenty-first year after the royal accession commenced. A day was spent on the banks of the Chenab celebrating Nawroz, and the next day the retinue marched.

At this time Aqa-Muhammad, Shah Abbas's emissary, was given leave to withdraw, receiving a robe of honor, a jeweled dagger, and thirty thousand rupees. A letter in reply to the shah's friendly missive was written and entrusted to him along with gifts including a mace completely studded with diamonds worth a lac of rupees, and a rare and precious jeweled belt.

Mahabat Khan Comes to Court

In previous pages it has been recorded that Arab Dastghayb was sent to Mahabat Khan to bring elephants. A reference was also made to his being summoned. At this point he joined the camp.

The summons had been issued at Asaf Khan's instigation and through his machination, and now Asaf Khan had made it his single-minded purpose to humiliate Mahabat Khan, strip him of his honor, ravage his women, and deprive him of life and property, although he treated this weighty undertaking extremely lightly. Unlike Asaf Khan, Mahabat Khan had come with four or five thousand bloodthirsty, totally devoted Rajputs, most of whom had brought their wives and children and who were ready as a last resort, when there was no hope in any direction, to give their all, even to sacrificing their wives and children, to preserve his honor.

> At the time of necessity, when no option remains, the hand will grab the sharp end of a sword.[1]

1. Quoted from Sa'di, *Gulistan* in *Kulliyyat*, 37.

Although harsh things were said among the people about the manner in which Mahabat Khan came, Asaf Khan remained totally oblivious and unconcerned.

When the news of Mahabat Khan's coming reached the emperor's ears, a message was sent for his access to court to be blocked until he met the demands of the imperial demesne at the supreme divan and satisfied those with claims against him in accordance with justice.

With regard to Khwaja Umar Naqshbandi's son Khwaja Barkhordar, to whom Mahabat Khan had married his daughter, it has already been mentioned that he was

lashed and imprisoned. An order was now given for Fidai Khan to confiscate what Mahabat Khan had given him and forward it to the imperial treasury.

When the imperial retinue reached a stopping place on the bank of the Bahat, a site on this side of the river was chosen. Asaf Khan, despite the proximity of such a powerful enemy, and unconcerned for life or limb, displayed an utter heedlessness and lack of precaution in leaving his lord, i.e. His Imperial Majesty, on the other side of the river while he crossed the bridge with his household, baggage, paraphernalia, servants, and retinue. The imperial departments, like the treasury, armory, etc.—even servants and intimate courtiers—also crossed the river. Only Mu'tamad Khan the bakhshi and mir tüzük had not yet crossed and spent the night in his pavilion.

❁ *Mahabat Khan's Mutiny, Rebellion, and Outrageous Action*

The next morning, when Mahabat Khan realized that things were touching upon his honor and family, perforce at a time when no one was around the emperor, he emerged from his camp with four or five thousand Rajputs pledged to him. First he came to the bridge, where he stationed nearly two thousand horsemen to burn the bridge and prevent by force anyone from getting across. Then he went to the palace compound. Passing through the gate to the harem, he reached Mu'tamad Khan's pavilion and inquired after him. Mu'tamad Khan came out of his tent, sword strapped on. When Mahabat Khan's eye fell upon him, he inquired of His Imperial Majesty. He had with him nearly a hundred Rajput foot soldiers with spears and swords in hand, but there was so much dust that no one's face could be clearly distinguished. Then he proceeded to the great gate.

At that time a number of clerks and others were standing with three or four eunuchs in the palace courtyard in front of the gate. Mahabat Khan rode straight to the palace gate and got off his horse. Having dismounted, he hastened to the Ghuslkhana with nearly two hundred Rajputs in tow. Mu'tamad Khan stepped forward and said, "This is an outrage of propriety! Stop a moment until I go and announce [your desire to perform] körünüsh and kiss the ground." Mahabat Khan made no answer, and when he got to the door of the Ghuslkhana, his attendants broke in the panels of the gate, which the gatekeepers had closed as a precaution, and stepped into the palace courtyard. Some of the intimates who surrounded the emperor reported his audacity, and His Majesty came out of his tent and sat on a palanquin.

At this point Mahabat Khan performed the ritual of körünüsh and then walked around the palanquin, saying, "Since I knew for certain that it was impossible to escape Asaf Khan's enmity, and that I would be killed with all sorts of humiliation and wretchedness, I have been forced into such boldness and audacity to put myself under Your Majesty's protection. Now, if I deserve to be killed as a punishment, command me to be executed in the imperial presence."

At this point his Rajputs came in by droves, fully armed, and broke down the gate to the imperial pavilion. In the emperor's presence was no one other than Arab Dastghayb, who was his secretary, Mir Mansur Badakhshi, the eunuch Jawahir Khan, Buland Khan, Khidmatparast Khan, Firoz Khan, the eunuch Khidmat Khan, Fasih Khan the master of ceremonies, and three or four other intimates.

Since Mahabat Khan's outrage had upset His Majesty and thrown him into a zealous fit, twice he put his hand on his sword pommel, intending to "rid the world of the defilement of that brazen one's existence." Both times Mir Mansur Badakhshi said in Turkish that the time was not right for such an action and he must wait for the right opportunity, entrusting recompense for the untoward act of

such an ill-starred malefactor to the just God until the time came for him to be rendered naught.

Since his words bespoke sincerity and loyalty, the emperor controlled himself, and in a little while the Rajputs had so taken the palace inside and out that there was no one to be seen other than Mahabat Khan and his liege men.

At this point the wretch said, "It is time to ride. Mount as usual with this devoted slave next to you so that it will look as though this bold and audacious act was done by me at your command."

Bringing his own horse forward, he insisted that His Majesty mount it, but his imperial sense of lèse-majesté would not allow him to mount Mahabat Khan's horse. It was ordered that the imperial horse be brought. The emperor also requested Mahabat Khan to take himself outside the harem so that he could dress himself and get ready to ride, but he spitefully refused.

In short, enough respite was given for the imperial horse to be brought. His Majesty got on and rode a distance of two arrow shots outside the palace. After that an elephant was brought, and Mahabat Khan said that it would be in everyone's best interests if the emperor mounted the elephant, since it was a time of turmoil and commotion, and went out to the hunting ground. His Majesty mounted the elephant without objection.

One of the Rajputs sat Mu'tamad Khan on the front of the elephant and two other Rajputs behind the howdah. At this point Muqarrab Khan got himself on the scene and, having obtained permission, got in the howdah and sat down near His Majesty. Apparently during the commotion Muqarrab Khan received a wound on his forehead. Khidmatparast Khan, the elite courtier who held the accustomed wine and bowl in his hand, got himself to the elephant. No matter how hard the Rajputs tried to prevent him with spears and force of their arms from getting in, he grabbed hold of the edge of the howdah and held himself there. Since there was no place to sit outside, he made a place for himself inside the howdah. After half a kos had been traveled, Gajpat Khan, the overseer of the elephant stables, brought an imperial female elephant, himself seated in front and his son behind. Mahabat Khan ordered the innocent man and his son killed.

In short, in the guise of touring and hunting, [Mahabat Khan] led the emperor to his own camp site. His Majesty entered the inner quarters and stayed there a while. [Mahabat Khan] had his own sons stand around His Majesty.

Since he had neglected Nurjahan Begam, it now occurred to him to take His Imperial Majesty back to the palace compound and then bring him back to his quarters along with Nurjahan Begam. With this intention he took His Majesty back to the palace. As it happened, when His Majesty mounted to go touring and hunting, Nurjahan Begam seized the opportunity to cross the river with the eunuch Jawahir Khan, the overseer of the imperial harem, and go to the quarters of her brother, Asaf Khan.

When the wretched Mahabat Khan learned that the begam had gone, he regretted the slip he had made in not guarding her and wondered what to do. Then he thought of Shahryar and realized that to keep him apart from the emperor was a great mistake. Consequently his addled mind centered on this. Once again he had His Majesty mount and took him to Shahryar's quarters. His Majesty had such vast patience and forbearance that he did whatever he was told.

At this point Shaja'at Khan's grandson Chahju was along, and when they came to Shahryar's quarters Mahabat Khan indicated to the Rajputs to put him to death.

In short, when Nurjahan Begam crossed the river and went to her brother, she convened the grandees of the empire and addressed them in rebuke, saying, "It was through your negligence that things have gone so far and the unimaginable has happened. You have been disgraced before God and the people by your own actions. Now it must be made up for. Tell each other what the best thing to do is."

All said of one accord, "The best tactical plan is to array our forces tomorrow, cross the river in your retinue, overthrow the miscreants, and do ourselves the honor of kissing the ground as slaves of His Majesty."

When this misguided counsel reached the imperial hearing, it seemed far from reasonable. That very night [Jahangir] sent Muqarrab Khan, Sadiq Khan the bakhshi, Mir Mansur, and Khidmat Khan one after the other to Asaf Khan and the grandees of the empire to say that to cross the river and provoke battle was a serious mistake. "Realize that this inappropriate tactic is the result of naïveté and dissidence, and do not allow yourselves to entertain such a notion, for nothing will come of it but regret. As long as I am on this side, with what diligence and hope will you fight?" As an act of trust and precaution he sent his imperial ring with Mir Mansur. Thinking these words were born of the ill-starred Mahabat Khan's mind and that he had forced His Majesty to say them and send his seal, Asaf Khan remained firmly resolved in his decision.

At this point Fidai Khan, having learned of the sedition of the age, mounted and went to the river bank. Inasmuch as the bridge had been burned and there was no possibility of crossing, he became frustrated, and, amidst a hail of arrows of calamity and onslaught of misfortune, he and a few of his liege men valiantly plunged their horses into the river opposite the palace compound in hopes of swimming across. Six of his companions were swept away by waves of annihilation; others managed to wade across despite the swift current and make it in safety, though only half alive, to the other bank. Fidai Khan himself and sixty horsemen emerged from the river and engaged in a spectacular fracas. Most of his companions engaged in combat, and four of them gave their lives. When he saw that he was not getting anywhere and the foe was too strong for him be able to get to His Majesty, he turned his reins and crossed the river. His Imperial Majesty remained in Shahryar's quarters that day and that night.

On the eighth of Farvardin,[2] corresponding to the twenty-ninth of Jumada II [March 18, 1626], Asaf Khan, together with Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan and other grandees of the empire, having determined to do battle, decided to cross with Her Majesty Nurjahan Beg at the crossing Ghazi Beg the overseer of the royal barge had found to be wadable. As it turned out, it was the worst possible crossing, for in three or four places there were broad stretches of deep water, and during the crossing the order of the troops was lost, every troop falling in a different direction. Asaf Khan, Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, and Iradat Khan, along with the begam's litter, had secured the river bank opposite the foe's main troop, who had brought forward their war elephants. Fidai Khan crossed an arrow shot downstream opposite the other troop; Asaf Khan's son Abutalib, Sher Khwaja, Allahyar, and many others crossed downstream from Fidai Khan. Some had just reached the river bank and others were in the water when the enemy's troops drove their elephants forward and attacked. Asaf Khan and Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, still in the water, turned around in front of the men. Now who would listen to their words or fight to stand his ground?

Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan and Mu'tamad Khan crossed this river and stood on the banks of a second river, contemplating the tricks of fate while cavalry and foot soldiers, horses and camels plunged into the water, jostling one another and trying to get across.

2. Reading *hashtum* (eighth) for the text's *bistum* (twentieth)

At this point Nadim, the begam's eunuch, came and addressed the two, saying, "Her Majesty wants to know why you have stopped to contemplate. Be brave, for as soon as you enter the battle, the foe will be routed and take flight." Hearing this reproach, Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan and Mu'tamad Khan rode their horses into the water, while the enemy troop and the Rajputs drove the men of this side forward into the river.

In the begam's litter were Shahryar's daughter and Shahnawaz Khan's daughter. Shahryar's daughter was hit in the arm by an arrow. The begam pulled it out with her own hand and threw it out, bloodying her clothes in the process. The eunuch overseer of the harem Jawahir Khan, the begam's eunuch Nadim, and another eunuch riding in front of the elephant lost their lives, and the begam's elephant received a sword wound in the trunk. After it turned around, it was wounded in the back two or three times with spears. Although sword blows were falling fast and furious, the elephant keeper kept driving the elephant until a place with deep water was reached. The horses would have had to resort to swimming, and there was danger of drowning. There was nothing to do but turn the reins. The begam's elephant got across the river by swimming and went to the imperial compound, where she got out.

Since the Rajputs had concentrated their attack on this side, now Asaf Khan appeared. As he lamented the trickery of fate, the going astray of his companions, and the bad cast of the die, he set forth. As badly as those who were present wanted a sign from him by eye or word, there was no trace of which direction he had gone.

Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan was charging around, but he was so terrified and confused that he drove his horse into the river. Since the water was deep and the current swift, he fell off the horse when it started swimming, but he managed to grab onto the saddle pommel with both hands. Although he went under several times and came up sputtering, he did not let go of the pommel. Just then a Kashmiri boatman made it to him and pulled him out.

Fidai Khan and a group of his liege men, as well as several imperial servants who were acquainted and friendly with him, crossed the river, engaged in a fracas with the opposing troop, took them out, and got themselves to Shahryar's quarters, where His Imperial Majesty was. Because outside of the pavilion was swarming with foot soldiers and horsemen, he stood against the gate and fired arrows, most of which landed in the private courtyard near His Majesty. Mukhlis Khan was standing before the throne.

In short, Fidai Khan stood for a long time doing his best. His companions Sayyid Muzaffar, a devoted and experienced warrior, and Fidai Khan's son-in-law Ata'ullah were killed. Sayyid Abdul-Ghafur Bukhari, a courageous young man, received a serious wound. Fidai Khan's horse received four wounds. When he realized that he was not making any headway and that he could not get to the emperor, he turned his reins and left the camp, headed upstream. The next day he crossed the river and went to his sons in Rohtas. Picking up his family, he made it in safety to Girjhak Nandana, with whose zamindar, Badrbakhsh, he had a long-term relationship. Placing his children there, and with his mind at ease on that score, he went unencumbered toward Hindustan. Sher Khwaja, Allahverdi Khan the chief scout, and Iftikhar Khan's son Allahyar all dispersed in different directions.

When Asaf Khan realized that there was no way he could escape from Mahabat Khan, he, his son Abutalib, and two or three hundred pitiful horsemen, bearers, and servants, went to the fortress at Attock, which was in his fief. When he reached Rohtas he received news of Iradat Khan, who had taken refuge somewhere. Sending his men

to him, he issued him an urgent summons, but no amount of persuasion could get Iradat Khan to accompany Asaf Khan.

Asaf Khan went to Attock and got ready for a siege. Iradat Khan turned around and went back to the imperial camp. After that, Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, assured of amnesty by oath and pact, capitulated to Mahabat Khan and got from him a written agreement full of solemn oaths in his own handwriting for Iradat Khan and Mu'tamad Khan, assuring them that he posed no danger to their lives or honor. Then he took them along and allowed a meeting [with the emperor].

On this day he killed Abdul-Samad, Shaykh Chand the astrologer's grandson who had a very close relationship to Asaf Khan—and who was really a talented young man—simply on account of the infamy of his association.

❁ *An Emissary Comes from Nazr-Muhammad Khan of Balkh*

At this time Shah Khwaja, an emissary from Nazr-Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Balkh, arrived at court and paid homage. After performing körünüsh, taslim, and the other rituals that are customary in this empire, he presented Nazr-Muhammad Khan's letter, which was filled with expressions of sincerity, along with rarities and presents from that land. Then he presented his own offering and Nazr-Muhammad Khan's gifts of horses, Turkish slave boys, etc., worth fifty thousand rupees. For the time being thirty thousand rupees were awarded to him.

❁ *Asaf Khan is Besieged in Attock*

Prior to this it has been reported that since Asaf Khan had no security in any way from Mahabat Khan, he went to the fortress at Attock, which was in his jagir, and holed up there. In all, he had two hundred men, both cavalry and foot soldiers. Mahabat Khan dispatched some imperial ahadis, his own liege men, and the zamindars of the area under the leadership of his son Bahrawar and Shah-Quli to gallop there and lay siege to the fortress. When they arrived and took the fortress, Asaf Khan turned his reins over to destiny. Mahabat Khan's representatives reassured him with oaths and pledges and wrote to report the situation to Mahabat Khan.

When the imperial retinue crossed the river at Attock, Mahabat Khan obtained permission from His Majesty to go to the Attock fortress, where he had Asaf Khan, his son Abutalib, and the Mirmiran's son Khalilullah chained and imprisoned. The fortress he turned over to his own liege men.

At this point he executed Abdul-Khaliq, Khwaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Khwafi's nephew who was a liege man, companion, and confidant to Asaf Khan, along with Shah-jahan's bakhshi Muhammad-Taqi, who had been taken captive in the siege of Burhanpur.

When they put chains on the legs of Mulla Muhammad Tattavi, who was with Asaf Khan in the capacity of a cleric, by chance they wrapped the chain around his legs and did not secure it as they should have. With just a little movement the chain fell off. Mahabat Khan attributed it to sorcery. The mulla had memorized the Koran and always used to recite it, his lips moving as he recited. With this motion of the mulla's lips, Mahabat Khan, convinced that he was cursing him and terrified of him, had the poor man cut down. Mulla Muhammad's formal learning was augmented by piety and asceticism. What a pity this merciless cutthroat did not appreciate such a man and killed him needlessly.

When the imperial camp reached the vicinity of Jalalabad, a group of Kafirs came and paid homage. Now a summary account of the beliefs and customs current among them will be written on account of their strangeness.

Manners and Customs of the Kafirs

Their religion is close to that of the infidels of Tibet. They make an idol of gold or stone in the shape of a human being and worship it. They do not take more than one wife unless the first wife does not produce children or cannot get along with her husband. When they want to visit a friend or relative they go along each other's roofs. The city walls have only one gate. They eat all sorts of flesh and consider them licit, other than pig, fish, and fowl. "Any of our people who has eaten these," they say, "has gone blind." They make a stew of meat and eat it. They love red clothes. They dress the dead, put their arms on them, and place them in the grave with a wine flask and bowl. They take oaths by putting a deer's head or a goat's head in the fire, then they take it out and hang it on a tree. "Any of us who takes an oath to a lie," they say, "will be afflicted by calamity." If a father or mother desires his or her own son, he or she takes him, and the son does [not] object to it.

His Imperial Majesty said, "Ask for anything you want of Hindustan." They requested horses, swords, cash, and red robes, and their requests were granted.

At this point Raja Baso's son Jagat Singh ran away from the imperial camp to his homeland in the hills north of Lahore. Around the same time Sadiq Khan was granted leave to depart as governor of the souba of the Punjab. He was ordered to chastise Jagat Singh.

Entry into Kabul

His Majesty proceeded station by station, enjoying hunting, and on Sunday the eighth of Urdibihisht [April 17] he entered the city of Kabul at an auspicious hour. On this day he sat on an elephant and went through the market scattering coins and descended in the Shahrara Garden near the Kabul fortress.

On Friday the first of Khurdad [May 11] he went to the blessed tomb of His Majesty Firdaws-Makani [Babur], where he made supplication and requested spiritual assistance from His Majesty. He also visited the graves of Mirza Hindal and his uncle Mirza Muhammad-Hakim and asked God to have mercy upon them.

Among the strange events that came from the hidden recesses of destiny onto the stage of actuality was Mahabat Khan's requital for his evil deed. The details are as follows.

When his bold outrage was committed on the banks of the Bahat River, and the amirs were made eternally ashamed of their negligence, that is, when the unimaginable happened, Mahabat Khan's Rajputs, having turned unruly and conceited because of the dominance and power they happened to enjoy, began to tyrannize the ryots and the weak, taking no account of anyone until fate took another turn and undid them.

In short, a group of Rajputs went out into a glen that is a well-known hunting ground for Kabul to let their horses graze. Since that glen had been made an imperial hunting preserve, it had been entrusted to the care of a group of ahadis, one of whom objected to the Rajputs' being there. Things turned nasty, and the Rajputs pitilessly cut the poor fellow to ribbons with their swords. Some of his brothers and relatives, as well as the other ahadis, went to court to ask for help and redress. They were ordered to identify the victim. They gave his name and description. "We will forward a request to His Majesty," they were told, "and hold an inquest. After it is proven, redress will be given." Unsatisfied with this, the ahadis returned to where they had been.

The Rajputs had camped near them. The next day the ahadis got ready for battle and attacked the Rajputs' camp site in unison. Since the ahadis were yeomen and musketeers, with only a small skirmish many Rajputs were killed, among them several Mahabat Khan loved more than his own sons. In all, eight or nine thousand Rajputs were killed. Then the soldiers of Kabul and the Hazaras, wherever they found Rajputs in the area, drove them through the Hindu Kush Kotal and sold them. Nearly five hundred Rajputs, most of whom were chieftains of their people and renowned for bravery and courage, were sold. When Mahabat Khan heard this, he mounted in utter consternation and raced to help his liege men. Along the way, however, he changed his mind. Terrified and frightened that he might be killed in the fray, he turned back and took refuge in the imperial compound. At his request Habash Khan, Kotwal Khan, Jamal Muhammad, and Khawass Khan were ordered to put down the unrest.

Next it was reported that the perpetrators of the battle and fomenters of strife were Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan's son-in-law Badi'uzzaman and his brother Khwaja Qasim. Both were summoned to the imperial presence and subjected to an inquiry. They could make no satisfactory answer. Since many [of Mahabat Khan's] men had been killed by arrows and muskets, it was necessary to keep him happy, and so the two were turned over to him. He took them to his quarters in utter disgrace and ignominy, their heads and feet naked, and threw them into chains. What they had in their baggage was confiscated.

The Death of Malik Ambar

At this point it was reported that Ambar the Abyssinian had died at the age of eighty. Ambar was without equal in the arts of military command and strategy. He had consolidated the riffraff of that land as they should have been. He lived in glory until the last day of his life, and at no time in history had an Abyssinian slave boy ever attained his rank.

At this time Sayyid Bahwa, the governor of Delhi, in accordance with Mahabat Khan's written instructions, turned back Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan, who was headed for his jagir, and sent him to Lahore.

Now news arrived that the grand princes Sultan Dara-Shikoh and Sultan Awrangzeb, Shahjahan's sons, had reached the vicinity of Akbarabad, and His Majesty was delighted with the good news of the arrival of his grandsons. However, Mahabat Khan wrote to Muzaffar Khan the guardian of Lahore telling him to keep them under constant watch and not to bring them to court.

Since His Majesty was very fond of hunting, and his fondness had become so great that not a day passed, whether traveling or halting, without hunting, consequently at this point Allahverdi Khan the chief scout arranged for a qamargha hunt with a huge net made of rope, which the people of India call *badar,*[3] and offered it for His Majesty's inspection. Twenty-five thousand rupees were spent on it. Therefore, in the village of Arghanda, a major hunting ground in this land, the officials of the imperial establishment were ordered take the net to the hunting ground and set it up. Animals were driven from all directions into the net, and His Majesty and the ladies of the harem went hunting.

Shah Ismail Hazara, the chief and leader of the Hazaras, had camped with his followers outside the village of Mir Babush. His Imperial Majesty, Nurjahan Begam, and the ladies of the harem went to Shah Ismail's camp, and the begam awarded Shah Ismail's sons all sorts of gems and gilded and jeweled utensils. From there they enjoyed

3. Reading *BADR (badar)* for the text's *BAWR*. Attested elsewhere (e.g., Abdul-Hamid, *Padshahnama*, 1/1:310), the word for such an immense rope net is probably the Hindi *badar*, a variant of *badal* (cloud). There is also a Sanskrit word *badar* that means "made of cotton," but it is highly unlikely that the Mughals would have dipped into Sanskrit to find a word for this device.

the hunt, taking nearly three hundred ibexes, mountain rams, bears, and hyenas that had been caught in the net. The largest prey weighed three maunds and thirty seers.

Another thing that happened was as follows. When the news of Mahabat Khan's outrage reached Shahjahan, he flew into a rage; and although he had few troops and no supplies, he determined to go to his father and repay Mahabat Khan for his untoward act. He therefore set out on the twenty-third of Ramadan 1035 [June 8, 1626] from Nasik Trimbak with a thousand horsemen, thinking that he would collect a force along the way. While camped in Ajmer, Raja Bhim's son Raja Kishan Singh, who had a five-hundred-man cavalry in the retinue, died and his unit dispersed. With only five hundred horsemen, Shahjahan was left in great distress and poverty and had to give up his plan. He then decided he would have to go to Thatta and spend a few days there. With this plan in mind, he left Ajmer for Nagaur. From Nagaur he went to Jodhpur, and from there he set out for Jaisalmer. His Majesty Jannat-Ashyani [Humayun] had taken this same route to Sind and Thatta during his days of difficulty,[4] and it a strange coincidence of history that several great men acted similarly.

4. I.e. when Humayun was driven from Hindustan by the Sur Afghans and spent fifteen years in Persia under Shah Tahmasp's protection.

When His Majesty had finished hunting in Kabul, the drums were beaten for a withdrawal from Kabul on Monday the first of Shahrivar [August 12].

News of Parvez's Illness

On this date the emperor received news that Prince Parvez was ill and suffering from a severe attack of cholic that had kept him unconscious for a long time. After various treatments he had recovered slightly.

A short while later a report came from Khan Jahan, who had written that the prince had relapsed into unconsciousness and lain unconscious for five gharis, or two hours. The physicians had resorted to burning brands and placed five of them on his forehead and temples. Nonetheless, he had not regained consciousness. Two hours later he awoke and spoke but lost consciousness again. The physicians diagnosed his illness as epilepsy, a result of too much drinking. Two of his uncles, Prince Shah-Murad and Prince Danyal, had also been afflicted with this illness and lost their lives to it.

Sultan Dara-Shikoh and Awrangzeb Pay Homage

At this point the princes Sultan Dara-Shikoh and Prince Awrangzeb came from their father to their grandfather and paid homage. Their gifts of elephants, gems, and jeweled utensils worth ten lacs of rupees were shown to the emperor.

Now it was learned from Fazil Khan's report that the late Sultan Danyal's son Baysunghur had deserted Shahjahan in Amarkot, joined Raja Gaj Singh's retinue, and would soon join Prince Parvez.

Mahabat Khan Departs from the Imperial Retinue

Among the happy events that took place at this time was the departure of Mahabat Khan from the imperial retinue. The details in summary are as follows.

From the date the malefactor staged his outrage, his temper was tumultuous and his patience was short. He acted untowardly with the grandees of the empire and set everyone against him. His Majesty, despite such an affront and breach of manners, was so long-suffering and forbearing that he showed him favor and goodness and related to him word for word everything Nurjahan Begam said to him in private. He even told him repeatedly, "The begam intends to attack you. Beware. And Shahnawaz Khan's

daughter (the granddaughter of Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan who was married to Asaf Khan's son Shayista Khan) says, 'Whenever I have an opportunity, I'll shoot Mahabat Khan with my musket.'" By telling him such things the emperor gained Mahabat Khan's confidence until little by little he lost the apprehension he had at first, which had kept him on his guard, and by reason of which he had brought a huge troop of Rajputs to court and stationed them in front of the palace compound. Not only had he relaxed his guard, but his finest liege men had also been killed in the battle with the Kabul ahadis.

Nurjahan Begam was constantly on the lookout for an opportunity, maintaining her soldiers and keeping her battle-tried warriors appeased and in a good frame of mind. By her written instructions her eunuch Hoshyar Khan mustered nearly two thousand horsemen in Lahore and went to her. In her retinue there was already a good troop. One stage before Rohtas she held a review and ordered all the soldiers old and new to put on their armor and stand on the road. Then Buland Khan was ordered to go from Her Majesty to Mahabat Khan and deliver this message: "Today the begam will hold a review of troops for His Majesty. It would be better to hold in abeyance the ceremonies for the beginning of the day lest an argument ensue and battle break out." On Buland Khan's heels she sent Khwaja Anwar to convince Mahabat Khan of the reasonableness of obeying the order and not coming for körünüsh at that time.

The next day many imperial servants were gathered at court, and His Majesty ordered Mahabat Khan to go one stage forward of the imperial camp. Although he may have been aware of what was going on, since he had been frightened by the incident of the ahadis, he did as he was told. Immediately after he left, His Majesty mounted and rode off like the wind. Mahabat Khan could not regain his hold. Marching from one stage ahead, he crossed the Bahat and camped. His Imperial Majesty camped on this side of the river and sent Afzal Khan to the addlebrained Mahabat Khan to deliver four orders. First, since Shahjahan had gone to Thatta, Mahabat Khan was to follow him there and put an end to that affair. Second, he was to send Asaf Khan to the emperor. Third, he was to dispatch Prince Danyal's sons Tahmuras and Hoshang to court. Fourth, his hostage Mukhlis Khan's son Lashkari, who had not yet paid homage, was to be produced. If he delayed in sending Asaf Khan, he could be certain that an army would be assigned to pour down on his head.

Afzal Khan brought the two princes and reported that Mahabat Khan had said with regard to Asaf Khan, "Since I have no assurance of security from the begam, I fear that if I give Asaf Khan up, she will send an army down on me. In this case, since I am proud to perform any service to which I am assigned, when I am past Lahore I will gladly and willingly send Asaf Khan to court."

When Afzal Khan reported Mahabat Khan's reluctance to send Asaf Khan, the begam flew into a rage over his shifty words. Afzal Khan went back and told Mahabat Khan frankly and with no embellishment everything he had seen and heard, saying, "It is not in your best interests to delay in sending Asaf Khan, and do not allow yourself to think otherwise, for it will result in regret."

When Mahabat Khan realized the truth of the matter, he immediately had Asaf Khan brought before him and apologized. Then, binding him with oaths and placating him, he sent him to court. However, he kept Asaf Khan's son Abutalib for a reason that will be reported soon. Then, pretending to be headed to Thatta, he set off march by march.

On he twenty-third of the month [September 3] the imperial retinue crossed the Bahat River. It is a strange coincidence that Mahabat Khan's mutinous rebellion

occurred on the banks of the Bahat River,[5] and again the decline of his luck and the time of his misfortune occurred on the banks of the same river. A few days later he sent Asaf Khan's son Abutalib, Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan's son-in-law Badi'uzzaman, and his brother Khwaja Qasim to court with an apology.

5. Reading *BHT* (Bahat) for the text's meaningless *HMYT*.

When the imperial retinue was stopped in Jahangirabad, Khusraw's son Dawarbakhsh, the Khankhanan, Muqarrab Khan, Mir Jumla, and the elite of the city of Lahore came out to kiss the ground in loyalty.

On the seventh of Aban [October 18] the imperial retinue descended in Lahore at an auspicious hour. On this happy day Asaf Khan was nominated as governor of the Punjab and given the post of imperial deputy. He was ordered to preside over the divan and conduct administrative and fiscal affairs autonomously. The post of divan was given to Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, and with the transfer of Mir Jumla to the post of bakhshi, Afzal Khan was made chief steward.

Sayyid Jamal, the son of Sayyid Muhammad and grandson of the Shah-i-Alam Bukhari who was buried in Gujarat—an account of whom has been given[6]—was granted leave to go home and given an elephant to ride.

6. Page 243.

At this point a report arrived saying that Mahabat Khan had turned aside from the road to Thatta and was headed for Hindustan. It also reached the imperial hearing that Mahabat Khan's agents had sent from Bengal twenty-two lacs of rupees in cash that had reached the vicinity of Delhi. Safdar Khan, Sipahdar Khan, Ali-Quli Darman, Nuruddin-Quli, and Ani Rai Singhdalan were assigned a thousand ahadis to go as fast as possible and get hold of the cash. They performed this task and came upon Mahabat Khan's men who were bringing the strongbox in the vicinity of Shahabad. The men fortified themselves in the serai and defended themselves as best they could, but after clashing, the imperial servants set fire to the serai, and the defenders came out, turned over the money, and ran away. An order was given for them to send the money to court and to go out in pursuit of Mahabat Khan.

At this time the Khankhanan was awarded the rank of 7000/7000 duaspa-seapsa, given a robe of honor, a horse, a jeweled sword, and a royal elephant, and sent with a troop of imperial servants in pursuit of Mahabat Khan. The souba of Ajmer was given in fief to him. Since the Jagat Singh affair had not been settled by Sadiq Khan, who was known to be among Mahabat Khan's friends, an order was given for him to be deprived of the felicity of performing körünüsh. During these days Mukhlis Khan and Jagat Singh arrived from the hills of Kangra and joined the emperor's retinue. Also during these days a decree was issued to Mukarram Khan, who was serving in Cooch [Behar], to go as governor of the souba of Bengal, take charge of affairs there, and send Khanazad Khan to court.

The Death of Prince Parvez

Prince Parvez was afflicted with epilepsy as a result of drinking too much wine. Little by little he developed an aversion to food, and his faculties degenerated. No matter how the physicians treated him, since his time was up, it did no good. He passed away on the eve of Wednesday the seventh of Safar 1035[7] [October 18, 1626] in Burhanpur. His body was first laid to rest in that city and later transported to Akbarabad, where he was buried in the garden he had built.

7. I.e. the regnal year that began in 1035. It was actually 1036.

When the news was conveyed to the emperor, he resigned himself to God's will and soothed his inner wounds with the balm of patience and forbearance. The prince died at the age of thirty-eight. Some learned person came up with the following chronogram of his death: "The death of Prince Parvez."[8] After hearing the news the

8. The chronogram *wafat-i shahzada Parvez* yields 1035.

emperor ordered the Khankhanan to bring his children and those he had left behind to court.

During all this, Shah Khwaja, Nazr-Muhammad Khan's emissary, was granted leave to depart for home. Aside from the gratuities he had been awarded, he was given forty thousand rupees and an equivalent amount in valuables from Hindustan to take to the khan.

At this time Abutalib, Asaf Khan's son, was entitled Shayista Khan, and around this time Musavi Khan returned from the Deccan and attained the felicity of kissing the ground before the emperor. At this point Mirza Rustam Safavi was appointed governor of Bihar.

Now it was learned from a report from officials in the Deccan that Yaqut Khan the Abyssinian, who had taken command in that territory after Ambar's death, and who even during Ambar's lifetime had been made commander of the army, chose to pledge allegiance to the empire, coming to the vicinity of Jalnapur with five hundred horsemen. Sarbulandi Rai wrote, "I administered the oath of allegiance to Malik Ambar's son Fath Khan and others of Nizamulmulk's commanders. They will be trying to outdo each other in arriving at court."

When Khan Jahan was informed of the situation of which Sarbulandi Rai had written, he wrote a letter filled with appeasement and cajoling to Yaqut Khan to persuade him to do the same. He also wrote to Sarbulandi Rai to do everything he could to entertain and host Yaqut Khan and then send him to Burhanpur.

On previous pages it has been reported that Shahjahan went to Thatta with a few of his servants. Since during his days as a prince, the path of friendship and amity had been trod by Shah Abbas and correspondence had been maintained, during this chaotic time the shah kept up with news of him. It occurred to him to go to Persia to be near Shah Abbas—possibly by his affection and intercession the dust of strife and contention that had risen could be put down. In short, when he reached the vicinity of Thatta, Sharafulmulk, the guardian of that territory, got together three thousand horsemen and twelve thousand foot soldiers, raised the defenses of the city stronghold, and came out ready for battle. Although Shahjahan had only three to four hundred mounted faithful servants altogether, Sharafulmulk could not withstand their onslaught and retreated into the fortress. Since the fortress had been recently repaired, many cannons and muskets had been made ready in the towers and on the walls. Now he retreated into the fortress and got ready to defend. Shahjahan forbade his men to storm the fortress and get themselves killed uselessly by cannon and musket fire. Nonetheless, a group of battle-thirsty warriors attacked the outer fortifications of the city, but the towers, ramparts, and strength of the artillery prevented them from making any headway, so they had to retreat and camp. Several days later the lion-hearted champions burst forth like flashes of lighting and attacked the fortress. Since the land around the stronghold was flat, without a hill or rise in sight, and there was neither wall nor tree, they hoisted their shields over their heads and made a running charge. By chance, there was a deep, wide ditch on that side filled with water. It was impossible to advance, and it was even more impossible to retreat. Perforce they stopped where they were and took refuge in trust in God.

At this point Shahjahan fell ill. For several reasons, the telling of which would take too long, he decided to postpone his proposed trip to Persia. Moreover, the news of Parvez's illness came pouring in, and he knew for certain that he would not survive

this illness. At the same time a letter came from Nurjahan Begam in which she had written: "Mahabat Khan has been upset by the news of the setting forth of the imperial retinue. Hopefully he is not in such a foul temper that anything would happen to your sons along the way. It would be wisest to return to the Deccan and submit to your fate for a few days 'until what the celestial sphere brings forth from behind the curtain' is ascertained."

Based on this, despite his severe illness, Shahjahan got into a palanquin and took the road via Gujarat and Bhar to the Deccan. Around then the news came of Prince Parvez's death, and he set out on wings of lightning for the imperial retinue.

This was the same route taken by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna when he conquered the temple at Somnath, as is very well known. Shahjahan entered the realm of Gujarat, passed within twenty kos of Ahmadabad, crossed the Narbada River at the Champaner crossing, went through the Chirai Pass, which belonged to the raja of Baglana, and stopped in Nasik Trimbak, a tributary of the Deccan where he had stationed his men. Since there were no palaces there, he hastened almost at once to Khair, where he camped.

At this point Asaf Khan was promoted to the rank of 7000/7000 duaspa-seaspa. Ever since he escaped from Mahabat Khan's clutches he had held neither rank nor jagir and was in a bad way.

Now it was learned from a report from officials in the Deccan that Nizamulmulk was so short-sighted and such a troublemaker that he had sent Ambar's son Fath Khan and other parvenu protégés to the borders of the empire to foment strife and contention. Therefore Khan Jahan had stationed Lashkar Khan, an aged and experienced imperial servant, to protect and guard Burhanpur while he himself took imperial forces to Balaghat. Fath Khan did not pull in his reins until he got to Kharki, his residence, and Nizamulmulk did not poke his nose out of his bastion in Daulatabad.

An event that took place around now was the execution of Muhammad-Mu'min. He was a Sayfi sayyid closely related to the line of Naqib Khan. When he came from Persia, His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani married him to the daughter of Sadat Khan, a cousin of Naqib Khan. When Shahjahan's path crossed the Sharqi territories, Muhammad-Mu'min, who held a jagir there, joined him and accompanied him for a while during the chaos. Sadat Khan, who was in Prince Parvez's retinue, sent letters urgently summoning him to his side, and he left Shahjahan's service and went to Prince Parvez. When the news of his coming was reported to His Imperial Majesty, he summoned him to his presence. No matter how Prince Parvez pleaded for him to be pardoned, the emperor refused to give in and ordered him thrown beneath an elephant's feet as retribution.

At this time Nizamulmulk in Daulatabad made an Abyssinian slave named Hamid[9] Khan the leader of his forces and turned over all administrative and fiscal affairs to him. Nizamulmulk was then like a bird in a cage, for outside he was ruled by Hamid Khan, and inside he was dominated by Hamid Khan's wife.

9. Reading Hamid for the text's "Jamshed."

When the news of Khan Jahan's coming was confirmed, Hamid Khan went to him with three lacs of huns, which is equivalent to ten lacs of rupees, and persuaded him to accept the bribe and leave all the area from Balaghat to Ahmadnagar fortress in Nizamulmulk's control. The disloyal Afghan, forgetting all he owed the empire, gave up such a realm for three lacs of huns and wrote to the imperial amirs who were manning the outposts telling them to turn over their lands to Nizamulmulk's representatives and take themselves to him. He also sent a letter to Sipahdar Khan, the governor of Ahmadnagar, but when Nizamulmulk's men went to take the fortress, he said, "This land belongs to you. Take it. However, it is not possible for me to give up the fortress.

Only when you show me an imperial decree will I give it up." No matter how much Nizamulmulk's agents objected, it did no good. Sipahdar Khan had stocked the fortress with ample stores and supplies. Now he raised the defenses of the towers and ramparts and bravely set out to do battle. The other cowards, in accordance with what Khan Jahan had written, surrendered everything to Nizamulmulk's agents and went to Burhanpur.

Hamid Khan's Wife Goes to War

Now a report will be given of Hamid Khan the Abyssinian and his wife because of its strangeness. This slave had a wife who had been born in poverty in that land. In the beginning, when Nizamulmulk became infatuated with wine and women, this woman made her way inside the harem and in secret slipped him wine, of which the people outside knew nothing. Tricking the people with deceit and trickery, she corrupted him and supplied him with women and girls. Bedecking them with finery and sumptuous clothes, she made them appear beautiful in his eyes, and by seducing him with the society and embraces of these lovelies, she kept him entertained and happy. Little by little control of things outside was handed over to her husband, while inside the harem all control of Nizamulmulk's life fell into this woman's hands. Whenever she rode out, the commanders of the army and grandees of state walked on foot by her stirrup to present their petitions. Finally the Adil Khan sent an army to attack Nizamulmulk, and a force was going to be assigned from the Nizam[ulmulk]'s state. This woman willingly and gladly undertook to lead Nizamulmulk's army by convincing the Nizam that if she defeated the Adil Khan's army it would be a woman who had wrought such an amazing feat, while if things turned out otherwise, what importance could the defeat of a woman have?

In short, the tricky lady undertook the weighty task, throwing off the veil from her unlovely body as she arrayed the forces and mounted a horse herself. She always kept a dagger and jeweled sword at her side and had golden and jeweled rings—called kara in the idiom of India—on her fingers. She also had many military accoutrements and manly items about herself and was always looking for an excuse to exercise generosity and give gifts. Not a day passed that she did not show favor to a military leader or give large amounts of money to the men.

When the two sides clashed, she acted bravely and valiantly in inciting the Adil Khan's troops and encouraging his army and commanders to fight and kill, standing her ground in the midst of the churning sea of battle. She dealt the foe a crushing defeat and returned in safety, laden with booty and plunder, after all the enemy's elephants and artillery fell into her hands.

Imam-Quli Khan of Turan Sends Khwaja Abdul-Rahim [Juybari] as an Emissary

At this point it was reported that Imam-Quli Khan, the ruler of Turan, had kept Mir Sayyid Baraka, His Imperial Majesty's ambassador, in Transoxiana for several years to act as a go-between.[10] When the news of His Majesty's inattention to Shahjahan and Shahjahan's opposition to his father spread to that land, Imam-Quli Khan dispatched Khwaja Abdul-Rahim, the son of Khwaja Kalan, with gifts and presents to accompany Mir Sayyid Baraka and deliver a letter.

The khwaja was one of the greatest sayyids and shaykhs of Transoxiana, and his noble lineage goes back to Imam Ja'far Sadiq. The padishah of Turan, Abdullah Khan, had repented before Khwaja Juybar, Khwaja Abdul-Rahim's grandfather, and held him

10. Mir Baraka's dispatch to Transoxiana is recorded on page 357.

in the greatest esteem. His Imperial Majesty was highly impressed by the khwaja's coming and sent the amirs and dignitaries of state out to greet him.

When he arrived in Kabul, Zafar Khan greeted him and escorted him into the city, where he was the honored guest at an elaborate assembly. His Imperial Majesty sent Musavi Khan out three stages from Lahore to bear a regal robe of honor and jeweled dagger to him. Then Bahadur Khan Uzbek, who had been governor of Mashhad in Abdul-Mu'min Khan's time and held the rank of 5000 in the empire, went out to greet him. When the khwaja reached the vicinity of the city, Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan the divan and Iradat Khan the bakhshi went out by imperial order to greet him. That same day he was given the honor of kissing the imperial hand, but in tribute to his greatness he was exempted from performing körünüsh and taslim. An order was given for him to sit near the imperial throne, and a gratuity of fifty thousand rupees was forced upon him. The next day fourteen trays of the emperor's own food were sent to him with gold and silver plates, and all these items were given to him.

Around this time Khanazad Khan was relieved of the governorship of Bengal, and it was given to Mu'azzam Khan's son Mukarram Khan. When Mukarram Khan was assigned to that office and a decree was issued in his name, he got in a boat to go out and receive the decree. As fate would have it, aside from the great and well-known river in Bengal, there was a nullah the boat had to cross. When Mukarram Khan's boat reached that point, he ordered the sailors to stop the boat on the bank for a while so that he could perform his afternoon prayer and then continue his journey. When the sailors were about to get the boat to shore, a wind arose that took the boat backward, and in the midst of the sudden tumultuousness and motion, the boat went down. Mukarram Khan and several others in the boat were drowned, and not a soul escaped the whirlpool of calamity.

The Death of the Khankhanan

At this same time, Bayram Khan's son the Khankhanan passed away of natural causes at the age of seventy-two. The details are as follows.

When he arrived in Delhi, he was overcome by a severe weakness, and he was forced to stop there. He bade farewell to life in the middle of the year 1036 and was buried in the tomb he had constructed for his wife. One of the great amirs of the empire, during His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani's reign he performed outstanding services and achieved enormous victories, three of which were notable.

First was the victory in Gujarat and the defeat of Muzaffar, through which Gujarat was lost to Muzaffar and came under the control of the supporters of the empire.

Second was the victory in the Battle of Sambhal, in which the forces of the Deccan had mad war elephants and a huge arsenal. It is well known that they had seventy thousand horsemen. The Khankhanan faced the foe with twenty thousand horsemen, fought fiercely for two days and a night, and raised the banner of triumph. Third was the conquest of Thatta and Sind.

During His Imperial Majesty's reign he was not able to achieve any outstanding victory, but his eldest son, Shahnawaz Khan, defeated Ambar with only a few men, as has been recorded in the proper place.[11]

11. Page 187.

The Khankhanan was unique in the age for worthiness and talent. He knew Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Hindi, and was quite erudite in all sorts of rational and traditional learning, even in Indian learning. In bravery, courage, and leadership he was

legendary. He composed fine poetry in both Persian and Hindi, and at the order of His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani he translated Babur's memoirs into Persian. Occasionally he composed single lines, quatrains, and ghazals. The following lines are by him: (ghazal) "I have not discovered how far the numbers of yearning go—only this much, that my heart is extremely hopeful. / In the religion of truth and sincerity words of oath are useless. See how the basis of affection is all vows. / I know neither snare nor grain. I only know I am trapped from head to foot. / Love sold me, but I do not know who my purchaser is or how much I went for. / To pay what is due for love is a favor on the part of the beloved. Otherwise the lover's mind is not happy with anything. / I am happy with your pleasing words, Rahim, because they slightly resemble the blandishments of love." (Quatrain:) "Beware, Rahim, do not follow your heart. / You are inclined futilely in hoping for the heart. / I said once, and I say again, / If you plant a desire you will always reap less.

❁

When Raja Amar Singh, the zamindar of Mandu, chose to submit to the empire, he made a request, saying, "My fathers attained the felicity of kissing the imperial threshold. I too am hopeful that this honor will be granted me." Therefore Jan Rathor, a diplomatic servant, was sent to escort the raja to court. In order to honor him a letter of appeasement, a robe of honor, and a horse were sent.

When it reached the emperor's hearing that Mahabat Khan had gone to Shahjahan, he honored Khan Jahan with the title commander-in-chief to spite Mahabat Khan.

❁ *The Further Adventures of Mahabat Khan*

Now a summary account of the adventures of Mahabat Khan will be given. When he was put out of court and turned his reins toward Thatta, and the imperial army went in pursuit of him, he had no avenue of escape or hope left. He then realized that his only hope lay in taking refuge with Shahjahan, so he sent a letter with one of his trusted men to the prince. The contents were as follows: "If you will pardon the offenses of this sinful slave, I will turn toward your threshold." In accordance with the exigencies of the time, Shahjahan pardoned his offenses and sent him a decree sealed with his palm print to appease him. The ill-starred Mahabat Khan then set forth from Rajpipla and Bharji's land,[12] with nearly two thousand horsemen, joined Shahjahan, and presented a thousand ashrafis, a large diamond worth seventy thousand rupees, and other rarities. In return he was given a jeweled dagger, a jeweled sword, a royal horse, and a royal elephant.

12. Read Rajpipla (south of Baroda) for the text's "Raj Palila." "Bharji's land" is for Bharjiu, the zamindar of Baglana, a territory south of Mandu (page 206).

❁

At this time Khan Jahan was sending letter after letter to try to convince Abdullah Khan, who was in the vicinity, to come to Burhanpur. Abdullah Khan did go there under agreement of safety and saw Khan Jahan. After spending several days in Burhanpur, Khan Jahan was incited by troublemakers to grow suspicious of Abdullah Khan Firoz-Jang, and one day when he came to him with only one servant, Khan Jahan had him seized and put in chains, which action he reported to the court. An order was then issued for Abdullah Khan to be taken to the Asir fortress and held there. Inasmuch as breaking one's oath is disapproved of in all religions, in a short time Khan Jahan paid the price.

In summary, since his head had been turned by too much imperial favor, after the throne was graced by His Majesty Shahjahan,[13] he allowed himself to have outlandish

13. I.e. after Shahjahan's accession. Muhammad-Hadi is, of course, writing after the fact.

fears and baseless imaginings. It went so far that he ran away, and on the eve of Sunday the twenty-eighth of Safar 1039 [October 7, 1629] he, his sons, and a group of Afghans left Akbarabad and took the road to wretchedness. That very night His Majesty assigned a troop of imperial servants to Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, Sayyid Muzaffar Khan, Allahverdi Khan, Riza Bahadur, and Prithi Raj to pursue him. They caught up with him in the vicinity of Dholpur and fought a fierce battle, during which Riza Bahadur was killed and Prithi Raj fell wounded in the field. Khan Jahan lost his two sons and managed to extricate himself half alive from the jaws of death and head for the Deccan, where he joined Nizamulmulk and began to foment strife and discord.

Around the same time Shahjahan's retinue set forth for the Deccan, and the palace in Burhanpur was graced by his regal presence. A'zam Khan, who held the title of Iradat Khan during the Jahangirid reign, was assigned imperial troops to reduce him to naught in Balaghat. Imperial troops battled repeatedly with Khan Jahan, and every time the imperials dominated. However, they were unable to repel him until he went to the Sharqi realms, the territory of the Afghans. His Imperial Majesty [Jahangir] assigned Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz-Jang as commander. Sayyid Muzaffar Khan, Mu'taqid Khan Koka, Rashid Khan, and several other amirs were assigned to accompany him in pursuit of the damned Khan Jahan. The imperial troops caught up with him in the vicinity of the pargana of Sahinda, twenty kos from Allahabad. Despairing of life and salvation, he made a foolish stance with a group of his sons, relatives, and old liege men. He, two of his sons, and several of his retainers were killed, and Khan Bahadur Firoz-Jang sent his brainless head to court.

On the twenty-first of Isfand [March 1] the imperial banners were raised at an auspicious hour for a hunting tour in the happy vale of Kashmir. This trip was necessary, not by choice, since the hot weather was adversely affecting the emperor's constitution. As a consequence, every year in the spring he endured the difficulties of the road to get himself to the peerless perennial garden of Kashmir. Then, having enjoyed the pleasures of that paradisiacal spot, he turned his reins back toward Hindustan.

Several days prior to this, he gave Khwaja Abdul-Rahim [Juybari] thirty thousand rupees. At this time he awarded him a female elephant with a silver howdah.

The Events of the Twenty-Second Year after the Royal Accession, *by Muhammad-Hadi*: March 10, 1627–October 29, 1627

On Sunday the third of Rajab 1036 [March 10, 1627] the world-illuminating sun transited into the constellation of Aries, and the twenty-second year of the imperial reign commenced. The Nawroz celebration was held on the banks of the Chenab, and one day was spent in observance before camp was broken. After proceeding and hunting stage by stage, the descent into the happy vale of Kashmir occurred at an auspicious hour.

When it was reported that Mukarram Khan, the governor of Bengal, had drowned (as was reported on previous pages[1]), the emperor made Fidai Khan governor of Bengal, promoted him to the rank of 5000/5000, gave him a regal robe of honor, and a spotted Persian horse sent by the ruler of Iran, and granted him leave to depart. It was fixed that every year five lacs of rupees in cash would be given as a present to the emperor and five lacs of rupees as an offering to the begam, i.e. ten lacs of rupees in all would enter the imperial treasury.

1. Page 452.

At this time Abusa'id, I'timaduddawla's grandson, was honored by being made governor of Thatta. Bahadur Khan Uzbek was assigned as governor of Allahabad with the transfer of Jahangir-Quli Khan. The sarkar of Kalpi was made Muhtasham Khan's jagir.

The Passing of His Imperial Majesty from the Mortal World to the Abode of Eternity

Neither the tongue nor the ear can bear the mention of this sad event. Anyone whose eye fell upon the beauty that mighty emperor's form and grace knows what sleight-of-hand the celestial sphere has wrought.

> When he sat upon the throne of empire the world attained the splendor of the divine shadow. / Illuminator of crown and throne he was: generous, merciful, and lucky.

In short, while His Majesty was in Kashmir he fell ill and grew so weak and debilitated that he had to sit in a palanquin and be carried about. One day he had a severe pain, and signs of hopelessness and resignation appeared in him. He spoke involuntary words from which came the aroma of hopelessness, and a great tumult befell the people. However, since a few days were left in this borrowed life, this time it passed, but several days later he lost his appetite and developed an aversion to the opium that had

been his constant companion for forty years. Other than a few bowls of grape wine, he had no inclination for anything.

At this time Shahryar was disfigured by a severe case of hair loss, and his beard, moustache, eyebrows, and eyelashes all fell out. No treatment the physicians applied did any good. Humiliated and ashamed, he requested that he be allowed to go to Lahore in advance of the retinue for treatment, and by imperial order he set out. He requested that Khusraw's son Dawarbakhsh, whom Nurjahan Begam had turned over to him to hold in chains as a precaution, be entrusted to someone else. He was taken from him and given to Iradat Khan.

Around that time His Imperial Majesty went to tour Machhi Bhawan, Achhival, and Vernag. Along the way Mahabat Khan's son Khanazad Khan came from Bengal and paid homage. He presented an elephant that was good for riding. Sayyid Ja'far, who had deserted Shahjahan, also joined the imperial retinue.

Now the imperial banners were raised and pointed in the direction of Lahore. The emperor engaged in a hunt in Bahramgala. The manner of this hunt has been described in previous pages. There is an extremely high mountain, and at the foot of the mountain is a platform from which one can shoot a musket. When the zamindars drive the antelopes over the pinnacle of the mountain and they come into the imperial sight, the emperor aims his musket and fires. As soon as the antelope is hit it falls from the top of the mountain and rolls down to the ground. Without exaggeration, it is an amazing sight and a wonderful method of hunting.

At this point one of the foot soldiers from that area drove an antelope over, but it stopped on an outcropping of rock and could not be seen very well. The foot soldier wanted to go forward and drive the antelope from that place, but no sooner had he stepped forward than he lost his footing. There was a bush in front of him he grabbed to hold himself steady. As luck would have it, the bush came out by the roots, and the soldier tumbled down to the ground, killing himself.

At the sight of this, His Majesty was quite upset. Leaving the hunt, he returned to the palace. The soldier's mother came in utter distress, and although the emperor consoled her with money, he himself was disconsolate. It was as though the angel of death had appeared in this guise to the emperor. From that hour he lost his composure and was distressed. He went from Bahramgala to Thatha to Rajaor. As usual, he marched one watch before the end of day.

Along the way he called for his wine bowl, but as soon as he put it to his lips he lost his taste for it and turned away. He was in the same state until he reached the palace. Toward the end of the night, which was actually the last day of his life, he was in great distress. At dawn, which was his last hour, those who were around him gave up hope. He drew several laborious breaths, and at breakfast time on Sunday the twenty-eighth of Safar 1037 [October 29, 1627], corresponding to the fifteenth of Aban of the twenty-second regnal year, his spirit departed this world at the age of sixty.

Asaf Khan Elevates Khusraw's son Dawarbakhsh to the Throne and Takes Him to do Battle with Shahryar

When the tragic event occurred, the world went into an uproar. Asaf Khan, a loyal supporter of Shahjahan, conspired with Iradat Khan to release Khusraw's son Dawarbakhsh from prison and give him the good news of a phantom rulership. However, he would not believe it until they swore solemn oaths that it was so.

Then Asaf Khan and Iradat Khan put Dawarbakhsh on a horse, raised the royal parasol, and set out for the next station. No matter how many messengers Nurjahan

Begam sent to summon her brother, Asaf Khan made excuses and did not go to her. There was nothing she could do but send His Majesty Jannat-Makani's cortege ahead while she and the princes got on an elephant and followed behind. Asaf Khan sent a Hindu named Benarasi by post horse to Shahjahan to give him the news of His Majesty's death. Since there was no time to write a letter, he entrusted his ring to him to serve as a token of his trust.

In short, they halted that night in Naushahra. The next day they emerged from the mountains and camped in Bhimbar. There they attended to the preparations of the body and sent His Majesty's bier to Lahore with Maqsud Khan and others. On Friday he was laid to rest in a garden Nurjahan Begam had built on the other side of the river in Lahore.

The great amirs and other servants who had been in His Majesty's retinue knew that Asaf Khan had concocted this plot in order to assure Shahjahan's accession. Although he elevated Dawarbakhsh to the rule, he was really making him a sacrificial lamb. All agreed with Asaf Khan and did what he said. They had the khutba read in Dawarbakhsh's name in the vicinity of Bhimbar and then set out for Lahore. Because Asaf Khan had seen continuous signs of disloyalty to and uncooperativeness with Shahjahan from Sadiq Khan, now Sadiq Khan became very fearful and frightened and took refuge with Asaf Khan, begging him to help him and act as an intercessor to have his offenses pardoned. Asaf Khan turned over to him the grand princes he had taken from Nur Mahall so that Sadiq Khan could serve them and use this service as a means of intercession for his offenses. Asaf Khan's sister who was married to Sadiq Khan considered it an eternal happiness to serve the princes, and she fluttered around them like a butterfly. Since Asaf Khan was not totally at ease concerning his sister Nurjahan Begam, he kept her under watch and was careful not to let anyone have access to her. The begam was thinking that Shahryar would attain the throne.

When the unfortunate Shahryar in Lahore heard of His Majesty Jannat-Makani's death, through the instigation of women and by his own seditiousness the short-sighted one called himself ruler, a name without substance, and usurped the treasury and all the imperial workshops, giving everyone whatever he wanted. He began acquiring soldiers and troops and took control of all the imperial departments, elephant stables, armory, etc. that were in Lahore. Within one week he had given seventy-three lacs of rupees to officers old and new and entertained vain notions. Prince Danyal's son Mirza Baysunghur had fled after His Majesty's death and gone to Shahryar in Lahore. Shahryar made him commander of his troops and sent them across the river, unaware that the dealers of destiny would seat in splendor a lucky one whose orders mighty and splendid sultans would be proud to obey.

On the other front, Asaf Khan put Dawarbakhsh on an elephant, mounted another elephant himself, and set out to do battle. Asaf Khan was in the center, Khwaja Abu'l-Hasan, Mukhlis Khan, Allahverdi Khan, and the Barha sayyids were in the vanguard. Sher Khwaja and Prince Danyal's sons were in the altmïsh. Iradat Khan and many amirs were in the right wing, and Sadiq Khan, Shahnawaz Khan, Mu'tamad Khan, and others were in the left wing. The two sides clashed three kos outside the city. In the first charge the order of the troops was broken, and the newly conscripted liege men who were sent against the veteran amirs of the empire scattered in all directions.

At this point the unfortunate Shahryar stood over the city of Lahore with two or three thousand veteran cavalrymen, waiting to see what tricks destiny would play. Suddenly a Turkish slave raced from the battlefield to bring him the bad news. The unfortunate, not having assessed the result of his labor and not knowing what was best

for himself, was led by misfortune to turn his reins and enter the fortress. The next day the amirs came and pitched camp next to the city fortress on the side by Mahdi Qasim Khan's garden. Most of Shahryar's liege men obtained promises of amnesty and capitulated to Asaf Khan. That night Iradat Khan entered the fortress and stopped in the courtyard of the imperial palace.

The next morning the great amirs sat Dawarbakhsh on the throne of misfortune inside the citadel, and Shahryar crept off into an obscure corner of His Imperial Majesty's harem. The eunuch Firoz Khan, who was an intimate and trusted servant of the harem, brought him out and turned him over to Allahverdi Khan, who removed the sash from his waist, bound Shahryar's hands with it, and led him to Dawarbakhsh. After performing körünüsh and taslim, he was imprisoned in a place that had been decided upon. Two days later he was blinded and sat in a corner of misfortune in a miserable state. Several days later Prince Danyal's sons Tahmuras and Hoshang were also seized and imprisoned.

Asaf Khan sent a letter filled with the good news of victory and triumph to the court of Shahjahan and begged that his glorious retinue would proceed on wings of haste to rescue the world from chaos. Now a summary account of the arrival of Benarasi to Shahjahan's court and the setting forth of his world-conquering banners to the capital will be given.

Benarasi made it from the station of Jangirhati, a stopping place in the middle of the Kashmiri mountains, on Sunday the nineteenth of Rabi' I 1037 [November 18] to Khair, which is located at the other end of Nizamulmulk's territory. He went straight from the road to the quarters of Mahabat Khan, who had paid homage that very day, and reported what had happened. He got himself to the harem like lightning and sent the news in. His Majesty came out of the harem. Benarasi kissed the ground and reported what had happened, showing him Asaf Khan's ring. The occurrence of such a tragic event was devastating, and signs of sadness and grief appeared on his brow.

Since time did not permit the ceremonies of condolence to be indulged in, and to stop was unwise, at the insistence of Mahabat Khan and other supporters, on Thursday the twenty-third of Rabi' I 1037 [November 22], a date chosen by the astrologers, the retinue set out in haste via Gujarat for the capital. A letter saying that Benarasi had arrived and delivered the news and that the retinue was setting out for the capital was sent with the loyal servants Amanullah and Bayazid. He dispatched Jannisar Khan, one of his intimate servants, with a decree containing all sorts of favors for Khan Jahan Afghan, who was then governor of the Deccan, to appease him with promises of much favor. Since it was nearly time for his downfall, he abandoned the right way, made himself a wanderer in the valley of error with his own vain notions, and made a pact with Nizamulmulk, establishing, as has been recorded previously, that he would turn over the land of Balaghat to the fortress at Ahmadnagar to the Nizam's control. He made such efforts in this regard that all the land of Balaghat, except for the Ahmadnagar fortress, came under Nizamulmulk's control.

In short, since Khan Jahan was determined to foment strife, first he surrendered such territory gratis to an enemy he thought would come to his aid during bad times. At the same time Darya Rohela, who had joined Shahjahan before His Majesty's death, went to Chandwar, which is inside Nizamulmulk's state, and was living in poverty. He emerged, joined Khan Jahan, and began stirring up trouble. Aqa Afzal, the divan of the souba of the Deccan, whose brother was Shahryar's divan, was also not perfectly loyal to Shahjahan and spoke nonsense to the miserable Afghan. In short, Jannisar Khan, who had brought a decree of conciliation to Khan Jahan, was given

leave to return without a letter written in reply and without having accomplished what he went for.

In short, Khan Jahan left his children in Burhanpur with Iskandar Dotai and a troop of Afghans who supported him from the bottom of their hearts. He and a group of imperial servants who appeared to agree with him but who were careful to preserve themselves from his evil, like Raja Gaj Singh, Raja Jai Singh, and others, came to Mandu. He seized control of most of the villages of the province of Malwa, thus announcing his seditiousness to the world. Then he quickly turned around and went back to Burhanpur.

When the mighty retinue reached the borders of the land of Gujarat, a letter came from Nahar Khan, who was entitled Sher Khan, announcing his loyalty and support and telling of the vain desires of Sayf Khan [Jahangirshahi], who was then governor of Ahmadabad. Since Sayf Khan had offended and affronted Shahjahan's servants while His Majesty Jannat-Makani [Jahangir] was alive, he was in great trepidation over his past actions. The arrival of Sher Khan's letter confirmed this. Therefore Sher Khan was showered with princely favor and made governor of Gujarat. An edict was issued saying that he should take control of the city of Ahmadabad and turn it over to his trusted men, and that Sayf Khan should be sent to court under guard. At this point Sayf Khan was very ill, and since the elder sister of Her Majesty Mumtazuzzamani was married to Sayf Khan, and the queen was extremely fond of her sister, it was necessary for Shahjahan to curry her favor. Consequently Khidmatparast Khan was ordered to go to Ahmadabad and bring Sayf Khan from under guard to Shahjahan and not let anything happen to him. The retinue crossed the River Narbada at the Baba Byari crossing and stopped in the town of . . . ,[2] which is located on the banks of that river. At that charming site a celebration was held for the lunar weighing of his thirty-seventh year.

2. Text has *SNBWR*; no such place name has been found

Sayyid Diler Khan Barha, a matchless warrior, attained the felicity of paying homage and was promoted to the rank of 4000/3000. At the celebration it was learned from Sher Khan's report that it had been ascertained from Sahuka Ram of Gujarat's letter that some of those who were in Lahore—namely Asaf Khan and other supporters who were keeping Dawarbakhsh under their thumbs—had gone out to confront Shahryar and triumphed over him in battle in the vicinity of Lahore. Shahryar was holed up in the Lahore fortress, which was really like a prison.

When Khidmatparast Khan, who had gone to protect Sayf Khan, reached the vicinity of Ahmadabad, Sher Khan came out to greet the imperial decree and receive a robe of honor, and he kissed the ground in loyalty. Sayf Khan had no choice but to accompany Khidmatparast Khan to court, and through Her Highness's intercession [Shahjahan] pardoned his offenses and released him. Sher Khan tended to the administration of the city and then joined other amirs like Mirza Isa Tarkhan, Mirza Wali Khan, and others in paying homage in Mahmudabad.

When the Kankriya tank outside Ahmadabad became the site of Shahjahan's camp, he remained there seven days in order to regulate affairs in that land. Sher Khan was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000 and made governor of Gujarat. He promoted Mirza Isa Tarkhan to the rank of 4000 and made him governor of Thatta. For supervision of the imperial workshops and regulation of state affairs he sent Khidmatparast Khan, a devoted and trusted intimate, to Asaf Khan in Lahore. He wrote a letter in his own handwriting saying that during this time of tribulation and strife, if they did away with Khusraw's son Dawarbakhsh, his brother Shahryar, and Prince Danyal's sons, they would save his supporters a lot of worry.

The Khutba is Read in the Name of Shahjahan in Lahore

On Sunday the twenty-second of Jumada I 1037 [January 19, 1628], in the presence of his supporters in the portico of the hall of public and private audience in Lahore, the khutba was read with the name and titles of the padishah, adorner of the throne of the sultanate and glory.

Dawarbakhsh, whom His Majesty's supporters had elevated to the rule for a few days as a temporary expedient and in order to put down turmoil, was arrested and imprisoned somewhere. On the eve of Wednesday the twenty-fifth of the month [January 22], he, his brother Garshasp, Shahryar, and Prince Danyal's sons Tahmuras and Hoshang were deprived of their lives.

At this time the retinue reached the borders of the Rana's territory, and Rana Karan went out in loyalty to pay homage and present an offering at Gogunda, where formerly during Shahjahan's princely days he and his father, Rana Amar Singh, had attained the felicity of kissing the threshold. The generous emperor showered him with all sorts of favors and gave him a robe of honor with a ruby *dhakdhaki* worth thirty thousand rupees,[3] a jeweled sword, a jeweled dagger, a royal elephant with silver trappings, and a royal horse with a golden saddle. His jagir was reconfirmed as before.

On the banks of Lake Mandal a celebration was held for the solar weighing for the thirty-seventh year of the emperor's life.

On the seventeenth of Jumada I [January 14, 1628] the courtyard of the shrine at Ajmer was honored by the arrival of the retinue. As his grandfather had done, he visited the shrine on foot, made all sorts of charitable contributions, and planned construction of a fine stone mosque, ordering the builders to complete the job in a short time. At Mahabat Khan Khankhanan Sipahsalar's request he gave the souba of Ajmer and the surrounding parganas to him as a jagir and set out for the capital. Along the way Khan Alam, Muzaffar Khan Ma'muri, Bahadur Khan Uzbek, Raja Jai Singh, Ani Rai Singhdalan, Raja Bharat Bundela, Sayyid Bahwa Bukhari, and many servants came in yearning and loyalty to kiss the ground.

On the eve of Thursday the twenty-sixth of Jumada I [January 23], the imperial retinue stopped outside Akbarabad in the Nur Manzil garden. Qasim Khan, the governor of the city, paid homage and rubbed his forehead on the ground in loyalty.

The next morning, Thursday, Shahjahan proceeded, mounted on an elephant and escorted by good luck and fortune, into the city, scattering mountains of coins left and right. Since the hour for the auspicious accession to the throne of the caliphate and world rule was on Tuesday the seventh of Jumada II [February 3], he stayed for ten days in the palace he had occupied when he was a prince.

On the above-mentioned date he entered the fortress and sat upon the throne in the Hall of Public and Private Audience. The khutba and coinage were put in his name, and the seal of state on edicts and decrees was in the name of Abu'l-Muzaffar Shihabuddin Muhammad Sahib-Qiran II Shahjahan Padishah Ghazi. The ancient world turned young again, and the world received peace and security.

3. A *dhakdhaki* is a choker with a jewel that covers the Adam's apple.

Jahangirnama Chronology

REGNAL YEAR	BEGINS ON	=	SIGNIFICANT EVENTS
I	20 Jum. II 1014	Oct. 23, 1605	Accession
	11 Dhu'l-Q. 1014	Mar. 10, 1606	First Nawroz
II	22 Dhu'l-Q. 1015	Mar. 11, 1607	J. leaves Lahore for Kabul (Mar., 1607) J. arrives in Kabul (Jun. 4, 1607) Lunar weighing ceremony (Jul. 3, 1607) Khurram's weighing ceremony (Jul. 21, 1607) J. leaves Kabul (Aug., 1607) Solar weighing ceremony (Sept. 14, 1607) J. stops in Delhi (Feb., 1608)
III	2 Dhu'l-H. 1016	Mar. 9, 1608	J. arrives in Agra (Mar. 11, 1608) Lunar weighing ceremony (June 22, 1608) Solar weighing ceremony (Sept. 2, 1608) J. visits Akbar's tomb (Oct. 17, 1608)
IV	14 Dhu'l-H. 1017	Mar. 11, 1609	Lunar weighing ceremony (Jun. 12, 1609) Parvez departs on the Deccan campaign (Oct. 3, 1609)
V	24 Dhu'l-H. 1018	Mar. 10, 1610	
VI	6 Muh. 1020	Mar. 11, 1611	Arrival of Yadgar-Ali, Iranian ambassador (Mar. 29, 1611)
VII	16 Muh. 1021	Mar. 9, 1612	Solar weighing ceremony (Sep. 3, 1612)
VIII	28 Muh. 1022	Mar. 10, 1613	Lunar weighing ceremony (May 6, 1613) Solar weighing ceremony (Aug. 31, 1613) J. leaves Agra for Ajmer (Sept., 1613) J. arrives in Ajmer (Nov., 1613) Khurram sent to Mewar (Dec. 16, 1613)
IX	9 Safar 1023	Mar. 11, 1614	Solar weighing ceremony (Sept. 5, 1614) Khurram returns from Mewar (Feb. 20, 1615)
X	20 Safar 1024	Mar. 11, 1615	Birth of Dara-Shikoh (Mar. 20, 1615) Lunar weighing ceremony (Apr. 18, 1615)
XI	1 Rab. I 1025	Mar. 9, 1616	News of Murtaza Khan's death arrives (May 9, 1616) Death of Khurram's infant daughter (June 5, 1616) Birth of Shah-Shuja' (June 21, 1616) Solar weighing ceremony (Sept. 5, 1616) Khurram sent to the Deccan; J. departs Ajmer (Oct. 31, 1616) J. arrives on the border of Malwa (Jan. 15, 1617) J. arrives in Mandu; Khurram enters Burhanpur (Mar. 3, 1617)

XII	12 Rab. I 1026	Mar. 10, 1617	Lunar weighing ceremony (Mar. 20, 1617) Khurram pays homage and is awarded the title Shahjahan (Oct. 1, 1617) J. departs Mandu for Gujarat (Oct. 4, 1617) J. enters Ahmadabad (Jan. 5, 1618) J. departs Ahmadabad for Malwa (Feb. 9, 1618)
XIII	23 Rab. I 1027	Mar. 10, 1618	Lunar weighing ceremony (Mar. 11, 1618) Birth of Awrangzeb (Oct. 24, 1618)
XIV	4 Rab. II 1028	Mar. 11, 1619	J. returns to Agra (Apr., 1619) J. leaves for Kashmir (Oct., 1619) Birth of Muradbakhsh (Dec. 8, 1619)
XV	15 Rab. II 1029	Mar. 11, 1620	J. returns to Agra (Feb., 1621)
XVI	27 Rab. II 1030	Mar. 11, 1621	J. leaves Agra for a tour of the hill country (Oct., 1621) Death of I'timaduddawla (Jan. 17, 1622) Death of Prince Khusraw (Feb. 16, 1622)
XVII	8 Jum. I 1031	Mar. 11, 1622	
XVIII	20 Jum. I 1032	Mar. 12, 1623	J. arrives in Ajmer (May, 1623) J. departs for Kashmir (Nov., 1623)
XIX	29 Jum. I 1033	Mar. 9, 1624	J. arrives in Kashmir J. leaves Kashmir for Lahore (Sept., 1624)
XX	10 Jum. II 1034	Mar. 10, 1625	
XXI	22 Jum. II 1035	Mar. 11, 1626	J. goes to Kabul (Apr., 1626) J. leaves Kabul (Aug., 1626) J. arrives in Lahore (Oct., 1626)
XXII	3 Rajab 1036	Mar. 10, 1627	J. departs for Kashmir J. dies (Oct. 29, 1627)

Glossary

abdarkhana — the imperial department of libations, which furnished drinking water and other potables

abpashi — a festival during which rose water was squirted on participants (103b)

ahadi — a single soldier, i.e. not attached as a liege man to a commander

akhund — a Muslim divine, teacher

al tamgha — the red, or vermillion, seal; the great seal of state (9a)

altmïsh — the advance guard of the center of the army

altun tamgha — a gold seal designed by Jahangir (9a)

ananas — pineapple, name taken from the Portuguese (3a, 137b, 220a)

anand — rest, repose (128b)

ani rai — troop commander, title given to Anup Rai (75b)

arghushtak — a folk dance witnessed by Jahangir in Kabul (43a)

ashrafi — a gold coin

ashram — each of the four stages of a Brahmin's life (140a)

atalïq — royal tutor

badar — a massive rope net used to contain animals in the hunt[1] (494)

bagh — garden

bahadur — champion, a warrior title

bahal — cart (108a)

baish — the third, commercial Hindu caste (96a)

bakhshi — a military administrative officer, of whom there were usually three; the chief bakhshi of the empire, the *mir bakhshi*, was in charge of holders of the highest ranks; each souba also had its own *bakhshi*, and campaigns had separate *bakhshi*s

ban — a fireworks rocket

ban manus — orangutan (57a)

banjara — grain seller (280a)

banprasth — a Brahmin of the third, renunciation stage of life, hermit (140b)

barchha — a kind of spear

bari — garden (169b)

Basant Bari — lit. "spring garden," the reference (folio 210b) must be to the festival usually known as Basant Panchami, which is held "on the fifth day of the light half of the month Magh" in celebration of the advent of spring

1. For an illustration of a *badar*, see Beach et al., *Padshahnama*, p. 111, fig. 46.

beg	a title of minor nobility, inferior in rank to khan
begam	"madam," a title of rank and respect accorded to all royal wives and daughters
bey	Uzbek variant of *beg*
bhadr	"lucky," the name given to the citadel of Ahmadabad (168a)
bhang	hasheesh (63b)
bhanwar jal	"spinning net," a type of fishing net (40a)
bhaunra	black bee (163b)
bigha	a measure of land area, 5/8 acre, the "beegah" of Anglo-Indian
bijhra	a mixture of barley, wheat, millet, grain, and lentils (166a)
biryani	a dish made of meat and rice (24a)
bödänä	a type of quail
bokra	billy goat (apparently used for other male animals also)
brahmcharj	sacred study, the first stage of a young Brahmin's life (140b)
brahman	Brahmin, the first Hindu caste, students of religious knowledge (96a)
buza	a type of beer (63b)
cadi	the supreme judge of the empire
chambeli	the jasmine, *Jasminum grandiflorum* (3b)
champa	the tree *Michelia champaca* (3b, 152b)
charan	poet, bard (56a)
charan	a quarter-rupee coin (48b)
charbagh	a garden with rising terraces
charkhi	a pinwheel firework used to control elephants
charqab	a textile item of presentation; the term is ill-defined by dictionaries, but it is thought to be a highly worked embroidered "cloud" collar
chaudhari	village elder, headman of a village, "chowdry" in Anglo-Indian
chaukhandi	an open four-sided pavilion, either a free-standing structure or a pavilion mounted on an elephant (89a)
chhatri	the second, military and regal Hindu caste; also called *khattri* (96a)
chikara	a type of antelope, the ravine deer, commonly found on the banks of the Jumna
chital	a type of spotted snake (302a)
dam	one-fortieth of a rupee
Darbar Mahall	the title of the imperial harem
darugha	superintendant of a department
Dasehra	a Hindu festival in October (32b)
devang	a tailless simian brought from Ceylon, perhaps the slender loris (57a)
dewhra	idol temple (99b)
dhakdhaki	a choker with a jewel that covers the Adam's apple (514)
dhurpat	a style of singing (106a)
Divali	Hindu festival in honor of Karttikeya, the god of war, held on the day of the new moon of Karttik; houses and streets are illuminated, and the night is spent in gambling (96a)

divan the vizier in charge of the administration of finance
drab a half-rupee coin (48b)
duaspa-seaspa a *suwar* rank so styled indicates that the holder fielded double the number of all or part of the horses and horsemen indicated by his rank—and he also drew double the salary
dudhara the antelope *Tetraceros quadricornis* (138b)
dumsicha wagtail (151b)
dupiaza "twice-onioned," a meat curry in which double the number of onions of an ordinary curry is used

faraji a lined frock coat, described in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (1:102) as "an open-fronted garment without fasteners, to which some people add buttons; usually worn over trousers"
farashkhana the textile storage department, where carpets, hangings, tents, &c. were kept
farrash a menial servant who spreads carpets, erects tents and pavilions, &c.
fath-jang "triumphant in battle," a title awarded to Ibrahim Khan
fatiha the first chapter of the Koran; it is commonly recited at saints' tombs as a propitiatory act
fawjdar the garrison commander of a sarkar
firoz-jang "victor in battle," a title awarded to Abdullah Khan
futa a prayer shawl

gaj elephant
ganwar villager (306b)
gathri parcel (156a)
ghaghar a type of quail or pigeon (306a)
ghari a period of twenty-four minutes, the eighth part of a *pahr*, q.v.
ghata juhar a Rajput ceremony of capitulation in which elephants are presented (111a)
ghat, ghati features of the Indian landscape, both *ghat*s and *ghati*s are mountain passes or declivities, but a *ghat* is steeper than a *ghati*
ghaza a military expedition against a non-Muslim people
ghazi warrior for the faith, a title rulers could adopt when they had led or sponsored raids on a non-Muslim people
ghulurkhana as defined by Jahangir, a type of soup-kitchen (29a); the name seems to be a metathesized form of *bulghur* 'cracked wheat,' commonly used to make a sort of gruel served to the poor, plus the suffix *-khana* 'house'
ghunt a kind of hill pony characterized as "strong but clumsy" and known in British India as a "goont" (82a, 243a–b)
ghurbahal a four-wheeled horse-drawn carriage (15a)
ghuslkhana "bathhouse," the informal designation of the emperor's private audience hall since private audience was held by Akbar after his bath; the institution and building were later called *diwan-i-khass*
gilahri squirrel, flying squirrel (42b)
girih the "knot," 1/16th of an ell, or a little over 2 inches

girbast	the family-raising stage of a Brahmin's life (140b)
gulalbara	an enclosure around an area, a royal garden (81a)
gumshamba	"day of loss," name given by Jahangir to Wednesday after the death of his granddaughter (152b)
guru	teacher, guide, preceptor
haftrang	originally a technique of cut and inlaid tile; Jahangir uses the term for jewel inlay (222a)
hakim	physician, title of physicians
haram	religiously forbidden
Holi	the Hindu spring festival, held near the vernal equinox; participants sprinkle red and yellow powder on each other (96b)
hun	a gold coin of the Deccan
ibadatkhana	a building in which private meditations and acts of devotion are performed
idgah	an area outside of a city where festival prayers can be performed by the population at large
irqbandi	possibly a retaining wall around a raised platform (228a)
jagir	an administrative grant of land entitling the holder to the income from the land granted
jagirdar	a jagir-holder
jala	raft made of inflated animal skins and bamboo (41a)
jamdhar	an Indian type of thrusting dagger
jan bahman	a type of bird, possibly the Himalayan snow-cock (274b)
jhakkar	a sudden gale or squall (94b, 97a)
jharoka	the Hindi word for window, the *jharoka* is the aperture at which the emperor sat for the early morning ceremony of *jharoka-i-darshan*, when the emperor showed himself at a window or balcony
jhingar	the normal word for cricket, but Jahangir defines it as a small flying insect like a gnat (121b)
jilawana	"rein money," a charge disguised as a gratuity received by the stable masters from persons who had been awarded elephants or horses; the practice was abolished by Jahangir (17b)
juhar	self-immolation (298a)
juwar	Indian millet (200a)
kachhi	a type of horse bred in Kachh (Kutch), the province southeast of Sind
kalawant	a class of musician, minstrel
kamodini	water lily
kanwal	the lotus, *Nymphoea nelumbo*
kara	a Hindu bracelet or arm ring
käräkaraqkhana	the imperial clothing department
karor	the crore, ten million
karori	the administrative officer of a pargana
karwanak	type of crane or heron

katara see *phul-katara*
kaunla type of orange, *Citrus aurantium* (137b)
kawkabban a type of firework
keora species of *Pandanus odoratissimus*
khambh post, pillar (165a)
khan the highest title of nobility, awarded by the sovereign
khanaqah a Sufi hostel
khanazad literally "house-born," a hereditary servant, anyone whose mother or father was in Mughal service and was thus born to imperial service
khanda a straight double-edged sword
khani the unit of currency of Turan (Uzbekistan)
khapwa a type of dagger similar to the *katara*, q. v.
kharbuza the Persian melon
khattri see *chhatri*
khiaban avenue, a boulevard usually lined with trees
khichri a dish made of rice and lentils, "kedgeree" (166a)
khirni the tree *Mimusops kauki*
khutba the "address," part of the Friday congregational prayer in which the name of the ruler is mentioned; mention of a ruler's name in the *khutba* and on coinage was the means by which de facto rule was announced
khwaja a title of learning and respect accorded originally to Sufi elders, particularly shaykhs of the Naqshbandi Order; in Jahangir's time the title had become hereditary
koil the black or Indian cuckoo, *Cuculus indicus*
koka same as *kükältash*, see below
kokazad son or daughter of a *koka*
körünüsh the formal "kowtow," or prostration, before the emperor; see *taslim*
kos the kos is a measure of distance, roughly two and a half miles
kosha a Bengali type of boat (217b)
kotwal a city official whose duties corresponded roughly with those of a chief of police
kükältash "milk brother," also *koka*, one who was suckled by the same wet nurse; Qutbuddin Khan Koka was a *kükältash* to Jahangir by virtue of the fact that Jahangir was nursed by Qutbuddin's mother
kunwar prince, Rajput title of an heir apparent
kürägän, kurgan from the Mongolian *gürägän* 'son-in-law,' the title accorded all who married princesses of Genghisid blood
kurdi the Persian name for the *nadiri*, q.v.

lakh the lac, a hundred thousand
ladla darling, pet
lajjavari = lajjavati mimosa
langur the white-bearded ape of the genus *Presbytes* (177b)
loh langar a weighted chain attacked to an elephant's foot; the mahout could drop the *loh langar* to slow down an elephant that had run amok[2]

2. For an illustration of a *loh langar*, see Beach et al., *Padshahnama*, p. 75.

magarmacchh alligator, crocodile

mahmudi a Gujrati coin

maqsura enclosure in a mosque designed to protect the ruler during the congregational prayer

markhor lit. "snake-eater," a type of mountain goat, *Capra megaceros*; the "markhore" of Anglo-Indian (*Hobson-Jobson* 559a).

maulsari the tree *Mimusops elengi*, the Spanish cherry (3b, 191a)

mawlana "our lord," a title of respect for learned persons

mian a title of respect, especially for pious religious figures

mir the title Mir before a given name usually indicates status as a *sayyid*, q.v.

mir adl the chief justice in charge of executive matters and enforcing judicial decisions

mirbahri a maritime customs impost abolished by Jahangir (3b)

mir bakhshi the chief bakhshi

mir tüzük the master of ceremonies, the officer in charge of order at court

mirza a princely title, especially of Timurids and Safavids

mubarakshamba "blessed day," name given by Jahangir to Thursday (152b)

mufarrih a mild narcotic concoction (68a)

muhr a coin, Anglicized as mohur

muhtasib the official charged with enforcing public morals

mulla a shortened form of *mawlana*, q.v.

munji Brahmin's girdle or cord (140a)

nadiri a sleeveless jacket worn over the *qaba*; the *nadiri* was restricted to Jahangir and to certain others to whom he gave special permission (151b)[3]

naghzak the mimosa

nawara a type of battleship (462)

nilgai properly the male is *nilgau* and the female is *nilgai*, but in Anglo-Indian "nilgai," or "neelgye," became the generic designation of the great blue antelope *Boselaphus tragocamelus*, called *rojh* in Hindi

oymaq a Turkish tribe or clan; also used for tribal cavalry troops

pahar mountain, hill, whence the nickname of Jahangir's brother Shah-Murad, "Pahari," who was born in the hills outside of Agra (12b)

pahr a watch, a period of three hours, the eighth part of a twenty-four-hour day, further subdivided into eight *gharis*, q.v.

pahunchi bracelet (154b)

paluda a thick, custardy confection

pakka baked, as bricks, the "pucka" of Anglo-Indian (39b)

pal a measure of time equivalent to 24 seconds

palash the tree *Butea frondosa*

papiha species of cuckoo, *Cuculus melanoleneos* (251b)

pargana subdivision of a *sarkar*, q.v.

parmnarm Akbar's jingly name for the cashmere shawl (242b)

3. Jahangir is shown wearing a *nadiri* in the illustration Freer 48.28b, reproduced on p. 392.

payandaz a ritual presentation of gifts, literally "casting at the feet"; also the carpet or spread on which such a presentation was made (210a)

peshkash an "offering," or present, from a subordinate to a superior

phana "wedge," the weighted cord attached to a decoy antelope's antlers (197a; *Farhang-i Jahangiri* 2:259)

phul-katara the *katár*, or *kattára*, dagger (Anglo-Indian "kuttaur") has a handle consisting of two parallel bars with a cross-piece; the wielder grabs the cross-piece, and the parallel bars extend beside the hand to the wrist; *phúl* means 'flower' and refers to ornate jewel-inlay work on the hilt; *phúl-katára*s were mainly ornamental presentation items while ordinary *katára*s were used as weapons

pindi a *pindi* is part of a Shiva-ling, an altar on which offerings are made; since it is part of many village names, Jahangir thought it meant village (39b)

pundit a Hindu learned in Brahmanical theology

qaba a long robe slit down the front with fastenings on the side

qamargha the "battue" method of hunting: a large area is surrounded and beaters progressively shrink the circle until all the game is trapped in a small area; at this point, the chief hunters enter the circle and slaughter their prey.

qanungo magistrate of a sarkar

qarisha a small bird, not identified (136b, 160a)

qashqa blaze on the forehead of a horse, used by Jahangir for the ticka, the Hindu mark of caste or blessing on the forehead (28a)

Qizilbash "redheads," the nickname applied to Safavid soldiers because of the tall red cap members of the Safavid Order wore under their turbans

qorbegi arms bearer, the chief officer of the imperial guard

qutbi a type of ruby, perhaps the balast ruby (59a)

rae bel species of jasmine, *Jasminum zambac*

rai a Hindu princely title

raja a sovereign title among Rajputs

rakhi the band fastened around a protector's wrist (96a)

rana a princely title among Rajputs

rao a Hindu princely title

ratha a horse- or ox-drawn carriage (132b)

rawal a Rajput princely title

rawat a chieftainly title

rishi a pious person (243b)

rohu the fish *Cyprinus rohite* (134b)

sachïq gifts sent from a bridegroom's house to the bride's prior to the wedding (57b, 64a)

sag jamkura a type of green vegetable that grows in the Deccan (158a)

sang mahi a type of fish, "rock fish" (173b)

Sankrant	a Hindu festival held when the sun enters Scorpio, i.e. on or around the twenty-third of October (63b)
sanyasi	a Hindu ascetic (69b, 187b, 277a)
saraparda	a pavilion or enclosure (81a)
saras	the Indian crane, *Grus antigone* (134b)
sarb nyas	renunciation of everything, the fourth and final stage of a Brahmin's life (141a)
sarkar	subdivision of a souba; commonly pronounced *sirkar*, it is the "circar" of Anglo-Indian
sarpech	a turban ornament
Savan	the fourth Hindu month, equivalent to Amurdad and Cancer (July–August)
sayyid	a lineal descendant of the Prophet Muhammad; *sayyid*s often have the title Mir, q.v.
sazavul	a land steward and collector of revenue
seoti	the dog rose, China rose, *Rosa glandulifera*
shab-i-barat	the commemoration of the night of the first revelation of the Koran, celebrated on the fourteenth of Sha'ban
shagirdpesha	a menial servant, an ordinary soldier
shahalu	name given by Akbar to the cherry, ostensibly to distinguish the normal word for cherry, *gilas*, from a homonym that means lizard (46b)
shajaru'l-haya	"tree of modesty," the Arabic name for the mimosa (176b)
shal	dialectal variant for a *jala* raft in the Jalalabad vicinity (41a)
shamiana	a screen formed around the perimeter of an area by attaching hangings to posts; a topless tent (122a)
shamsherbazi	sword play, a type of fencing (99b)
shaykhzada	offspring or descendant of a shaykh; the *shaykhzada*s of Sikri were descended from Shaykh Salim Chishti
shudra	the fourth, servile Hindu caste (96a)
singhasan	a throne supported by golden lions (133a)
singhdalan	"lion-crusher," title given to Anup Rai (76a)
sipahsalar	commander-in-chief of the army, generalissimo
smaran	literally "remembrance," a set of pearl, emerald, and ruby rosary beads Jahangir presented to Prince Karan (109a)
sona kela	banana, literally "golden plantain" (157a)
souba	a province of the empire; the term originated with the Mongolian word *sübä*, a border barricade or frontier outpost
stambh	post, pillar (165a)
subadar	governor of a province
suffa-i mahtabi	"moonlight dais," a raised, outdoor terrace on which evening parties were held
sultan	(1) an autonomous Muslim ruler or prince; (2) an integral part of certain given names, as Sultan-Husayn
sumer	the sacred mountain Meru, made of gold and gems (204a)
sunal	the Kashmiri word for the horned Monaul pheasant (274b)
surkh	a gem weight equivalent to 0.875 carat

suwar the second part of the dual ranking system, the horse rank of an officer of the realm; the number was conventional, and the actual number of horses and men an officer was expected to field was only a portion thereof; the proportion of horses to men was also conventional, since some troopers were furnished three horses, some two, and some one (see *zat*)

tabancha an elephant kept in reserve to control sparring elephants in case they got out of control (459)

tahvildar an official who functioned mainly as a treasurer or strongbox keeper

tamgha a customs impost

tanab the "cord," roughly 40 meters, or 130 feet

tank a gem weight equivalent to 24 *surkh*s, or 21 carats

taslim the formal salute to the emperor: the back of the right hand was placed on the ground and then slowly lifted; when the performer of *taslim* was fully erect he placed the palm of the hand on the top of his head

tasu 1/24th of an ell, or 1 1/3 inches

tazarv pheasant (85b)

thal kanwal "land lotus," a type of lotus called *lala-i begana* in Persian (232a)

thana a guard station, outpost

topchaq a particularly fine breed of horse

toquz Turkish for nine; by Turkic custom gifts were traditionally given in sets of nine

torghay Turkish name for a starling (55a)

tovachi an officer of the muster and military official who were charged with keeping order among the troops; *tovachi*s were also used on miscellaneous errands

trakh a Kashmiri measure of grain (240b)

tugh a yak-tail standard attached under a horse's chin, awarded to commanders of the highest rank

tümän the unit of currency of Iran

tümän tugh the yak-tail insignium of a division commander

tuyghun any albino animal but particularly a white falcon (55b)

ujyali elephant blinder so named by Akbar (*Áín-i Akbarí* 1:136)

ukna a white falcon raised in the wild (182a); the word is probably from the Arabic *wukna* 'bird's nest'

urbasi an ornament worn on the breast (149a, 193b)

urs the anniversary observance of a death (96b)

üzük finger ring; the *üzük* seal was the small imperial seal the ruler wore on a signet or sometimes entrusted to others (7a)

vilayat province; homeland

yatïshbegi captain of the night watch

yüzbashi	centurion, captain of a hundred (66b)
zabit	the official in charge of certain provinces
zakat	the normal word for alms, in Mughal terminology it refers to imperial taxes
zamindar	"land-holder," a local, quasi-autonomous ruler
zampa	Kashmiri word for a swinging bridge (238a)
zarrin	lit. "golden," the impeyan pheasant, described on folio 275a
zat	the personal rank of an officer of the realm (see *suwar*)

Appendix A: Weights and Measures Used by Jahangir

A variety of weights and measures, both Islamic and Indian, are used by Jahangir. They and their modern equivalents, as well as can be determined, are as follows:

WEIGHT

1 mithcal = 4.6 grams (0.161 ounce)
1 tola = 12 máshas = 12.05 grams (0.425 ounce)[1]
1 tolcha = 16 máshas = 16 grams (0.566 ounce)
1 seer = 80 tolas = ~.9 kilogram (2+ pounds)
1 maund = 40 seers = ~37 kilograms ($82\frac{2}{7}$ pounds)
1 Hindustani maund = 8 Khurasani maunds of 4.65 kilograms ($10\frac{1}{4}$ pounds) each

GEM WEIGHT

1 *tank* = 24 *surkhs* = 21 carats[2]
1 *surkh* = 0.875 carat

LIQUID MEASURE

phial (*piyala*), of various measures: (1) $7\frac{1}{2}$ tolas = 90.375 milliliters (3 ounces), (2) 6 tolas 3 máshas = 75.3 milliliters ($2\frac{1}{2}$ ounces), (3) $17\frac{3}{4}$ mithcals = 81.65 milliliters ($2\frac{3}{4}$ ounces)

LINEAR MEASURE

1 finger (*angusht*) = 2.032 centimeters ($\frac{4}{5}$ inch)
1 *tasu* = $\frac{1}{24}$ ell = 3.4 centimeters ($1\frac{1}{3}$ inch)
1 *girih* (knot) = $\frac{1}{16}$ ell = 5 centimeters (2+ inches)
1 legal cubit (*zar'-i shar'i*) = 24 fingers = 49.875 centimeters ($19\frac{3}{5}$ inches)
1 imperial (Ilahi) cubit (*zar'-i padishahi*)[3] = 40 fingers = 81.28 centimeters ($31\frac{7}{10}$ inches)
1 ell (*gaz*) = 83.8 centimeters (33 inches)
1 *tanab* (cord) = ~40 meters (131 feet)
1 *jarib*[4]
1 kos (*kuroh*) = ~4 kilometers (~$2\frac{1}{2}$ miles)[5]

LAND AREA

1 *bigha* = $\frac{1}{4}$ hectare ($\frac{5}{8}$ acre)
1 *jarib* = 958 square meters (~$\frac{1}{4}$ acre)

TIME

1 *pal* = 24 seconds
1 *ghari* = 24 minutes
1 watch (*pahr*) = 3 hours

1. This is in conformity with Sir Thomas Roe's definition in the year 1615: "Two tole and a half being an ounce" (quoted by Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 928).

2. Abú'l-Fazl (*Áín-i Akbarí* 2:60) defines the *tank* as follows: "Each tank is twenty-four *surkhs*, and the common mithcal is two *surkhs* more than it (*mithqál-i mashhúr azú ba du surkh biyafzáyad*)." On this basis, the mithcal is 26 surkhs. On folio 158a, Jahangir gives the equivalence of 19 tánks = 17 mithcals + $5\frac{1}{2}$ surkhs, which makes 1 mithcal = $26\frac{1}{2}$ surkhs; this would make the *surkh* equivalent to 174 mg, and the *tánk* equivalent to 4.166 grams, or 20.8 carats of modern gem weight. (On folio 53a, he gives the equivalence of 1.5 tanks + 1 surkh = 1 mithcal + 15 surkhs, but if the text is emended to *yázdah* 'eleven' instead of *pánzdah* 'fifteen,' a common enough mistake in manuscript, it would give the expected 26 surkhs to the mithcal.) Taking 26 surkhs to the mithcal from Abú'l-Fazl's definition, the surkh would be 177 mg, and the tank 4.25 grams, or 21.2 carats. Tavernier, himself a jeweler, says that a surkh was

equal to seven eighths of a carat, which would make the tank of 24 surkhs equal to 21 carats, in close agreement with the calculations above.

3. Under Akbar the Ilahi cubit was 41 fingers, which is 32⁴/₅ inches, or 83 centimeters (Abu'l-Fazl, *Áín* 1:296). Under Shahjahan it was officially reduced by 2½% to 40 fingers, just under 32 inches, or 81 centimeters (Abdul-Hamid, *Padshahnama* 2:237). See W. H. Moreland, "The Mogul Unit of Measurement," *JRAS* (1927), p. 102. Jahangir also defines the cubit as 40 fingers (fol. 187b).

4. On folio 135a, Jahangir says, "We decamped from Lasa and proceeded three kos and ten *jaribs*," implying that there are more than ten *jaribs* in a kos. The *jarib* is normally a measure of area, not of length. If by the linear *jarib* he means one side of a square *jarib*, it would be 30.95 meters (roughly 100 feet).

5. The kos, or coss (Persian *kurob*), is the usual measure of distance in India, but it varies by locality. By standardization during Akbar's reign the kos was fixed at 5000 ells of 33 inches each. Actual measurements of Akbar's kos-posts near Delhi are a bit short, giving a mean equivalence of the kos as 2½ miles 158 yards, or 4.17 kilometers. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 261. Since exactitude is not to be looked for in the kos, a rough equivalence of 2½ miles, or 4 kilometers, is sufficient for most purposes.

CURRENCY

1 *dam* = 1/40 rupee
1 *charan* = 1/4 rupee
1 *drab* = 1/2 rupee
1 rupee = 3 Turanian khánís
1 Persian tuman = 30 Hindustani rupees
1 Deccani *hun* = 4 Hindustani rupees

QUANTITY

1 lac = 100,000
1 crore = 10,000,000

Appendix B: Soubas of the Empire and Their Constituent Sarkars, from the *Ain-i-Akbari*

Agra: 1. Agra; 2. Kalpi; 3. Kannauj; 4. Koil; 5. Gwalior; 6. Irij; 7. Bayanwan; 8. Narwar; 9. Mandlaer (Mandrael); 10. Alwar; 11. Tijara; 12. Narnaul; 13. Sahar.

Ajmer: 1. Ajmer; 2. Chitor; 3. Ranthambhor; 4. Jodhpur; 5. Sirohi; 6. Nagaur; 7. Bikaner.

Allahabad: 1. Allahabas (Allahabad); 2. Ghazipur; 3. Benares; 4. Jaunpur; 5. Manikpur; 6. Chunar; 7. Bhathkhora; 8. Kalinjar; 9. Kora; 10. Kara.

Bengal: 1. Udner (Tanda); 2. Jannatabad (Lakhnauti); 3. Fathabad; 4. Mahmudabad; 5. Khalifatabad; 6. Bakla; 7. Purniya; 8. Tajpur; 9. Ghoraghat; 10. Pinjara; 11. Barbakabad; 12. Bazuha; 13. Sonargaon; 14. Sylhet; 15. Chittagong; 16. Sharifabad; 17. Sulaimanabad; 18. Satgaon; 19. Mandaran.

Berar: 1. Gawil; 2. Panar; 3. Kherla; 4. Narnala; 5. Kalam; 6. Basim; 7. Mahur; 8. Manikdrug; 9. Pathri; 10. Telingana; 11. Rangar (Ramgarh); 12. Mehkar; 13. Baithalwari.

Bihar: 1. Bihar; 2. Monghyr; 3. Champaran; 4. Hajjipur; 5. Saran; 6. Tirhut; 7. Rohtas.

Delhi: 1. Delhi; 2. Budaun; 3. Kumaun; 4. Sambhal; 5. Saharanpur; 6. Rewari; 7. Hissar Firoza; 8. Sirhind.

Gujarat: 1. Ahmadabad; 2. Patan; 3. Nandod; 4. Baroda; 5. Broach; 6. Champaner; 7. Surat; 8. Godhra; 9. Sorath.

Kabul: 1. Kashmir; 2. Pakhli; 3. Swat; 4. Daur-Banu-Isakhel; 5. Kandahar; 6. Kabul.

Khandesh: 1. Khandesh.

Lahore (The Punjab): 1. Bet Jalandhar Doab; 2. Bari Doab; 3. Rechna Doab; 4. Chenhat [modern Jech] Doab; 5. Sind Sagar Doab.

Malwa: 1. Ujjain; 2. Raisen; 3. Gadha (Garha); 4. Chanderi; 5. Sarangpur; 6. Bijargarh; 7. Mandu; 8. Hendiah; 9. Nandurbar; 10. Marosor; 11. Gagron; 12. Kotri Paraya.

Multan: 1. Multan-Chahar Doaba; 2. Dipalpur; 3. Bhakkar.

Orissa: 1. Jales[w]ar; 2. Bhadrakh; 3. Cuttack; 4. Kalingdandpat [Kalingapatam]; 5. Rajmahandra [Rajahmundry].

Oudh: 1. Oudh; 2. Gorakhpur; 3. Bahraich; 4. Khairabad; 5. Lucknow.

Thatta: 1. Thatta; 2. Hajkhan; 3. Siwistan; 4. Nasirpur; 5. Chakarhala.

Appendix C: Translations

Emperor Jahangir Triumphing over Poverty, reproduced on page 2

Inscription: *súrat-i mubárak-i hazrat-i a'lá ki [bá] tír-i karam-nishán Dáliddarrá—ya'ní mushakhkhas-i iflás—az 'álam barandákhtand u jahánrá ba 'adl u dád bináyí az naw sákhtand* "An auspicious picture of His Imperial Majesty, who has eliminated from the world Daliddar, i.e. the personification of poverty, with his arrow of generosity and made a new foundation for justice and equity in the world." (Daliddar is for the Hindi *daridr* 'poverty'; during Divali the ceremony of *daridr khedna* 'driving out poverty' is observed.)

Wine cup, reproduced on page 127

Inscription: . . . *án / chashma-i rúh[e] karda ast[e] raván / chun zi hukmash tamám[e] shud ín jám / gah pur az áb* . . . ". . . it caused the spring of the soul to flow. / When, by his command, this cup was completed, sometimes full of water

Jahangir Shoots Malik Ambar, reproduced on page 165

Inscriptions:

Right of head: *hargáh[e] ki dar kamán áí / rang [a]z rukh-i dushmanán rubáí* "Whenever you come into the bow, you drain the color from enemies' faces."

Above balance: *'Ambar-i búm ki az núr-i sháh gurézán shuda búd sar-i mardúd-i béhayá burída ávurda bar nayza niháda tír-andází farmúdand* "The ill-omened Ambar, who had fled from the light of the king—the head of that shameless wretch was cut off, brought in, put on the end of a spear, and shot at."[1]

Below balance: *zi 'adl-i Sháh[e] Núru'd-Dín Jahángír / makída shêr[e] az pistán-i buz shír* "Through Shah Nuruddin Jahangir's justice the lion has sucked milk from the teats of goats"

Below balance: *zi yumn-i maqdam-i zill-i iláhí / zamín gashta sabuk bar gáv u máhí* "From the felicity of the advent of the Shadow of God the earth became light on [the backs of] the ox and fish"

Right of globe: *'amal-i kamtarín-i murídzádahá-yi ba-ikhlás Abú'l-Hasan* "Done by the least of the devoted offspring of disciples, Abu'l-Hasan"[2]

Jahangir Preferring a Shaykh to Kings. F1942.15, on page 257

Inscriptions

Top and bottom: *pádisháh-i súrat u ma'ná 'st[e] az lutf-i iláh / Sháh[e] Núru'd-Dín Jahángír ibn-i Akbar Pádisháh // garchi dar súrat shahán dárand[e] dar pêshash qiyám / lík[e] dar ma'ná ba darvêshán kunad dáyim nigáh* "By God's grace Shah Nuruddin Jahangir son of Akbar

1. The version of this painting in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (7A.15) has the following: *'Ambar-i búm[e] ki az núr[e] gurézán míbúd / tír-i dushman-fikanat kard[e] zi 'álam bérún* "Your enemy-overthrowing arrow put the owl Ambar, who was fleeing from the light, outside of the world"; *Bátingah 'aduvvatrá chu khúkast / az khúnash sar-i sinán-i tu sér* "Your enemy's innards are like a pig: the tip of your spear is satiated with his blood."

2. The Beatty version adds next to the gun: *alláhu akbar* "God is great"; *tufang-i Sháh[e] Núru'd-Dín*

Padishah is the monarch of both external form and inner intrinsic meaning. / Although outwardly kings stand before him, inwardly he always keeps his gaze upon the poor (dervishes)."

On lower part of hour glass: *Allábu akbar. Sháhá baqá-yi 'umr-i tu bádá hazár sál* "God is great. O king, may your life continue for a thousand years!"

On platform: *'amal-i banda-i ba-ikhlás Bichitr* "Work of the devoted servant Bichitr"

Jahangir Entertaining Shah Abbas I. F1942.16, reproduced on page 262

Inscriptions

Top cartouches: *chu sháh-i jahángír u 'Abbás[e] Sháh / du sháh-i javánbakht-i zill-i iláh // ba shádí girifta ba kaf jám-i Jam / ba dawlat nashínand[e] pahlú-yi ham* "When the world-seizing king (Shah Jahangir) and Abbas Shah, two felicitous kings and shadows of God, take to hand in joy Jamshed's cup, they sit next to each other in fortune"

Bottom cartouches: *jahán gardad ábád[e] az 'adlishán / bibáshand[e] ásúda khalq-i jahán // chu yár u barádar baham darkhwarand / iláhí, ba dawlat zi ham barkhwarand* "The world flourishes through their justice, the people of the world are at peace. When friend and brother are worthy of each other, O God, may they enjoy the fruits of each other in good fortune."

Over Shah Abbas (in Jahangir's handwriting): *shabíh-i barádaram Sháh 'Abbás* "A portrait of my brother Shah Abbas"

Figure to the right: *shabíh-i Khán 'Álam* "A portrait of Khan Alam"

Figure to the left: *shabíh-i Ásafkhán* "A portrait of Asaf Khan"

Zebra, reproduced on page 360

Inscription (Jahangir's handwriting): *usturí ki rúmíán az Habasha bahamráhí-i Mír Ja'far áwurda búdand u shabíh-i ínrá Nádiru'l-'asrí Ustád Mansúr kashída; sana 1030-i hijrí—sana 16* "A quadruped the Rumis brought from Ethiopia with Mir Ja'far. Its picture was drawn by Nadirul'asri Master Mansur. Year A.H. 1030, [regnal] year 16."

Knife. FGA 55.27, reproduced on page 363

Inscription: *futáda ba 'ahd-i Jahángír[e] Sháh / zi barq áhan-i barq[e]wash jawharí // Jahángír-i Akbar bifarmúd az án / du shamshér u ín kárd[e] bá khanjarí. Sana 1030, sana 16.* "In the reign of Jahangir Shah there fell in a blaze of lightning iron of lightning-like essence [from which] Jahangir son of Akbar ordered [there to be made] two swords and this knife, along with a dagger. Year 1030. [Regnal] year 16.

Jahangir Embracing Shah Abbas I. F1945.9, reproduced on page 382

Inscriptions:

Upper right: *mazmún-i khwábí ki hazrat-i a'lá dar chashma-i Núr mushábida namúda búdand* "The contents of a dream His Majesty had at Nur Spring"

Upper right: *va ín baytrá ba zabán-i mu'jizabayán farmúda* "and he composed this line of poetry with his miraculous tongue"

Inside aura: *sháh-i má dar khwáb[e] ámad pas mará khoshvaqt[e] kard / dushman-i khwáb-i manast ánkas ki az khwábam rubúd* "Our shah came in a dream and made me happy: an enemy of my dream is he who awakened me"

Lower middle left: *va súrat-i mubárak-i sháhrá az jam'í ki dída búdaand tahqíq namúda ba madad-i qiyás u qarína-i sarvarí fí'l-jumla súratí dáda ki aksar bar ínand ki mánand hast; huwa 'l-musawwiru 'l-a'lam* "and the blessed form of the shah was ascertained from a group who had seen him, and with the help of analogy and likeness of His

Jahángír / khatá nabvad dar ú chon hukm-i taqdír // kunand az sahm-i jánsôzash ba har dam / zamínbôsí palang u shér u nakhchír "Like the decree of fate, there is no error in Shah Nuruddin Jahangir's gun. From its soul-scorching projectiles leopards, lions, and [other] prey kiss the ground every moment."

Highness, soon a likeness was achieved which most believed to be like him. HE is the omniscient giver of form."

Lower middle right: *chon nawroz qarîb búd az rú-yi ta'jíl sákbta shud; 'amal-i murídzáda-i bá-ikhlás Nádiru'z-Zamán-i bn-i Áqá Rizá* "Since Nawroz was near it was made in haste; done by the devoted offspring of a disciple, Nadiruzzaman son of Aqa Riza"

Toponyms on map (in alphabetical order): Kingdom of Abyssinia, Agra, Kingdom of Arabia, Baghdad, Bahrain, Kingdom of the Berber, Bijapur, Calcutta, Carnatik, Cathay, Ceylon, Kingdom of China, Delhi, Egypt, the Equator, France, Goa, Golconda, Hormuz (mainland), Hormuz Island, Hungary, Iran, Jungle-dwellers (Africa), Kuch, Lahore, Kingdom of the Mugg, Mecca, Moscow, Multan, the North, the Occident (Maghreb), Portugal, Purab (East Gangetic Plain), Qalmaq, The Qipchaq Steppe (Kazakhstan), Mouth of the Red Sea, Russia, Surat Port, Tabriz, Venice, Kingdom of Zanzibar

Jahangir Triumphant Holding a Globe. FGA 48.28b, reproduced on page 392

Inscriptions

Top center: *Alláhu akbar* "God is great"

Poetry across top: *Yá rab mabádᵉ ba'dᵉ jahángír-i ín jahán / mánad zi dahrᵉ Sháhᵉ Jahángírᵉ yádᵉgár* "O Lord, may there be no more conquerors (*jahangir*) of this world; may King Jahangir remain as a memento of time"

On side: *shabíh-i mubárak-i Núru'd-Dín Muhammad Jahángír Pádisháh Ghází gah-i roz-i nawroz-i bizhdahum sana-i julús-i mubárak muváfiq-i hazár u sí u du-yi hijrí ki saff-árá-yi ma'rika-i fath u nusrat búdand* "A blessed portrait of Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir Padishah Ghazi on New Year's day of the eighteenth year of his blessed accession, corresponding to 1032 of the Hegira, as he arrayed his troops for the fray of triumph and victory"

Inside orb atop globe: (center) *Jahángír Pádisháh*, (around to the left from mid bottom) *Akbar Pádisháh, Humáyún Sháh, Bábur Pádisháh, Umar-Shaykh Mírzá, Sultán Abúsa'íd, Muhammad Sultán, Míránsháh, Sáhib-Qirán* (Jahangir's lineage back to the Sahib-Qiran Temür)

On dais: *'amal-i kamtarín-i murídzádabá-i bá-ikhlás Nádiru'z-Zamán* "Work of the least of the devoted servants, Nadiruzzaman"

Decree of Nurjahan, reproduced on page 394

Alláhu akbar

[teardrop seal:] *zi mihr-i Sháhᵉ Jahángírᵉ shud chu máhᵉ firozán | bibádᵉ Núrᵉ Jahán pádisháhᵉ begam-i dawrán* (˘ – ˘ – | ˘ ˘ – – | ˘ – ˘ – | ˘ ˘ – –)

[square seal:] *hukm-i 'aliyya-i 'áliya-i 'ulyá Núrjahán Pádisháh Begam*

'Umdatu'l-ashbáh wa'l-aqrán, mafkharu'l-amáthil wa'l-a'yán, qábilu'l-iltifát | wa'l-ihsán, khánazád-i bé rév u [r]ang Rája Jaisingh ba-'ináyat-i 'aliyya | makhsús u mubáhí gashta, bidánad ki má az khúrdsálí tarbiyat farmúda ba-ín pilla rasánída búdím u mídánistím ki khánazád fadawí-i bá-ikhlás-i dargáh-i wálást u | amrí ki khiláf-i hukm-i rizá-yi bandagán-i hazrat-i ashraf u sámiyya báshad azú bi-'amal nakhwáhad ámad. Darínwalá ba-'arz-i muqaddas rasíd ki án khánazád khwábar-i khwadrá námzad-i sháhzád-i wálághubar namúda. | Míbáyistí ki darín báb awwalan ba-dargáh arzadásht míkard u ba-harchi hukm míshud bi-'amal míáwurd; ínki be'arz ínchunín nisbat-i 'umdará az pesh-i khwad karda bi-gháyat bar khátir-i mubárak girán ámada. | Zinhár, zinhár ki pírámún-i ínqism-i umúr ki mújib-i nárizá-yi bandagán-i hazrat ast nagardad ki natíja-i nek nadárad. Dar roz ki bar mazmún-i nishán-i 'álíshán ittilá' hásilnamáyad, agar hamshíra-i khwadrá az watan | talabída báshad,

ba-ta'kíd-i tamám chízí binawísad ki nayáyad; wa agar dar ráh báshad, bargashta ba-watan birawad. Darín báb niháyat-i ta'kíd dánista, az farmúda takhalluf u inhiráf nawarzad. Tahríran fí táríkh-i 27-i máh-i shahríwar-i ilábí sana 20.

[teardrop seal:] By the sun of Shah Jahangir [or, through Shah Jahangir's love] she became as brilliant as the moon; may Nurjahan Padishah be the lady of the age.

[square seal:] Command of Her Most Sublime and Elevated Majesty Nurjahan Padishah Begam.

Let the pillar of his peers and equals, pride of the nobility, worthy of attention and beneficence, our unhypocritical servant Raja Jai Singh, who has been singled out for sublime favor, know that we, having patronized him from his early years and raised him to this rung, always considered him a devoted and loyal servant to this elevated court, and we always thought that nothing that would go counter to the pleasure of the servants of the most noble and lofty imperial presence would ever be effected by him. Recently it has been brought to imperial attention that our servant has affianced his sister to the most noble prince. First of all, he should have petitioned this court and acted upon whatever was commanded: his having undertaken such an important relationship on his own without informing [the court] weighs extremely heavily on the imperial mind. Beware, beware lest he entertain such notions, which result in the displeasure of His Majesty's servants, for [such notions] will not have a good outcome. On the very day he is informed of the contents of this imperial decree, if he has summoned his sister, let him write something in no uncertain terms that she not come; and if she is on the way, let her turn back to her homeland. Let him realize that there is extreme seriousness in this matter, and let him not swerve or deviate from what has been commanded. Written on the twenty-seventh of the month of Shahrivar in the year twenty [circa September 8, 1625].

Portrait of Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan. F1939.50, reproduced on page 408

Inscriptions

In Jahangir's handwriting: *shabíh-i khúb-i Khánkhánán sipahsálár, 'amal-i Háshim* "A good likeness of General Khankhanan, done by Hashim"

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Abbreviations: s/ = son of; d/ = daughter of; gs/ = grandson of; bro/ = brother of

Toponyms are given with modern spellings.

'Abbreviations: s/ = son of; d/ = daughter of; gs/ = grandson of; bro/ = brother of; MU = Shahnawaz Khan Awrangabadi's *Ma'athiru'l-umara* (Eng. trs.)

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